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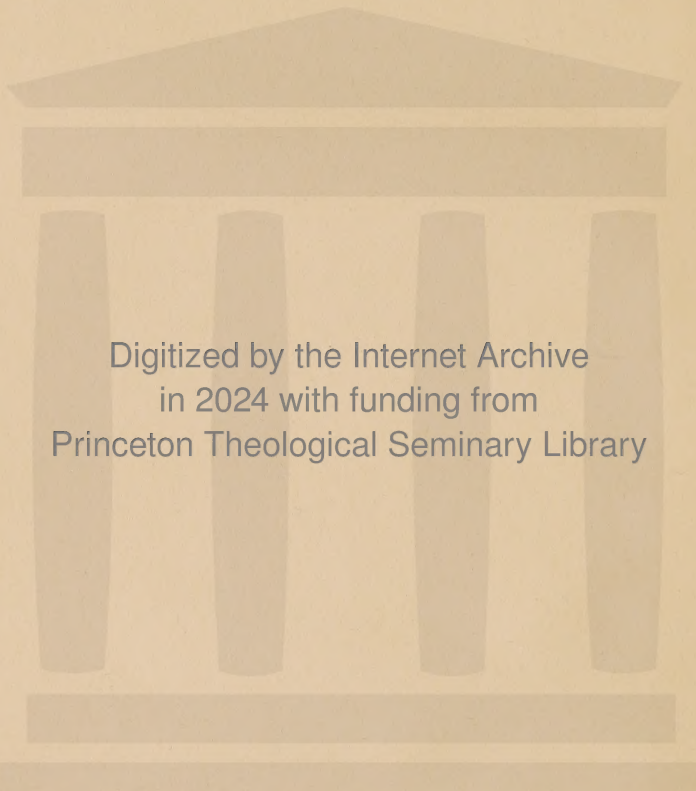
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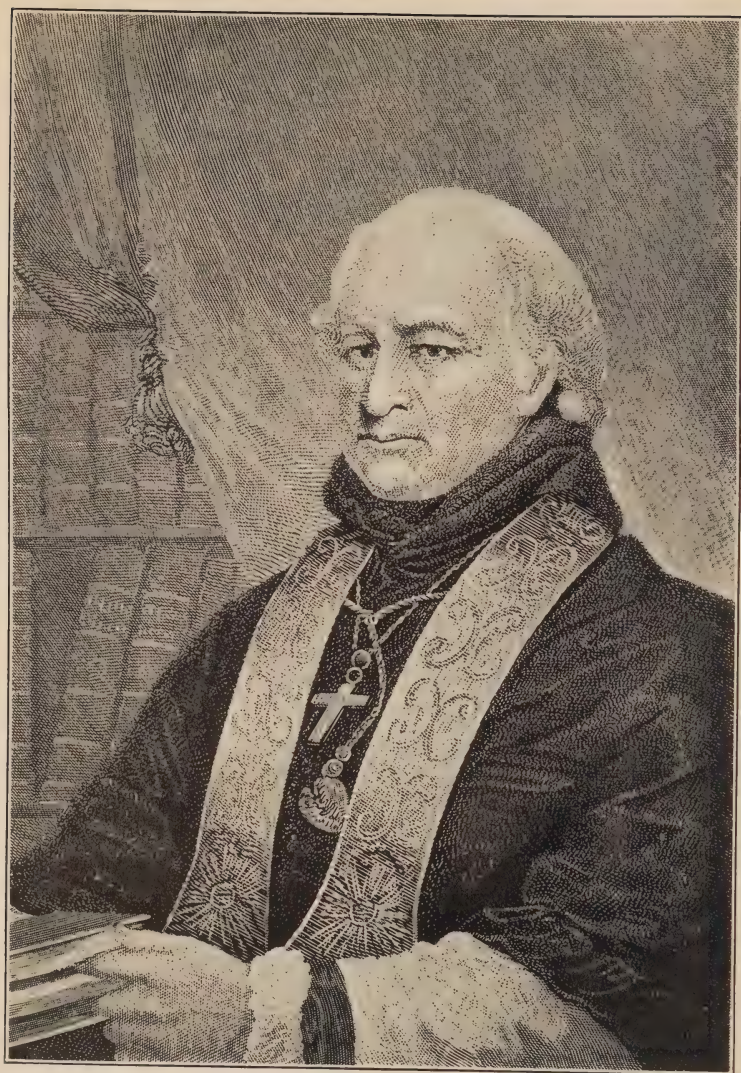
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THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF JOHN CARROLL



ARCHBISHOP JOHN CARROLL

THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
JOHN CARROLL

Archbishop of Baltimore
(1735-1815)

BY
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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA PRESS
119 East 57th Street
New York
1922

NIHIL OBSTAT: ARTHUR J. SCANLAN, D.D., *Censor*
IMPRIMATUR: PATRICK J. HAYES, D.D., *Archbishop of New York*

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DEDICATED
TO
HIS EMINENCE
DENNIS CARDINAL DOUGHERTY
ARCHBISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA

PREFACE

John Carroll, the first bishop of the Catholic Church in the United States, was born in Maryland, on January 8, 1735. As a boy of thirteen, after completing his elementary studies at Bohemia Manor Academy, he was sent abroad with his cousin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to the English Jesuit College at St. Omer, France. He entered the English Province of the Society of Jesus in 1753, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1769. The year after the Suppression of the Society, he returned to Maryland. In 1776, he accompanied Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, in their unsuccessful mission to Canada. Appointed Prefect-Apostolic of the Church in the Thirteen Original States in 1784, he guided the Catholic body, cleric and lay, through the difficult period of reconstruction which followed the Revolutionary War. In 1789, he was elected by his fellow-priests first Bishop of Baltimore, the oldest episcopal see in the nation. For twenty-five years he was the chief shepherd of the Catholic flock in the United States. In 1808, the See of Baltimore was raised to the dignity of an archbishopric and four suffragan dioceses were created—at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown. In the consecration of his suffragans, he witnessed the crowning act of his quarter-century of church organization. He died in Baltimore, December 3, 1815, on the threshold of his eighty-first year.

Almost a half-century has passed since the well-beloved historian of the Church in the United States, John Gilmary Shea, began the composition of his *Life and Times of the Most Reverend John Carroll*. Since that time numerous documents on the subject have been brought to light; some of these have been published in various historical periodicals; while many other documents, lying for a century in the quiet of libraries and archives here and abroad, have added considerably to our knowledge of the problems which John Carroll faced during the twenty-five years of his episcopate. The archival depots of Rome, Paris,

Westminster, London, Stonyhurst, Liège, and Brussels, were searched for documentary material, and the episcopal archives of Baltimore, Detroit, Quebec, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and old Vincennes were also examined for further information. I have not hesitated to repeat paragraphs from these unpublished sources wherever the clarity or the continuity of the text required it.

These two volumes are the result of my lectures on American Church history at the Catholic University of America during the academic years 1919-1921, and I am happy to chronicle here the coöperation of my students in analyzing and criticising the many photostat documents which have been used for this work. The Catholic University of America has been a centre of study for American history since its foundation, and it is fitting in this regard to offer a tribute of recognition to the present Rector, the Right Reverend Bishop Shahan, for his inspiration in the planning of this work and for his constant encouragement.

My thanks are extended also to the curators of different libraries and archives for substantial assistance. To Canon Edwin Burton, D.D., for valuable direction, and to Father John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., for copies of the Carroll correspondence now in the London Jesuit archives, I am particularly grateful. To a group of personal friends who assisted me financially in having documents photographed and copied for this work, I offer sincere acknowledgement.

To my Ordinary, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Philadelphia, I wish to express my grateful appreciation of the honour he has given me in permitting me to dedicate these volumes to him.

PETER GUILDAY.

March 25, 1922.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN CARROLL

Archbishop of Baltimore

CHAPTER I

BIRTH AND EARLY EDUCATION

(1735-1748)

The genealogy of the Carrolls of Maryland is somewhat uncertain. The popularity of the Christian names Charles, Daniel, Mary, Eleanor, in the different branches of the family and the complicated kinship which arose from marriage ties render it difficult to discover their exact lineage.¹ The *Stemmata Carrollana*, however, gives a basis for such a genealogy; and for all branches of the family in Maryland, a common ancestor is claimed in Florence O'Carroll, King of Ely, Ireland, who died in 1205.² The leading Maryland Carrolls were of the Catholic Faith, and the old family motto, *In fide et in bello fortes*, though changed in 1688 by Charles Carroll, the Attorney General, to *Ubicumque cum libertate*, may be accepted as the keynote to the Carroll character.

¹ The genealogical synopsis in ROWLAND, *Life and Correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, vol. ii, pp. 433-448 (New York, 1908), is based upon the *Stemmata Carrollana*, by FREDERICK JOHN O'CARROLL, in the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archeological Association of Ireland* (October, 1883), vol. vi, 4th series. Cf. DOWNING, *The American Capitoline Hill and Its Early Catholic Proprietors*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, p. 273. Downing writes: "It may be remarked in passing that the genealogical and biographical publications issued by the Carrolls present a confusing mass of errors which has misled the most conscientious historians" (*Ibid.*, p. 279). Downing prints in this article a letter from Elizabeth Carroll, the sister of the archbishop, dated Washington, D. C., March 16, 1810 (from the Notre Dame Archives), which contains the most authentic family history of the Carroll family.

² "It is indisputable that the O'Carrolls were in very early ages kings of the entire district of Ely, and the territory was so named from Ely, daughter of Luchta, son of the King of Munster, one of our ancient lawgivers who flourished about the time of our Lord Jesus Christ" (BETHAM, *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, cited by RUSSELL, *Maryland, the Land of Sanctuary*, pp. 586-587. Balto., 1907).

The Catholic Faith had witnessed a century of life, if not of progress, in the English colonies of North America, when John Carroll, the first bishop of the new Republic, was born to Daniel and Eleanor Carroll, on January 8, 1735, at Upper Marlboro, Prince George's County, Maryland.³ Daniel Carroll was of the family of Keane Carroll, of Ireland, and had emigrated to America at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He became a prominent Maryland merchant, and he must have possessed more than the attraction of wealth to have won for his bride one of Maryland's richest heiresses, Eleanor Darnall, the daughter of Henry Darnall of the Woodyard.⁴ John Carroll's mother was among the highly educated women of her day; and, like so many of the young Catholic girls of the colonies, she had been sent to Europe to finish her schooling. Ties of blood and ties of marriage linked the leading Catholic households of Maryland into one large family—the Roziers, the Youngs, the Darnalls, the Brents, the Sewalls, the Brookes, and the Carrolls of the two principal branches.

These two branches of the Carroll family, much inter-married, are descended from Charles Carroll, the Attorney General, and Daniel Carroll, of Upper Marlboro.

The principal descendants of Charles Carroll the Attorney General, who arrived in Maryland in 1688, are: (1) CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON (1737-1832), who was son of Charles Carroll of Annapolis and grandson of the Attorney General. His father was one of the wealthiest land-owners of the colonies. He himself was the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence,⁵ and by marriage he was a cousin of Archbishop Carroll. (2) ELEANOR CARROLL, the daughter

³ SHEA (*History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. ii, p. 27) says: "The house where the patriarch of the Catholic Church in this country first saw the light is still standing, but a grove of murmuring pines covers the site of Boone chapel, where he was probably baptized, and in childhood went with his parents to kneel before the Altar of God." This house was given up during John Carroll's absence in Europe. An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1884 to arouse Catholic sentiment towards preserving the birthplace of Archbishop Carroll. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-B4.) After his father's death (1750), Mrs. Carroll went to live in a house belonging to the family in the Rock Creek district, near the present Forest Glen, Md. This second home was destroyed by fire, and all that remains is the hearthstone now in the Catholic rectory at Forest Glen.

⁴ For the Darnall genealogy, cf. ROWLAND, *Life and Correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, vol. ii, p. 445ss.

⁵ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxiv, p. 272.

of Daniel Carroll, niece of Charles Carroll of Annapolis, and grand-daughter of the Attorney General, who married Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek, the brother of Archbishop Carroll. (3) DANIEL CARROLL OF DUDDINGTON, the great-grandson of the Attorney General, who married Anne Brent, niece of Archbishop Carroll. He was one of the proprietors of the land on which the national Capitol stands.⁶

The principal descendants of Daniel Carroll of Upper Marlboro, were: (1) DANIEL CARROLL OF ROCK CREEK, the Commissioner, and brother of Archbishop Carroll; (2) ANNE CARROLL, the wife of Robert Brent, who was the mother of Robert Brent, the first Mayor of Washington, D. C.; and (3) JOHN CARROLL, first Bishop of the Catholic Church in the United States.

John Carroll was the fourth of seven children. The eldest, Henry Carroll, was drowned in boyhood. Daniel, the second son, usually called Daniel Carroll the Commissioner, married Eleanor Carroll, the cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Two of the future Archbishop's sisters married into the Brent and Young families, and the youngest, Elizabeth, died single.⁷

⁶ DOWNING, *The American Capitoline Hill, etc.*, p. 279.

⁷ In a letter from Daniel Carroll, John's brother, to James Carroll, a kinsman in Ireland, dated 1762, we learn that Daniel Carroll, the nephew of Father Carroll, was the heir presumptive to the great Carroll fortune in case Charles Carroll of Carrollton should not marry:—"Upper Marlboro', Maryland, Dec. 20th, 1762. "As you express a particular desire of having a particular account of your relations in this part of the world, the following may be agreeable to you. My father died in the year 1750, and left six children—myself, Ann, John, Eleanor, Mary and Betty. He left me land amounting in value between 4 and 5,000 £. Some time after, I married a lady of our name, Elizabeth Carroll, to whom I was contracted before my father's death. Her fortune was three thousand pounds in money. I had been returned two years from Flanders where my father had sent me for my education, and had been there for six years. I have a son named Daniel about 10 years old, and a daughter named Mary about 8 years old. The lady I married is a daughter of Daniel Carroll, son of Charles Carroll, Esq., Litterluna, who came from Ireland and settled in this country. His abilities and prudent conduct procured him some of the best offices under this Government, for then Roman Catholics were entitled to hold office in this province. By this means his knowledge of the Law, and by taking up large tracts of land which have since increased in value some hundred per cent., he made a very large fortune. Two of his sons only survived out of a great many children—Charles and Daniel—the latter, my wife's father, who died in the year 1734, and left three children—Charles, Elizabeth (my wife), and Mary—Charles inherits about £600 per annum—will not probably marry, and Mary is married to one Mr. Ignatius Digges. Charles Carroll, Esq., eldest brother to my wife's father, is living, and is worth about £100,000, the second richest man in our province; he has one son named Charles, who had a very liberal education and is now finishing his studies in London. In case of his death that estate is left to my son Daniel by Charles Carroll, Esq. My eldest

No positive evidence exists to warrant an immediate ancestor to the heads of these two branches of the Carroll family. Some genealogists make Daniel Carroll, of Litterluna, the father of Charles Carroll, the Attorney General, and of Keane Carroll of Ireland. One fact, however, has the appearance of certainty: the lack of cordiality between the chief representatives of the two families. The two grandsons, Charles and John, probably met at Bohemia Manor Academy, and later journeyed together to St. Omer's, where they were fellow-collegians; but they seem never to have become close friends. They separated as young men, the one to enter the priesthood and the other to take up the study of law; they met later (1776) as representatives in Canada of the Continental Congress, but after that they drifted apart again, the one to rise high in the affairs of the Church and the other to live for many years within the halo of the Declaration of Independence as America's First Citizen. Social distinction and wealth were common to both, intermarriage had brought them into closer intimacy, and both possessed the blood of the Calverts through Henry Darnall, of Portland Manor. It would be difficult to say what it was that kept the two families apart; but there is ground for the suspicion that the cause of the coldness was the lack of religious piety on the part of the older branch of the family, that to which Charles Carroll of Carrollton belonged.

We find but seldom in the correspondence between Charles Carroll of Annapolis and his famous son any of those deeper appeals to religious fervour which one would expect from a Catholic father to his son, a student in a Catholic college, three thousand miles away.⁸ Charles Carroll of Carrollton admitted in later years that he had yielded to the seductive teaching of the time during his student days in Paris and London, and that

sister Ann is well married to one Mr. Robert Brent in Virginia, a province to the southward of this, divided by the river Potomac; he lives about 60 miles from us. They have one child named George. My brother John was sent abroad for his education on my return, and is now a Jesuit at Liège, teaching philosophy and eminent in his profession. Eleanor, my second sister, is married likewise very well to one Mr. William Brent in Virginia, near my eldest sister. She has three boys and one girl. My sisters, Mary and Betsey, are unmarried, and live chiefly with my mother, who is very well. This account of your friends I hope will be satisfactory to you" (*Researches*, vol. xii, p. 53).

⁸ Cf. The Carroll correspondence in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vols. x, xi, xii.

he had imbibed to a certain extent the doctrines of Voltaire. The circles in which he moved were not only sceptical but were also influenced by the Cisalpine movement then struggling for dominance in English Catholic life. During the manhood of the two men—first Catholic bishop and First Citizen—the same lack of piety is visible in Carrollton's life, but the negligence, if there actually were such, was of a temporary character, for in one of Archbishop Carroll's last letters, the prelate insists (March 31, 1815) that Annapolis be regularly visited by a priest, "especially since Mr. Carroll Senr. [Charles Carroll of Carrollton] has resumed all the pious practices of religion [and] frequentation of the Sacraments."⁹

The chief problem in the Catholic homes of colonial Maryland, as in all Catholic homes within the British dominions during the post-Reformation period, was the Catholic education of the children. As the cleavage with the Catholic past widened in England, the education of Catholic boys and girls became more and more difficult, and an outlaw race of schools, colleges and seminaries was begun "beyond the seas." The schools in the English colonies were regulated by the same penal code as prevailed in England, and Catholic children could enter only

⁹ HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, vol. ii, p. 857 (New York, 1910). In a letter to his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Harriet Chew Carroll (August 29, 1810), the venerable patriot gives a comforting proof of this renewal of his early fervour: "I am much gratified by yr assurances that yr daughters shall be brought up in the R. C. religion; it is my wish and their father's also that they should be; unfortunately tho' at present he has little religion himself, he is quite in earnest that his daughters should be religious; he and many others under the influence of passions know and feel the importance of religion tho' they do not live up to its precepts. Being persuaded that there can be but one true religion taught by Christ and that the R. C. is that religion, I conceive it to be my duty to have my grandchildren brought up in it. I feel no ill will or illiberal prejudices agt. the sectarians which have abandoned that faith; if their lives be conformable to the duties and morals prescribed by the gospel I have the charity to hope and believe that they will be rewarded with eternal happiness tho' they may entertain erroneous doctrines in point of faith; the great number in every religion not having the leisure or means to investigate the truth of the doctrines they have been taught must rest their religious faith on their instructors, and, therefore, the great body of the people may conscientiously believe that they hold the true faith; but they who from illiberal education, from understanding, from books, not written by one party only and from leisure have the means of examining into the truth of the doctrines they have been taught as orthodox are in my opinion bound to make the examination nor suffer early instructions and impressions or habits or prejudices to operate against the conviction of what is right. Upon conviction only a change of religion is justifiable; on a concern so seriously interesting to all of us no worldly motives should sway our conduct" (Cf. *Researches*, vol. xvii, p. 148). The marriage of Harriet Chew and Charles

at the price of their faith.¹⁰ It was against the law to employ a Catholic tutor, though, as the years went by, this law fell into abeyance, especially towards the end of the eighteenth century. It was equally unlawful, in fact, treasonable, for Catholics to send their children to the English Catholic colleges on the Continent; but as is well known, Catholic parents felt no hesitation in allowing their boys and girls, despite their tender years, to run the risk of capture, in order that they might receive a Catholic education. In structure, the anti-Catholic laws of the Colonies in educational matters were practically identical with those of the mother country. It was only the fewness of the Catholics outside Pennsylvania and Maryland that can explain the absence of court trials on this question. In Maryland, Catholic schools, with the exception of Bohemia Academy, were of an elementary character and had existed from the foundation of the province. Father Thomas Hughes, S.J., writes:

In the history of the old Colonies, and indeed of the new States also, we do not think a parallel can be found to the liberality with which Maryland Catholics provided an expensive education for their children, simply because they wished that education to be Catholic. Nor was there any time, during more than a century previous to the American Revolution, when good parents were not sending their children to the continental colleges and convents of Europe. It was chiefly the boys, however, that they trusted to the perils of the long voyage and journey by land and sea, from the banks of the Potomac to St. Omer's College, in French Flanders. As far back as the Orange Revolution, St. Omer's was a beam in the eye and a thorn in the side of sensitive and scrupulous rebels like Jack Coode. But it was after the middle of the eighteenth century that

Carroll of Doughoregan was performed by Bishop Carroll, at Philadelphia, in 1800. It was one of the few occasions when the leading members of the two families met.

¹⁰ MEYER, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 92-121 (London, 1916); GUILDAY, *English Catholic Refugees in the Low Countries (1558-1795)*, (London, 1914), where a bibliography on this subject is to be found (pp. 24-54). A catalogue of these laws will be found in MORRIS, *Condition of the Catholics under James I*, pp. 315-331 (London, 1872), and in CHARLES BUTLER, *Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish and Scottish Catholics Since the Reformation*, vol. ii, pp. 230-247, 384-391, vol. iii, 148-149 (London, 1822). As an example of these penal laws on education, the Act of 1700 "for the preventing of the growth of Popery" may be cited: ". . . Whoever shall be convicted of sending any child or other person beyond the seas, out of the King's obedience to the intent that such child or person shall be educated in the Roman religion, shall forfeit £100 for the sole use and benefit of him who shall discover any person so offending to the end that Protestant children may not in the life time of their parents for want of fitting maintenance . . . be necessitated in compliance with their parents to embrace the Popish religion contrary to their inclination; Be it enacted that if such a parent in order to compelling such his child to change his or her religion, shall refuse to allow such child a fitting

the practice became quite a system, entailing an amount of administration.¹¹

To prepare for the schools in Europe, elementary training was necessary. And there was much to militate against the presence of elementary schools in the province. There was scarcely any period after 1650 when the Maryland Catholics felt safe from the obnoxious and irritating penal code, and the schools that were started, were started in secret and continued in secret. Moreover, the social and economic conditions of colonial Maryland made it almost impracticable for Catholics and for non-Catholics to found educational institutions. Towns were a rarity in the midst of what might be called a cluster of baronial manors, as the extensive plantations actually were; and since education was viewed by the large landowners more from its social than its intellectual aspect, they were content to send their sons and daughters abroad, as much for the social life they would find there as for their schooling. So far as the government in the Province was concerned, only one serious attempt to erect a college was made. This was in 1671, and the failure of the plan seems to have chilled all enthusiasm. It was not until 1782, when Washington College, at Chestertown on the Eastern Shore, was chartered, that advanced educational life really began in Maryland. Father John Lewis, the Superior of the American clergy, was among the contributors to its foundation. "The instruction of youth was a private matter, left to the individual parent to accomplish as best he could according to his means and the opportunities which might occur. Sometimes the children were sent to England; sometimes there were private tutors, some of whom were owned as servants; parents taught the children, etc. In fact, it is difficult to conceive how the elements of an English education could have been brought to a

maintenance suitable to the degree and ability of such parent . . . then complaint shall be made to the Lord High Chancellor or to the Keeper of the Great Seal, and it shall be lawful to the said Lord High Chancellor or the Keeper of the Great Seal to make such an order as shall be agreeable to this Act" (*Statutes of the Realm*, William and Mary, London, 1820). Cf. *Popery in Maryland*, in the *Researches* (vol. xxv, pp. 258-274), a collection of excerpts from the British Museum Additional MSS.

¹¹ *Educational Convoys to Europe in the Olden Time*, in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, vol. xxix (1903), p. 24.

community so widely scattered in any more regular manner."¹² A few elementary schools were begun, but the scarcity of teachers and, it must be admitted, the indifference of those selected to oversee them, practically nullified all efforts at a systematic plan of elementary education. "God only knows," said the Rev. Thomas Bacon, rector of St. Peter's parish, Talbot County, in a sermon printed in 1751, "the great necessity of such a work in this province, where education is hardly to be attained at any rate by the children of the poor, much greater than can be apprehended, from the general complaint, or even discovered by the particular inquiry of such as are put upon it by the duties of their station. Many poor white children have I found (I speak from sad experience), and many more undoubtedly there are, as ignorant as the children of the poor benighted negroes."¹³

It is indeed a deplorable page in the history of colonial education—the common neglect of the poor and of the middle classes in the education of their children. To offset this unpleasant picture, there is another: it is the unwritten chapter of Catholic elementary education in Maryland and Pennsylvania all through the dark ages of anti-Catholic penal legislation. Scanty as are the records extant to-day even in such profuse collections as Hughes' *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, one cannot go astray in asserting the claim that from the first arrival of the colonists on March 25, 1634, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus were persistently engaged in the establishment of a Catholic school system.¹⁴ Father Andrew White, S. J., who accompanied the Calvert expedition to Maryland, was one of the foremost English scholars of Europe. He had taught in the English colleges at Valladolid and Seville, and there is no doubt that in true Jesuit fashion, his work as the shepherd of the little flock soon divided itself into two parts—the care of the souls under his charge and the training of the children. "It is certain," writes Dr. Burns, the historian of Catholic education in the United States, "that the matter of educational provision for

¹² B. C. STEINER, *History of Education in Maryland*, p. 4. Washington, D. C., 1894. Cf. NEILL, *Terra Maria*, p. 199. Philadelphia, 1867; BROWN, *Maryland, the History of the Palatinate*, pp. 157-159. New York, 1904; THOMAS, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, p. 109. Cumberland, Md., 1913.

¹³ Cited by STEINER, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, vol. ii, pp. 46, 135-138, 147.



CARROLL'S BIRTHPLACE—UPPER MARLBORO

the children of the colonists occupied the attention of the Jesuits from the very beginning. As early as 1640, when only four settlements had been formed, the question of establishing a college was discussed by members of the Order in Maryland and their higher superiors."¹⁵ This college was no doubt projected for St. Mary's City. Father Hughes, who gives us the sources for the project, says: "We merely observe here that this plan would have given us a St. Mary's College, Maryland, within very few years after Quebec College, New France, and within still fewer years after Harvard College, Massachusetts (1637)."¹⁶ This college project was thwarted by Lord Baltimore's opposition to the Society during the quarrel with the Jesuits in England. Meantime, the work of education was carried on by private teachers. The best known of these was Brother Ralph Crouch, who came to Maryland in 1639, and who for the next twenty years conducted a private school at Newtown, then the centre of Jesuit missionary activity. Crouch was "the right hand and solace" of the Fathers.¹⁷ He was born in Oxford and entered the Society as a temporal coadjutor or lay brother in 1620. In 1639, he left the novitiate at Watten and went to Maryland. Re-admitted into the Society in 1659, he sailed for Europe, and was professed as a lay brother in 1669. He died on November 18, 1679.

Catholic interest in elementary education is evidenced by no less than forty-two legacies for school purposes left between 1650 and 1685. One of these bequests is that of Edward Cotton, who died in 1650, consisting of an estate of 450 acres and many heads of cattle. Steiner seems not to have known of the existence of this will, for he speaks of Augustine Herman's legacy of 1684, leaving Bohemia Manor for school purposes, as the first educational bequest in Maryland.¹⁸ The Catholic school opened in New York City under Governor Dongan's patronage in 1684, and the Newtown School, begun by Ralph Crouch, were both

¹⁵ *The Catholic School System in the United States: Its Principles, Origin, and Establishment*, p. 90. New York, 1908.

¹⁶ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text, vol. i, p. 346.

¹⁷ STEINER, *op. cit.*, p. 16; FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, vol. v, p. 953. Cf. *Some Early Catholic Grammar Schools*, by TREACY, in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. i, pp. 71-73.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 18. For a list of Catholic wills, and for the text of Edward Cotton's bequest, cf. BURNS, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-101.

suppressed during the anti-Catholic days of the Orange Rebellion. Crouch had been succeeded by another lay brother, Gregory Turberville, who directed the Newtown School until his death in 1684. The *Annual Letters* of 1681 state that in 1677 a college for humanities "was opened by our Society in the centre of the country."¹⁹ This no doubt refers to an extension of the school at Newtown. There is no evidence that a full college course was ever attained at the Newtown School, and the fact that as early as 1677, two of the Newtown scholars, Robert Brooke and Thomas Gardner, were sent to St. Omer's would argue for an incomplete course in humanities in the Maryland school.

The new era of persecution aroused by the Orange Rebellion of 1688 not only closed the school at Newtown, but was the cause of the law passed by the Maryland Assembly in 1704, "for the further prevention of the growth of Popery," making it illegal for Catholics to carry on school work.²⁰ The burden thereof was thus thrown back upon the Catholic parents. Here again the iniquitous law interposed, rendering a Catholic father or guardian amenable to a fine of forty shillings a day if he employed any but a Protestant tutor in his home.

If he sought to procure a Catholic education for his son by sending him across the sea to St. Omer's, or some other of the Jesuit colleges in Europe founded for this very purpose, he became liable to a fine of £100. Poor Catholics were thus effectually deprived of all opportunity to give their children a Catholic education, except in so far as they were able to instruct them themselves. Wealthy Catholics fared somewhat better, as it was easier for them to secure a private tutor, and it was less difficult for them to conceal the fact. They could afford, too, to send their sons to Europe to study, and, in spite of the stringency of the laws and the vigilance of authorities, they often found means to do so without being discovered. One great help to this end was afforded by the use of an *alias*, the student assuming a new name by which he was known during the time of his journey to Europe and his stay there.²¹

When Benedict, Lord Baltimore, apostatized in 1715, the government of Maryland was restored to him by the English

¹⁹ FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, vol. iii, p. 394.

²⁰ SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. i, p. 358. Cf. *A Dark Chapter in the History of Maryland*, by E. I. DEVITT, S. J., in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. i (1887), p. 155. Cf. *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 532.

²¹ BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 107. A partial list of these *aliases* will be found in FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, *Collectanea*, vol. vii, part ii.

crown. Benedict's son, who succeeded to his father's proprietary rights that same year, encouraged the enactment of laws which disqualified Catholic Marylanders from representation in the Assembly. From 1715 down to 1751 Catholics were unmolested in the practice of their religion, providing their religious services were held according to the law passed in the reign of Queen Anne which allowed Catholic priests in Maryland to officiate in private families. It was during this period that Catholic education in the colony was again organized, and it is to this period that Bohemia Manor Academy belongs. In 1751, an attempt was made to introduce the penal code in all its rigour in the colony, and various acts were introduced in the Assembly to that end. Few of these passed the Upper House, though in 1756 an act was passed doubling the taxes paid by the Catholics. "From what I have said," wrote Charles Carroll, Senior, to his son (July 14, 1760), "I leave you to judge whether Maryland be a tolerable residence for a Roman Catholic. Were I younger, I would certainly quit it."²² From this iniquitous tax there was no escape. Every colonist, including the slaves over sixteen years of age, was compelled to contribute annually to the support of the established Anglican Church, even though its ministrations were rejected by the majority. "The saying used to be current, and it is partly true, that the older Episcopal churches of the lower counties were built by the contributions of Catholics."²³ And this, it must be remembered, was the situation at a time when clerical profligacy was undermining the faith of those who held the Anglican creed, when the immorality and inebriety of some of the established clergy "had become so glaring that the legislature thought it necessary to devise some mode of coercing them into decency of behaviour."²⁴

Such were the conditions which prevailed in Maryland during the boyhood of John Carroll. The temper of the times was bitterly anti-Catholic, and the laws which were always liable to extreme interpretation by bigoted judges, were so framed that

²² Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxv, p. 276.

²³ REV. EDWARD I. DEVITT, S. J., *A Dark Chapter in the Catholic History of Maryland*, in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. i, p. 132.

²⁴ HAWKS, *Rise and Progress of the P. E. Church in Maryland*, pp. 128-132. New York, 1839.

they empowered intolerant non-Catholics to rob the father of his child and the widow of her children.

The laws on education directed against Catholics were conceived in the spirit of Julian the Apostate, and modelled upon his system. The first free school was placed under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury; its founders, as they declared, were good Protestants, and its object was to instruct youth in the orthodox religion. When provision was made for schools in each county, all the trustees were Protestants and the Rectors were chairmen of the Boards, and the masters were by law members of the Church of England. Catholics could not frequent them, and they were prevented from having schools of their own, because the teacher was liable to perpetual imprisonment.²⁵

The Maryland colonial records are filled with *gravamina* against the Catholics, and the note sounded most often is the fact that "Popish schoolmasters are teaching children openly in school," and that "children of Popish parents are sent to St. Omer's." The *Maryland Gazette* of October 17, 1754, records the fact that "a great number of their [Catholic] youth were sent this year to foreign Popish seminaries."

For the work of educating the boys and girls at home before their entrance into these continental schools, there was, fortunately, an abundance of private tutors. Much of the eighteenth century in American educational annals centres around the Irish Catholic schoolmasters who had escaped from a land, where, "crouching 'neath the sheltering hedge or stretched on mountain fern, the teacher and his pupils met, feloniously to learn;" where the schoolmaster, because of his faith and his calling, was perforce a wanderer and an outlaw; and where the penal code made it high treason to encourage the education of Catholic children, to build a school house, or to send the children to a neighbour's house to be taught. This most frightful engine of persecution, as Edmund Burke called it, drove hundreds of the Irish schoolmasters out of Ireland, and during the eighteenth century the shipping-lists were filled with the names of emigrant teachers, many of whom were "redemptioners," seeking asylum here in America. New England soon possessed a large quota of these educated gentlemen, and Pennsylvania and Maryland were especially fortunate in this regard. Down to the outbreak of the American Revolution, these Irish schoolmasters taught in private

²⁵ DEVITT, *ut supra*, p. 142.

houses or in schools, supported by the people of the locality; and who shall say that it was not through them principally that the colonies began the work of severance across the Atlantic? Once the conflict with the mother country was seen to be inevitable, they taught their pupils to shoot and drill, or acted as clerks and adjutants to the local military companies.²⁶

We have no means of knowing with certainty whether Daniel and Eleanor Carroll, the parents of John Carroll, availed themselves of one of these schoolmasters during the future bishop's boyhood (1735-1747); but in all probability, Jackey Carroll, as we find him called in the Bohemia College Account Book, received his elementary education at home. Mrs. Carroll's school days had been spent in France, and under her excellent training the boy was prepared for his secondary schooling at Bohemia. It was this home training, says the historian Shea, that gave him the ease, dignity, and polish which marked him through life.²⁷ At the age of twelve, or earlier, he was sent by his parents from Upper Marlboro to the recently erected Academy at Bohemia Manor. "We have no traces of his boyish days," writes his biographer, Brent, "except in the traditionary accounts of a promising development of genius, and uncommon docility of manners and disposition."²⁸ His stay at Bohemia was a short one, but it is the beginning of a long exile from home—an exile which was to last down to the eve of the American Revolution.

Bohemia Manor College, or Academy, was begun during the time when Father Thomas Poulton was in charge of the Mission of St. Francis Xavier, at Bohemia Manor, probably about the year 1744. The Academy lasted only a short time, for the laws against Catholic education and Catholic educators had become even more stringent at this period.²⁹ Burns writes:

²⁶ Cf. O'BRIEN, *Early Irish Schoolmasters in New England*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iii, pp. 52-71. Another phase of the story is told by the same writer in his *Hidden Phase of American History*. New York, 1919. For the presence of these Irish schoolmasters in Maryland, cf., E. H. BROWN, *First Free School in Queen Anne's County*, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. vi, pp. 1-15.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 27.

²⁸ *Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll, First Archbishop of Baltimore with Select Portions of His Writings*, p. 17. Baltimore, 1843.

²⁹ Article *Bohemia*, in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (Philadelphia), vol. xxii (June, 1913), p. 105. Cf. also *Our First College*, in the *Catholic Standard*, of Philadelphia, for February 11, 1888—a popular, though inaccurate account of the school.

The history of the institution is interesting, but the information that has come down to us regarding it is brief and fragmentary. Its origin is wrapped in obscurity; it was begun by stealth; its existence was precarious; and it appears to have been closed several times, owing to fresh outbursts of persecution. But it did, nevertheless, a great work; it helped to keep alive some sparks of the old Maryland faith, and provided a generation of educated Catholics—small in number but strong in faith and knowledge—who were fitted to champion the cause of the Church's freedom by word and deed, in the era of universal liberty ushered in by the Revolution. It was the last educational effort of the Jesuits in colonial Maryland, but the tattered pages of its register which still survives bear some of the most illustrious names in American Catholic history.³⁰

In an old account book, now in the Georgetown Archives, we learn that John Carroll was entered in the school in 1747, when he was twelve years old. A further entry states that he came for a second time on April 22, 1748, apparently after a visit to his father and mother at Upper Marlboro. He left Bohemia on July 8, 1748, no doubt to begin preparations for the voyage across the Atlantic to St. Omer's. There is some doubt whether Charles Carroll of Carrollton, his cousin by marriage, was his classmate at Bohemia Academy, but the two boys made the journey to St. Omer's together and were collegians there for the next five years.³¹ Among the other students at Bohemia were the Neales—Benedict, Edward, Charles, and Leonard, the last destined to succeed Carroll as Archbishop of Baltimore, in 1815, James Heath, and Robert Brent. The last named accompanied John and Charles Carroll to France, and in later life married the sister of the future archbishop. The classes taught at Bohemia Academy were both elementary and college-preparatory, including, along with writing, reading, and elementary mathematics for beginners, Latin, Algebra, and perhaps Greek for the more advanced students. The board and tuition fees were forty pounds a year for the preparatory department, and thirty pounds a year for the elementary school. At one time there were as many as forty pupils in the Academy. After Bohemia came the days of

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 109-110; ROWLAND, *op. cit.*, vol i, pp. 18-20, has described Charles Carroll of Carrollton's school days there. Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. v, pp. 287-289; EASBY-SMITH, *History of Georgetown College (1789-1907)*, p. 9. New York, 1907.

³¹ Cf. *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, in the *Catholic World* (New York), vol. xxiii (1876), p. 541.

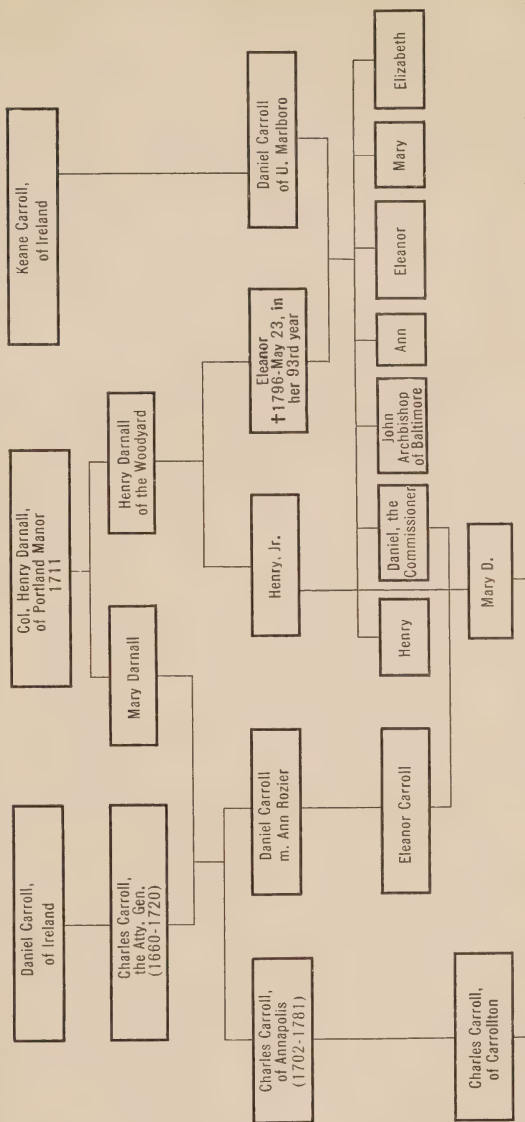
real college life at St. Omer's, in France, for the boys who intended to continue their studies.

Nothing more noble in American colonial life can be found than the determination of the Catholic parents of Maryland to preserve amongst their children the Faith for which their ancestors had fought, suffered, and died. The transmission of the doctrines and the discipline of the Church was a sacred obligation imposed upon them by their conscience; and at a time when to apostatize from the Catholic Faith was the open road to social and political advancement in the English dominions, there was a strength of purpose in the hearts of these Maryland mothers comparable in every respect to the mothers of the martyrs. To see their children go from their side for a sojourn of ten or fifteen years, and to be bereft of the happy, innocent faces of their boys and girls during that period when they are a parent's consolation, knowing that even on their return as educated gentlemen and women they would be politically outcasts, demanded a nobility of soul which is one of the brightest factors in the drab colonial history of America. Apart from the fact that Catholic parents could not compromise in the matter of education, there was an added reason why they refused to enter their children in the colonial schools of Maryland. The appalling description of the immoral conditions of these schools, as painted by the historians of the Established Church of Maryland and Virginia, needs but to be read to understand the abhorrence in which such educational masters must have been held by Catholic Maryland women. Children of cultured families like the Carrolls could not be trusted to schoolmasters unworthy of their calling, and with the laws ever on the alert against the establishment of Catholic educational institutions, one avenue of escape alone was open to the colonial Catholics, that which the Catholics of England, Ireland, and Scotland had taken for two centuries, namely, the colleges and convents in continental Europe.

John and Charles Carroll were the victims of the bigotry of their day, but both were to benefit by these years of training abroad and were to return as leaders in the struggle which eventually was to win freedom for their fellow-Catholics. To boys of their age, the perils of the long journey across the Atlantic were forgotten in the joyousness of the great adventure; but

there had been implanted in their hearts memories of the wrongs Protestant intolerance had inflicted upon their people, and the vision of tear-stained faces as they said good-bye had its place in determining their judgment when the call came to break forever with the tyranny of the motherland.

CARROLL GENEALOGY



CHAPTER II

COLLEGE DAYS AT ST. OMER'S; THE JESUIT NOVITIATE AT WATTEN

(1748-1755)

The great chain of secular and religious educational establishments founded during the era of English intolerance by the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics stretched from the English Channel to the Eternal City. The English Catholics were for the most part members of the noble and educated classes, and in spite of the ever-growing burdens of the penal code, they never wavered in their determination to keep bright and clear in the minds of their sons and daughters Catholic ideals of faith and of life. From the days when the disheartened Catholic students of England's two leading Universities sought in 1559 a refuge in Louvain, where they rented two houses, the one called "Oxford" and the other "Cambridge", down to the French Revolution over two centuries later, the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics built schools and colleges for the boys, convent schools for the girls, and seminaries for the training of clerics. The story of this Foundation-Movement is one of the most inspiring pages in the history of education.¹ The list of these exiled Catholic educational institutions is a long one. Lisbon contained five such houses; Madrid, three; Paris, eight; Douay, five; Belgium, thirteen; France, outside Paris, seven; and Rome, two.

Of all the continental English Catholic schools St. Omer's was best loved by the boys of Maryland. It was founded in 1592 by the celebrated English Jesuit, Father Robert Persons, the companion of Blessed Edmund Campion, the choicest flower of the University of Cambridge. St. Omer's received mostly lay students and next to Douay quickly became the best-known

¹ The latest addition to the literature on the English Diaspora is CARDINAL GASQUET, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome*. London, 1920. For various lists of these exiled establishments, see GUILDAY, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-49.

English college abroad. In 1616, James I issued a royal edict against the College, ordering the immediate return of all the boys therein under penalty of the confiscation of their parents' property. English spies kept the collegians under constant surveillance, and more than one boy was obliged to return home to prevent his parents from losing all they possessed. Before the Thirty Years' War the number of scholars had increased to two hundred. In 1684, the old College was burnt, but a larger College was quickly erected. In 1697-98, as we learn from a document in Propaganda Archives, the Seminary or College of St. Omer contained more students than any of the English houses abroad.² It was accepted as the best school for the noble and wealthy Catholic families of England during the penal period, and it was also the House of Studies for the formation of the Jesuits who were sent to the English and American missions. Maryland, indeed, can be looked upon to a great extent as a St. Omer's mission.³ In 1725, a second fire destroyed the College, and it was to the third and more commodious building erected within the next few years that John Carroll came in 1747-48.

Unfortunately we have no record of any kind telling us of John Carroll's voyage across the Atlantic. *The Extracts from the Carroll Papers*, containing Charles Carroll of Carrollton's letters to his father,⁴ and the *Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*⁵ give us hardly a word of those adventurous days aboard the good ship that carried them to London, which was the first stop in the journey. But there is little doubt that the richest heir in America at that time lost no chance of making the journey a memorable one for his companion. Father Hughes has given us a racy and delightful sidelight upon one of these "educational convoys."⁶ But the disappointing side to the correspondence which is extant for these years of Carroll's life is the meagre insight we are given into his daily round of duties

² *Stato del Seminario inglese di St. Omer*, Propaganda Archives, *Visite e Collegi*, t. 36 (1697-1698), fol. 735.

³ Cf. WILLAERT, *A Catholic College in the Seventeenth Century* [St. Omer's] in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. xxx (1905), pp. 745-748.

⁴ In the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Baltimore, since 1905).

⁵ In the *Monograph Series*, No. 1, of the United States Catholic Historical Society (New York), 1902.

⁶ HUGHES, *Educational Convoys to Europe in the Olden Times*, in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, vol. xxix (1903), pp. 24-39.

and pleasures. John Carroll's letters from home would no doubt have given us his mother's reflections on his musings as a student, but they were lost in the confiscation of Bruges College in 1773. On several occasions the writer has searched the archival depots of Belgium and Northern France for these papers, but without success. John's letters to his parents—his father, Daniel Carroll, died in 1750—have also disappeared. There is no trace of John's correspondence in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives or in the Georgetown collection. For reasons alluded to already the correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton with his parents has scarcely more than a passing reference to John. Carrollton's is the stilted letter-writing of the day and politics are the main staple. A visit of Charles Carroll, Sr., to Paris in 1757, gave John a chance to talk over home affairs, but there is nothing in the existing correspondence to show more than a cold interest on the part of the two families for each other. The French and Indian War (1754-1763) takes up a major space in the letters. There are constant fatherly injunctions. On August 30, 1758, we find Charles Carroll of Annapolis writing to "Dear Charley," his son—"Chuse your Company with ye greatest Circumspection, for Evil Communications corrupt good manners. Avoid any intimacy or familiarity with ye Fair Sex. But I should chuse that Women should allmost always make part of your Company, they will contribute to soften and polish yr. manners."⁷ The next year he writes: "I challenge six Letters a year as a Debt by promise; if ye will generously fling in a few more, ye will give your Mama and me great pleasure."⁸ In this same letter we are given a hint of troubles at home. "I find you begin to think that neither Maryland or any of ye British Dominions are a desirable Residence for a Roman Catholic; without a change in ye Scene, they certainly are not so." As is well known in Maryland annals, Charles Carroll of Annapolis had at one time contemplated selling all his property in Maryland to take up an estate in Louisiana, which was then in the possession of France; but his son dissuaded him, and fortunate it was for the future of the American Republic that Charles Carroll of Carrollton decided to remain. After Carrollton's return to Maryland in 1765, we lose all chance of

⁷ *Monograph Series*, p. 28, as cited in note 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

reading between the lines of his letters the incidents that made up their college life at St. Omer's. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, after finishing his studies at St. Omer's, went to the College at Rheims, while John entered the Jesuit Novitiate at Watten.

St. Omer's College was a mixed school, made up of young men preparing for life in the world and of others preparing for the secular priesthood or for the religious life in one of the Orders or Congregations. It was similar to the system in vogue in France or Belgium, and its counterpart can be seen to a certain extent to-day in the system carried out at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, where side-by-side with the collegiate course is a philosophical and theological school for training young aspirants to the priesthood.

What was probably the original copy of the Rules and Regulations of St. Omer's perished in the Sack of Louvain in August, 1914. A transcript, now in the Archives at Stonyhurst College, England, the successor to St. Omer's, enables us to form a very fair judgment on student life during the time of John Carroll's residence there.⁹ The college compared more than favourably with the best European schools of the day. "Their annual exhibitions were attended by the English nobility, with the Bishop and clergy, secular and regular, and other scientific and learned men, who expressed their astonishment at the easy and fluent manner in which the scholars were accustomed to dispute and discourse in Greek and Latin, especially in the former."¹⁰ The young men who made up the student-body were of exceptional character. "During the whole of my visit," wrote Cardinal Bentivoglio in

⁹ Cf. the description of the Seminaries of Douay and St. Omer given by Cardinal d'Ossat in a letter to Henry IV, November 26, 1601, in *Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat*, p. 757. Meyer has also described the student-life in his *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, translated by McKee (London, 1916), pp. 92, 121, 189-214. Cf. GUILDAY, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-145. Many references will be found in FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, as, for example, vol. i, p. 435; vol. iii, pp. 36, 99, 129, 161, 542, 723, 778; vol. iv, pp. 336, 552, 687; vol. v, pp. 12, 50, 70, 87, 88, 167, 707, especially pp. 168-173. ROWLAND, *op. cit.*, has given a glimpse into the student-life at St. Omer's in her chapter, *Student Life Abroad (1758-1764)*, vol. i, pp. 37-69. "The pupils of St. Omer's," she says (vol. i, p. 113), "certainly had the advantage over the graduates of Cambridge in the use of clear and forcible English." A complete history of St. Omer's is in FOLEY, *op. cit.*, vol. vii, part i, pp. 36-42. The best account of student-life at St. Omer's will be found in GERARD, *History of Stonyhurst College (1592-1894)*. Belfast, 1894.

¹⁰ FOLEY, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 435, note. One favourite exhibition with the students was the annual Passion Play.

1609, "I truly seemed to be in Paradise and among angels. I was greatly edified, and moved even to sorrow, at seeing for the first and perhaps the last time so many choice plants in the Catholic Church destined to persecution, afflictions, and martyrdoms, as now I beheld springing up and growing around me."¹¹ The *Memoirs of Edmund Mathew*, written in 1667, is the best boy's account we possess of the inner life of the college, and while numerous changes must have taken place within the century that passed before John Carroll entered St. Omer's, the persistence of many of the customs today at Stonyhurst would argue for their existence in 1748, when he entered. The discipline was spartan in those days. Correction with the ferule was the ordinary mode of punishment. The students retired at nine and rose at five. Trap-ball was the favourite game. It is hardly likely that the young American measured up to the ideal described by the anonymous biographer of Edmund Mathew: "It happened once that as he was playing at trap-ball in the Guarden, one of his companions much against his will struck the ball full vppon his ey, the pain was certainly most intense, and woold haue drawn some word of indignation, or impatience from a vnmortified and impatient man. But this sweet Lamb immediately pronounces *Jesus, Deo Gratias*, and for to show that he was not in the least offended at him, by whose hand the sad chance happened; looked vppon him presently with a most lovely and gracious ey, knowing that he stood more in need of comfort than him selfe."¹² John Carroll certainly never took for his motto the one from "Doleful Jeremie," that seems to have directed Mathew's life—*non sedi in conciliis ludentium, solus sedebam*.

The college was well known in the colonies, and the Assemblies of Virginia and Maryland both sent petitions at odd times to the Home Government, representing the danger which St. Omer's was to Protestant ascendancy in the provinces. John Gilmary Shea makes the following reflection regarding the re-

¹¹ Vatican Archives, *Archivio Borghese*, vol. i, 19088. Part of this *Relazione d'Inghilterra* is printed in the original in GUILDAY, *op. cit.*, pp. 425-429. Cf. FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, vol. vii, part ii, pp. 1152-1155; TAUNTON, *History of the Jesuits in England*, p. 401. London, 1901.

¹² *Memoir of Edmund Mathew*, in the *Catholic Record Society Publications*, vol. iii, p. 66.

sults of this European training upon the young Americans who went to St. Omer's:

The effect of this continental education on the young Catholic gentlemen was clearly seen. As a class they were far superior to their Protestant neighbours, who, educated at home, were narrow and insular in their ideas, ignorant of modern languages and of all that was going on beyond their county limits and its fox hunts and races. The Catholic, on the contrary, was conversant with several languages, with the current literature of Europe, the science of the day, with art and the great galleries where the masterpieces of painting and sculpture could be seen. He returned to England or his colonial home after forming acquaintance with persons of distinction and influence, whose correspondence retained and enlarged the knowledge he had acquired.¹³

John Carroll finished his humanities in 1753; and on September eighth of that year, he was sent to the Jesuit Novitiate at Watten, a town about seven miles from St. Omer's. The house was an old abbey and was the gift of Bishop Blaise of St. Omer in 1603, but owing to the intrigues of Edmondes, the English agent at Brussels, it was not occupied until after the death of the Archduke Albert in 1622. It became the recognized novitiate for the English Province in 1625, and remained such until 1768, when a transfer was made to Ghent. Here it was that the "generation of vipers", as the English Agents Edmondes and Turnbull generally called the English Jesuits, was prepared for the spiritual work to come. With Carroll at Watten, Shea tells us, there were as fellow-novices: Joseph Hathersty, who died at Philadelphia on May 8, 1771; William Horne, Peter Jenkins, George Knight, Joseph Emmott, and Joseph Tryer. A fellow-countryman, Robert Cole, who did not return to Maryland after the Suppression, was in the novitiate at the time, as was also Joseph Reeve, the future ecclesiastical historian.¹⁴ The novice-master was Father Henry Corbie, who was in charge at Watten from 1745 to 1756, provincial of the English Jesuits from 1756 to 1762, and again novice-master from 1764 to 1765, the year of his death.¹⁵

¹³ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 29.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 31. FOLEY'S *Collectanea* contains biographies of these fellow-novices of Carroll, with the exception of Tryer. Father Joseph Hathersty, the only one who came to America, is not mentioned in KIRLIN, *Catholicity in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1909). Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text, vol. ii, p. 695.

¹⁵ *Records S. J.*, vol. vii, part ii, p. 168.

With the exception of Henry More's celebrated essay, no complete history of the rise of the English Province of the Society of Jesus has yet been written.¹⁶ England was to feel the full power of the Counter-Reformation from the moment that the two Jesuits, Blessed Edmund Campion and Robert Persons, reached London in 1580, and the frequency of Jesuit vocations among English Catholic youths was not only remarkable, but so pronounced that practically all the "stirs" which separated the secular and the regular clergy in English Catholic life during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be traced to the fact that a large majority of young men sought entrance into the Society. "During the persecution period," says Foley, "the number of Englishmen who became Jesuits sometimes rose to nearly one-half of all those who embraced the ecclesiastical state, and they began to join from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, even before Douay College was founded (1569)."¹⁷ From 1580 down to 1619, the English Jesuits conducted in England what is known as a Mission. In 1619, the Mission was raised to a Vice-Province, and on January 21, 1623, the Vice-Province became a regular Province of the Society. The whole of England was divided, as is the Jesuit system, into districts, and these were subdivided into residences or quasi-colleges. Over each residence or college a rector or superior was placed. This arrangement was duplicated in the English Colonies of America, and lasted down to the Suppression of the Society in 1773.

¹⁶ *Historia missionis anglicanae Societatis Jesu, ab anno salutis MDLXXX ad MDCXIX, et vice-provinciae primum, tum provinciae ad ejusdem saeculi annum XXXV.* St. Omer. 1660. Cf. RIBADENEIRA, *Historia ecclesiastica del Scisma del Reyno del Inglaterra*. Madrid, 1588. POLLEN, *English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1580)*, London, 1920, while not *ex professo* a history of the Jesuits in England, will, when completed, be an introduction to his history of the English Province of the Society; TAUNTON, *History of the Jesuits in England* (London, 1901) is an important volume in this connection, but it is mainly given over to an attack on Father Robert Persons, S.J.; BRIDGEWATER, *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia, etc.* (Trier, 1588), is valuable for the same purpose.

¹⁷ *Records S.J.*, vol. vii, part ii, p. 1240. Foley gives a catalogue of these Jesuits, *ibid.*, part i, p. 568. His *Collectanea* which make up the two parts of volume seven give an alphabetical list of names with short biographical and genealogical notices of the members of the English province from the beginning down to the suppression in 1773. Cf. DODD, *Church History of England*, vol. ii, p. 403, who gives a list of sixty-nine British subjects who became Jesuits between 1556 and 1580; and OLIVER, *Collections towards illustrating the Biography of the Scottish, English and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus*. London, 1881.

There were three classes of priests in the province: those who lived privately in the families of noble or wealthy Catholics, as chaplains and tutors, as for example, Father Charles Plowden, the chaplain at Lulworth Castle, the friend and correspondent of John Carroll during the greater part of the latter's life; those who travelled about the country in disguise, running grave danger of capture, and ministered to the Catholics; and those who were able to live in their own homes and receive the Catholics who came to them.¹⁸

To train missionaries for this dangerous field of spiritual endeavour was no easy task. A very thorough course in the humanities was necessary before the young student was allowed to enter the schools of philosophy and theology. Between the collegiate studies and philosophy there intervened for those who had entered the Society of Jesus a two years' novitiate.

We should deprive ourselves of one of the keys to John Carroll's character and to the events of his later life if we were to pass lightly over the two years of his novitiate at Watten, for those two years were spent almost exclusively in the formation of the religious spirit. It is the novitiate which gives the Jesuit that indefinable quality which distinguishes him from the members of all other religious Orders. It is erroneous to judge the Society of Jesus as a foundation with the avowed purpose of opposing Protestantism. Father John Hungerford Pollen, the eminent English Jesuit historian, says that when St. Ignatius began to devote himself to the service of the Church, he had probably not heard even the names of the Protestant Reformers.¹⁹ During the earliest period of the Society's history, the Jesuits directed their steps to pagan lands; but, the object of the Society being to spread the faith, they naturally saw in the reclamation of lands lost to the Church through the Reformation another important field of endeavour. The Constitutions upon which the Society was based were composed by St. Ignatius and have never been altered in the passing of the centuries since their approval by the first congregation of the Jesuits, held in 1558.

The members of the Society of Jesus fall into four classes: *novices*, intended either for lay duties or for the priesthood. The

¹⁸ Cf. MORRIS, *Condition of Catholics under James I*, pp. 329ss. London, 1872.

¹⁹ Article *Society of Jesus*, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. xiv, p. 81.

latter novices, at the end of two years, make simple but perpetual vows and become *formed scholastics*, who in turn spend a certain number of years, usually ten to fifteen, in teaching and in studying for the priesthood. After a thorough review of the Constitutions of the Society and examinations in all the branches of philosophical, scriptural, and theological studies, the scholastics having been ordained become spiritual *formed coadjutors* with simple vows, or *professed* with solemn vows; the latter besides the three vows of religion, make a fourth vow of obedience to the Holy See in the matter of missionary work. The lay brothers after a number of years' probation become temporal formed coadjutors with simple perpetual vows.

The novices usually enter, as John Carroll did, on a fixed day; in his case, the eighth of September. The first ten days are spent in acquainting themselves with the rule of the novitiate. Then follows a brief spiritual retreat, after which, if they are acceptable, they become novices and assume the clerical habit or soutane. The day is spent in meditation, prayer, spiritual reading, study, and manual labour. There is a daily conference by the Master of Novices on the *Institute*, and all are examined on the Rule at certain periods. The thirty days' retreat, based on the *Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, is the chief test of the novice's character, and this comes sometime within the first year.

In accordance with the ideals set forth in these exercises, of disinterested conformity with God's will, and of personal love of Jesus Christ, the novice is trained diligently in a meditative study of the truths of religion, in the habit of self-knowledge, in a constant scrutiny of his motives, and of the actions inspired by them, in the correction of every form of self-deceit, illusion, plausible pretext, and in the education of the will, particularly in making choice of what seems best after careful deliberation and without self-seeking. Deeds, not words, are insisted upon as proof of genuine service, and a mechanical, emotional, or fanciful piety is not tolerated. As the novice gradually thus becomes master of his judgment and will, he grows more and more capable of offering to God the reasonable service enjoined by St. Paul, and seeks to follow the Divine Will, as manifested by Jesus Christ, by His Vicar on earth, by the bishops appointed to rule His church, by his more immediate or religious superiors, and by the civil powers rightfully exercising authority.²⁰

²⁰ POLLEN, *ut supra*.

The noviceship lasts two full years and at its conclusion simple vows are taken, the novices being then promoted to the degree of scholastics. If their college studies are not finished, they then follow a special course, usually lasting two years. When these studies have been completed, the scholastics go to another house, usually called the scholasticate, where they spend three years studying philosophy and science. After this, from three to seven years are devoted to teaching in one of the public colleges of the Society. Then begins the study of theology, which is generally of four years' duration. At the end of the third year of theology, the priesthood is conferred, and at the completion of the entire preparation of fifteen or seventeen years, another year is devoted to the second novitiate, the tertianship, in which the recently ordained Jesuit renews the spirit of piety acquired at the beginning of his career and is enabled to reorganize all his studies upon the basis of their practical utility for his own spiritual and academic life.²¹

At the age of eighteen, when he had finished the novitiate, John Carroll had reached the most impressionable period of his life, and it would be of untold value to us if we could discover the hidden springs from which he drew those remarkable qualities which gave him leadership in the days when leadership was badly needed in the American Church. We know that as a novice his life was one of entire self-sacrifice, childlike obedience, perfect poverty, and self-denial. Indoors, much of the housework and menial employment fell to his share; if he went out he was occupied in visiting hospitals and in catechising poor children in and around the city. In the old days the novice was sent, once during the novitiate, on a pilgrimage, which generally lasted a month. This was performed with one companion, always on foot, both begging their bread the whole way. No doubt this part of the training had fallen into disuse at this time. Even a very hazy knowledge of the religious life would permit one to realize the resultant effect of these two years on the young

²¹ BRUCKER, *La Compagnie de Jésus: esquisse de son Institut et de son Histoire (1521-1733)*, pp. 20-46. Paris, 1920; *The Jesuits, Their Foundation and History*, p. 34. (By B. N.), London, 1879; *Rules of the Society of Jesus*, Washington, 1839; ROSSETTI, *De Spiritu Societatis Jesu*, pp. 15388, Freiburg, 1888; MESCHLER, *La Compagnie de Jésus: ses Statuts et ses Résultats*, trans. MAZOYER, Paris, 1921. The latest contribution to the subject, and the first history of the Society, written by an American, is CAMPBELL, *The Jesuits* (2 vols., New York, 1921).

American. At this time he was at the most malleable stage in the soul's life, and it is hardly an over-estimate to state that in these two years of solid piety and of practical spirituality in the Jesuit novitiate the secret of John Carroll's religious fervour, apostolic zeal, and high-minded independence of thought is to be found.

CHAPTER III

THE LIÈGE SCHOLASTICATE; ORDINATION TO THE PRIESTHOOD; TERTIANSHIP

(1755-1773)

JOHN CARROLL completed his novitiate on September 8, 1755, and the next step was the study of philosophy at Liège, where the scholasticate was situated. The English College at Liège was begun as early as 1614, when Father John Gerard, of Gunpowder Plot fame, bought a house and some ten acres of land there for the purpose of founding the scholasticate. The province of Liège, though part of the Holy Roman Empire, was at the time a sovereign principality, with the bishop as sovereign-prince, a status which had lasted from the time of Bishop Notger (1008) and continued until the French Revolution. As a buffer-state between Germany, France, and the Low Countries, its history is written large on the pages of medieval and modern times. Its schools were famous long before the University of Paris opened its doors, and this fact, together with its neutral position in matters touching France and England, made it a haven of refuge for the persecuted English Catholics.¹ The scholasticate combined a continuance of the religious life of the novitiate with a rigid course of study in philosophy, rhetoric, literature, the natural sciences and higher mathematics.

In 1758, John Carroll finished his philosophy and was sent back to St. Omer's, to teach the classics to the collegians;² here he was still teaching when the Suppression of the Society was decreed by the *Parlement* of Paris (August 6, 1762). The edict

¹ Cf. DARIS, *Histoire du diocèse et de la principauté de Liège: des origines à 1879*. Liège, 1869-1892; KURTH, *La Cité de Liège au Moyen-Age*. Liège, 1910. The history of the English College or Scholasticate will be found in FOLEY, *Records S.J.*, vol. vii, part i, pp. 47-53; cf. *ibid.*, vol. v, p. 185.

² SHEA (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 32), says that he was next employed at Liège, as professor of philosophy and of theology in the scholasticate, but this is evidently based on the inaccurate date he gives for Carroll's ordination, namely, 1759.

was signed by Louis XV, in November, 1764, and from that date the Jesuits in France were proscribed. St. Omer's College was confiscated by the French Government and was transferred to the English secular clergy. Differences of an acrimonious nature had been only too common between these two bodies of the English Catholic priesthood, and the transfer added its quota to the "everlasting jarrs" of the period.³ Dr. Burton writes:

Letters, memorials and pamphlets appeared in profusion; voluminous collections of documents were made and preserved as *pièces justificatives*, connected accounts were written and even published. On the side of the Society Father Ralph Hoskins compiled *A Short Narrative of the Expulsion of the English Jesuits out of St. Omer's*, and Father Joseph Reeve wrote his *Plain and Succinct Narrative of Facts Concerning the Expulsion of the English Jesuits from their College at St. Omer's*; while a layman, Ralph Hodgson, taking up the case for the seculars, produced in 1768, his *Dispassionate Narrative of the Conduct of the English Clergy in Receiving from the French King and His Parliament the Administration of the College at St. Omer, late under the Direction of the English Jesuits*.⁴

Evil days had come in the history of the great Company of Jesus. Portugal began the work of banishment in 1759; France followed, and the prestige of the Society waned quickly under the blows dealt by the Jansenists and by writers like Pascal and Voltaire. Madame de Pompadour could never forget the attitude of the Jesuits to her invidious situation at the French Court, and when the University of Paris was influenced against them, the Fathers saw that the end was fast approaching. The unfortunate bankruptcy of Father La Valette was seized upon by the Government as the opportune occasion to crush the Society. The decree of August 6, 1762, was at first interpreted by the English Jesuits as inapplicable to them on national grounds; but the French commissioners had already decided to entrust the college to the English seculars. On August 9, 1762, the college boys were called together and told to prepare for the worst. "Without exception all decided to follow their masters, and their adventurous journey to Bruges began. Without luggage of any kind,

³ Cf. BURTON, *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*, vol. ii, pp. 39ss., for a complete account of this transfer.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 40. The *Narrative* by Father Reeve will be found in FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, vol. v, pp. 168-173; the original MSS. are in the Stonyhurst Archives.

and carrying nothing to excite suspicion, they left the college in detachments as if on walking parties. But these walking parties never returned. To disarm the suspicions of the authorities, the usual amount of provisions was sent in to the college, while all the time the fugitives were well on their way to the frontier. They reached Bruges safely on the 11th of the month, no one at St. Omer being yet the wiser."⁵ Dr. Burton, from whom we take the foregoing paragraph, has given a vivid description of this flight, certainly famous in the school annals of England, and of the negotiations for the restoration of the college to the English Jesuits, which continued from 1762 down to the day when, *muneris sui necessitate compulsus et pacis causa*, Clement XIV universally suppressed the Society (1773).⁶

John Carroll was then a young scholastic of twenty-seven years; and though his name is not mentioned in the different narratives of the expulsion and flight, we find him at Bruges with the boys setting up the new establishment. It was a serious thing to accomplish, to lead one hundred and forty scholars across the frontier in safety and to keep their courage to the sticking point. It was no students' lark, but a real test and hardship. Even when they came to Bruges, disappointment awaited them; for, instead of the stately buildings, the spacious rooms, and the furnished apartments at St. Omer's, they discovered in the house set aside for them nothing but naked walls and empty chambers—the dismal specimen of an old shapeless Spanish dwelling-house, as Father Reeve describes it. But forlorn as was their situation, it was no small consolation to find themselves in a country where the violence of the French Government was no longer to be apprehended. The confidence reposed in their masters by the parents at home was remarkable, for the change was made without a single scholar being withdrawn. The boys submitted to all the inconveniences of their comfortless state with singular tractability, and the generosity of the other English religious houses in Bruges soon made the new college comfortable and home-like.⁷

⁵ BURTON, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 50.

⁶ Cf. CRÉTENEAU-JOLY, *Clément XIV et les Jésuites*, Paris, 1847; DEPLACE, *La Suppression des Jésuites in Études*, vol. cxvi (July 5, 20, 1908), pp. 69-96, 228-247; SMITH, *Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Month*, vol. xcix (1903); BRUCKER, *La Compagnie de Jésus*, pp. 810-822. Paris, 1920.

⁷ FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, vol. v, p. 168.

It was about this time, says Shea, that John Carroll renounced in favour of his brother Daniel and his four sisters, Ann, Ellen, Mary, and Elizabeth, all claims to the property of his father. This, of course, was in accordance with the Jesuit Rule, which requires a vow of poverty. We now come to a hazy part of the chronology in Carroll's life. If he gave five years of his scholastic days to the work of teaching at St. Omer's and Bruges (1758-1763), it is probable that he returned to Liège in 1763 for the purpose of beginning his four years of theology. At Liège, it was easy for him to resume the old life; the months quickly changed into years, and he was soon ready for ordination. Usually ordination to the priesthood follows the end of the third year of theology; the date, therefore, of his ordination would be 1766-67. If, however, he spent four years at his theological studies, then it would be 1767-68. If instead of five years at teaching, he had spent seven, owing to the disturbed conditions at the new college at Bruges, the date of his ordination would be 1769. This is the date given by Brent in his *Biographical Sketch*.⁸ Shea, who follows B. U. Campbell, places his ordination year as 1759.⁹ Campbell writes: "He was ordained priest in 1759, being in the twenty-fourth year of his age."¹⁰ Twenty-four is certainly an exceptionally early age for ordination in the Society of Jesus. The fact that Father Carroll was professed on February 2, 1771, would argue for the year 1769, since profession is preceded by the second novitiate or tertianship, which takes a full year.

It is regrettable that only one letter of John Carroll's correspondence during this time has been found. Writing from Liège, on May 24, 1764, to his brother Daniel, the future Signer of the American Constitution, John tells him that he is taking advantage of Carrollton's return to Maryland to send a letter to the homefolks:

⁸ Page 18. This is the date given by the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s. v. *Carroll*.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 32.

¹⁰ *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, in the *United States Catholic Magazine* (Baltimore), vol. iii (1844), p. 34. I found no record of his ordination in the Episcopal Archives at Liège during my search there in 1914. Bishop Charles Van Outremont was the occupant of the See at that time (1763-1771). I was told that many of his papers disappeared in the French Revolution. They may be elsewhere in Belgian or French Archives, but a diligent inquiry failed to reveal them.

Dear Brother:

Upon notice that our Cousin, Charles Carroll, is upon the point of setting out from London, I cannot fail profitting by this opportunity, though upon a supposition that he would have sailed last month I inclosed a letter to you dated end of March which I hope he has forwarded as I directed him to do. You will easily conceive I am under a good deal of uneasiness when I tell you I have not heard from Maryland for about this twelvemonth and I should be at a loss to know whether my friends there were alive or dead if my Uncle's letter had not mentioned them. I am sorry that the return of peace which I hoped would greatly facilitate our correspondence has not hitherto afforded me that advantage. My uncle is advised by his daughters that you design [*to come*] to Europe this year and to see us in Flanders. If this prove true I shall derive abundant compensation from the pleasure of your conversation. My uncle boards with the English nuns of this town and his conduct gives as general satisfaction as his company does entertainment. It will not be necessary for me to write this time separately to our Dearest Mother as this will be delivered into her hands if you are out of the country and if not you will communicate with her.

My Uncle desires his love to you all and especially to our Dearest Mother whose blessing I ask for myself and whom I hope this may find well. Let my sisters know I always bear them in mind. Assure Messrs. Brent of my love and other friends of my best well wishes, not forgetting above all my uncle John Darnal. I know not if you next will find me at Liège as I am uncertain what destination I may have, after having finished my course of Philosophy which will be now in two months. But at all events forward your letters to Mr. Poyntz with Mr. Wright, Banker, in Henriette Street, Covent Garden, and they will reach me. I am at a loss for want of letters from you whom to apply to for money this year. Write as soon as possible and believe me to be,

Dear Brother,

Your most affectionate Brother,

JOHN CARROLL.¹¹

Some time after his reception of the four vows which made him a full-fledged member of the Society of Jesus, Carroll's superiors were asked by Lord Stourton, an English Catholic nobleman, for permission to allow the young American priest, who was then teaching at Bruges, to accompany his son on a year's tour of Europe.¹² They set out about the beginning of

¹¹ *Georgetown Archives*, cf. *Researches*, vol. xiii, pp. 26-27.

¹² Charles-Philip, sixteenth Lord Stourton, was born in 1752, and died in 1816. Cf. BURKE, *Peerage*, pp. 1060-1061; KIRK, *Biographies of Distinguished Catholics in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1909), p. 221. He was connected by marriage with the leading noble Catholic families of England, the Petres, Howards, Vavasours, and with that of the Duke of Norfolk, the premier Duke of the realm. He was a young man

the summer of 1771. Carroll's incomplete *Journal* of this tour has been published by Brent,¹³ who claims that, "remarkable for its just and wise reflections, it is replete with the classical taste and erudition of the writer and indulges in a free criticism upon the journals of former travellers over the same ground."¹⁴ With an old-fashioned atlas of the time in one's hand, it is not difficult to follow Carroll's itinerary, but the *Journal* on the whole is disappointing. It has the air of having been composed after his return, from notes taken hurriedly en route. He says in the first part of the *Journal*: "I have not now by me some memorials I had on the subject, and do not remember." John Carroll did not have the historical sense. His style is the literary style of the times and while the *Journal* pleases, his "reflections" are commonplace and result only in casting a brilliant haze over what must have been a rare opportunity for displaying his personality. A long quasi-historical account of Alsace opens the *Journal*, but at no point do we touch the personal note, so dear to travellers since travelling began. His description of the legal institutions of Alsace is followed by the statement that this may appear extraordinary to the English reader. Only twice do the words "I am told" appear. There are the usual commonplaces about the religious state of the country, the industry of the inhabitants, the fertility of the soil, the mountains, the fir trees, the agreeable table wine, and the roads. Strassburg and Colmar are the only towns mentioned in this part of the *Journal*. He is especially struck by the noble Cathedral of Strassburg, and the fine palace of the bishop. "Nothing pleased me more than the admirable

of nineteen when he and Carroll started out to tour the Continent. Shortly after his return, he married on June 15, 1775, the daughter of Baron Langdale. He had a prominent place in the days of the English Committee (1782-91), when a species of Gallicanism had control of the Catholic laity in England. The story is told by Charles Butler in his *Historical Memoirs* (vol. ii, pp. 2-26). Ward has given a detailed account of Lord Stourton's part in the Committee in his *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England (1781-1803)*, vol. i, pp. 87-96. London, 1909. A significant parallel between the attitude of the Committee in England and the American clergy during these same years (1782-1791) might be drawn. Ward tells us that the more moderate members had various objections to the system of government by vicars-apostolic. They did not wish to be ruled by those who were nominally bishops of foreign Sees, and opposed the idea of the Church in England being subject to indirect jurisdiction (cf. *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 99). The Congregation of Propaganda Fide does not seem to have been very popular in English-speaking countries at this time (*Ibid.*, p. 105).

¹³ As an appendix to his *Biographical Sketch*, pp. 223-276.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

gildings of the stucco work of the ceilings." A rector of one of the parishes tells him that forty families had come to his village in twenty-five years. "I found in general, on the best information I could obtain, that in time of peace, the inhabitants multiply very fast." After Alsace came Lorraine. "I cannot be so particular," he writes, "with regard to the province of Lorraine, though we saw a great part of it." A long eulogy of King Stanislaus is given in this section of the *Journal*. The only town described is Nancy. "From Lorraine and Alsace, we proceeded across the Rhine into the empire." Baden-Baden was first reached, and he remarks: "France has an easy entrance into Germany, whenever she wishes it." From the city of Baden the travellers went to Rastadt and then to Carlsruhe. Carroll was taken ill in Strassburg "with fever and ague, which put it out of my power to get the information of the country which I wished." The educational activities in the principality attracted his attention, and he mentions with pleasure the fact that every parish was provided with an able schoolmaster, who taught the children reading, writing, arithmetic, and surveying, "without being any charge to the parents." School attendance was obligatory on all. From Carlsruhe they journeyed to Bruschal, "where the bishop and prince of Spire keeps his court." Young Stourton did some of the sight-seeing alone at this time, for Carroll was ill and confined to bed. After Bruschal they visited Heidelberg and Mannheim. The Elector's palace in the former city contained "a noble library of about forty thousand volumes." The Jesuit professors at the University gave him a pleasant welcome, and he mentions by name Fathers Desbillons and Meyer, and the two librarians in the Elector's palace. Desbillons was a classicist and Meyer an astronomer. From Mannheim, the master and his pupil went to Cologne, passing through Worms and Trier. "I shall say nothing of these countries, except that they produce great quantities of corn and wine." They then returned to Mannheim and set out through Württemberg for Augsburg in Bavaria. "One observation, however, the traveller through this country [*Bavaria*] cannot avoid making," he says, "which is the strange contrast between the magnificence and politeness of the court of the Duke of Württemberg, which lies on the road, and the uncouthness of the other inhabitants." He found the road from Augsburg to Munich

in general disagreeable. "The harvest of 1771, was just gotten in," he writes, so the travellers had no doubt journeyed quickly. He notes the magnificence of the Jesuit church, and here, for the first time, we find him writing a page of praise for the labours of the Jesuits. From Munich the journey continued through the Tyrol and thence into Italy. "Inspruch, the capital of Tyrol, affords a few things remarkable." After Innsbruck, came Trent. "This town is famous for the holding of the last general council. . . . The church of St. Mary Major, in which it was held, has nothing particular besides a remarkably fine organ. But the remembrance of that august assembly which met in it so often, and procured so great services to Christianity, made me view it as one of the most awful sanctuaries in the world, and I could not refrain from expressing my gratitude to the Author of all good." The journey continued along the Adige to Rovereto and then to Verona. "We had now fairly emerged into Italy. It is impossible for the most saturnine constitution not to feel some of that enthusiasm, which the remembrance of great men and great actions, the remains of arts and sciences, the monuments of sway and magnificence are apt to excite in every cultivated mind." His knowledge of Italian at the time was rather meagre, and he states his determination to wait for the return journey before describing Verona, Mantua, Modena, and Bologna. He takes exception to several English descriptions of Italy, Addison's among them, and argues for the superiority of Italian achievement. Here the *Journal*, or at least that part of it which is extant, ends. Carroll and young Stourton continued their journey to Rome. Shea says:

How under more favorable circumstances the Eternal City would have impressed the American priest cannot be known; but it chilled rather than inflamed his devotion. Rome, which had treasured the remains of the founder of the Society, Saint Ignatius, of Saint Francis Borgia, Saint Aloysius, Saint Stanislaus, now looked with such disfavor on the Order to which he belonged that the American Jesuit was compelled to conceal his character; he endeavored to see Fathers of his province who were personal friends; but as they were out of Rome, he could hold no intercourse with the members of the Society. He saw sold in the streets without restraint libels on the Jesuits in which the prayers of the Mass were burlesqued, and treatises assailing the Devotion of the Sacred Heart

of Jesus. The overthrow of the Society of Jesus was the common topic, and was expected when Spain declared her will.¹⁵

The autumn of 1772 was spent at Naples, and the following winter and part of the spring of 1773 in Rome, to which city they had returned on October 22, 1772. Leaving Rome about the end of March, they began the return journey, which included Florence, Genoa, Loretto, Turin, Lyons, and Paris; and from Paris the two travellers went to Liège, where they ended their tour in July, 1773.

The Stonyhurst Archives possess four important letters, written by Father John Carroll during this European tour.¹⁶ They are written to Father Thomas Ellerker, one of his colleagues at Liège, and contain not only first-hand historical evidence for the story of the suppression of the Society, but also afford us an insight into John Carroll's character. Here and there the spirit is bitter, but it could hardly be otherwise; and as one of the few English-speaking Jesuits in Rome at the time, the complaisance of the authorities of the Church toward the Bourbon intriguers burned a remembrance into Carroll's mind which was not forgotten when he came in later years to treat with the same officials. Cardinal Marefoschi, who is mentioned in the letters, had been Secretary of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide and was an avowed enemy of the Jesuits. That the end of the Society of Jesus was near at hand is evident from the first of these letters, written at Rome, January 23, 1772:

My dear Sir,

Our catastrophe is near at hand, if we must trust to present appearances, and the talk of Rome. The intelligence, which was talked of some time ago, importing that Spain had acceded at length to the Pope's plan, is greatly confirmed by universal persuasion at present; and I am assured that some of our best friends in the Sacred College, tho' not admitted to State secrets yet now look upon the determination of our fate as entirely certain. All this notwithstanding, I am far from regarding this intelligence as infallible; to be sure, we have great reason to fear it to be true; but we have been alarmed so often during the present

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 36-37.

¹⁶ I am indebted to Father John Hungerford Pollen for some thirty letters written by Carroll, which were formerly in the Stonyhurst Archives but are now in the Archives at Farm Street, London. They are quoted in this work as *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

Pontificate with like reports, and the date of our destruction has been fixed so often without anything coming of it, that I hope this will have the same issue. Our friends however hope in nothing but the interposition of providence: and indeed by the attack made against the Sacred heart & so much encouraged here, the cause of J. C. has been so closely connected with ours, that this cannot fail of giving much confidence under the present dreadful appearances. Another very late fact may corroborate the idea you have probably formed of the spirit of the times here. On the feast of the chair of S. Peter, it is customary for a graduate of ye Sapienza to make a discourse before the pope. The young man, who made it this year, proved the truth of ye doctrine of the Rom: see from the constant succession of its pastors, and having occasion to introduce the mention of heresies springing from the poisoned minds of their founders, he said *Ante Nestorium non fuere Nestoriani, ante Lutherum, Lutherani etc., nec ante Jansenium fuere Jansenisti*. You will not believe that at Rome this was looked upon as highly blameable, and I was astonished beyond measure when I heard the poor ignorant child Gastaldi, who hears all the Card'l York's family discourse, wondering how the orator came to rank Jansenius amongst the sectaries, or Jansenism amongst the heresies. I am assured likewise that when printed copies of the discourse were afterwards carried to the Card'ls according to custom, Marefoschi refused taking his, saying he would not have it because Jansenius made in it the figure of an archheritick. You have probably heard that this Card'l has begun a visit of a College left under the administration of the Gen'l called from its founder Fucili College. He has Alfani for cooperator, & no doubt between them they will make fine work of it.

My situation at Rome affords me many opportunities of hearing the sentiments of the uninterested publick on the present situation of affairs. You may be assured that discontents against the Government are very high, particularly on account of the omnipotence of F'r Bontempi, & one Bischì & his wife. The scandalous chronicle says the Lady in particular is a great favourite of Bontempi; it is certain that the pope is entirely governed by this junto, & that not one gentleman of Rome has any interest with them. Their hatred against the favourites is great of course; perhaps it extends in some measure to the master, whom they seldom go near. I have inclosed to L'd Stourton a copy of the mass printed and circulated here by Almada; you will receive it from his Lds'h, after which I desire you to forward it to Ch. Plowden at Bruges. That Almada should get such a thing printed, is not surprising to those who know what a fool, or madman rather, he is; but that so horrid a profanation of the Church prayers & its most august sacrifice should pass unnoticed in the very center of Catholicity, is astonishing, and gives a strange idea of the toleration allowed here to every thing done or said against us, while oppressed innocence is not allowed to urge the least defence in its favour. The Dominican F'r Mamachi, of whom Zacheria often

makes honourable mention, & who had gained much reputation by former works, has been gained over to Spain, & to serve certain ambitious views, has just published a work in favour of Palafox's orthodoxy. But when I see you, I will let you into some anecdotes concerning that prelate's cause; which will convince you of its being lost beyond recovery. In the meantime, with complts. as usual,

I remain Dr. Sir

Ever yours

J. C.

In a second letter to Father Ellerker, sent from Rome on October 22, 1772, we learn the reasons for Carroll's incognito, to which reference has been made:

My dear Sir,

I suppose this will find you returned from England, tho you have not yet given me any account of it. We are just arrived at Rome, viz: the 22d of this month. My intention was to proceed the next day for Naples before any suspicion could be formed of my character here; but certain accidents will detain us here till the 27th—I keep a close incog. during this time, not going to any of our houses. I called privately to see Thorpe & Hothersall; but they were both in ye country: so that having had no manner of communication with any J't, I can send you no news concerning the affairs of ye Society. I heard it said in some company that such Sp. Jts, as being Europeans would not secularize themselves, would be obliged to settle in Majorca: the natives of America to be fixed in the Canaries. This will be a saving to Spain of a great sum of money, which is every year sent out of the country. I heard on the same occasion that the *luoghi di monte*, that is, the publick funds of this town have orders to issue no money to the *soidisans*, tho' they are concerned for great sums in them, several Colleges having great part of their foundations lying there. But this, as well as other points I have not been able to clear up for the reasons above mentioned. The immediate cause of the Suppression of the Irish College was a petition presented by the alumni to return to the Jesuit schools. Cardl Marefoschi foamed with wrath, and violently insisted on the pope's taking the step which ensued. We were much entertained on our road from Bologna hither. The fine road along side of the Adriatick from Rimini to Loretto is most delightful. But of this and my other travelling observations you shall hear more at my return. A thousand comp'ts to Plowden, who got, I hope, my letter from Milan; he shall hear from me likewise, either from Naples or at my return. I am in debt likewise to Ch. Wharton. I cannot yet tell where my lodgings will be when we come back; but a letter to Mons. Carroll Seigneur Anglois at Rome, or inclosed to the English College will find me. Remember to pray for me; I did most earnestly for you at Loretto. Comp'lts to all my

friends as usual. Ask Plowden if he remembers all the curious sepulchral inscriptions in the Church of S. Maria del Popolo. If he does not I will send him a couple, one of which is the most singular I believe anywhere extant.

Ever affcly. yours

J. CARROLL

Later, on February 3, 1773, he tells Father Ellerker of the progress made by the enemies of the Society in the affair of the Suppression:

My dear Father,

You Liegeois are sad correspondents—I dare say you are curious to hear news, and yet give no encouragement to your friends to write. Yet you have many particularities to communicate to us at this distance, which would give some relief to the gloom which overspreads us here at Rome. The report of an agreement being at length settled with Spain has subsisted now so long, that it gains very much credibility. The articles of it are said to be, 1, depriving the Jesuits of their general, 2 subjecting them to ye ordinaries, as a congregation of priests, 3 Forbidding them (I suppose those of the Ecclesiastical state) to admit any supplies into their body. 4. Avignon to be restored. 5. The town of Aquila with its dependencies to be ceded to the pope in lieu of Benevento. 6. Castro & Ronciglione to be recognized formally as belonging to the Holy See. This agreement with Spain will be published, 'tis said, about Easter. It is likewise stipulated (tho not expressed in the paper which circulates about Rome) that the Jesuits are all to be sent at least 20 miles from hence, that they may not keep up a spirit of fanaticism [*sic*] and blind zeal amongst the Cardinals and prelates.

While the Irish College was under the Jesuits, a vineyard belonging to it was sold to the Novitiate of S. Andrew. A commission is now made out for Cardl Marefoschi and four prelates to examine if the interests of the College were not sacrificed on this occasion: care has been taken to secure a proper determination by joining with the Card'l two Neapolitan Prelates, whose dependencies must necessarily influence their judgments against the Novitiate. Perhaps likewise the other two are as sure tools, as any that have been employed for some time past in this kind of work. I know not whether in my mentioned [*sic*] in my last that Marefoschi was likewise appointed Visitor (& Alfani his secretary) of a small College, called from ye prelate its Founder, Fucili College, which is destined for the education of a certain number of Clergymen, & tho not immediately governed by the Society, yet entirely under its direction and superintendency. The deceased prefect founded a chaplaincy disposeable by the Gen'l for a mass to be said every day at ye altar of S. Xavier of ye Gesu. The other day, the Cardl Visitor sent an order forbidding under pain of excommunication that mass to be continued. The order, & much more the strange sanction surprised every-

body and appears very irregular for the very first notice was sent to ye administrators. But I believe they are in the right, who imagine the Card'l by such proceeding has no other intention, than to impress the minds of the publick with an idea that the most violent methods are necessary to inforce obedience from those refractory spirits. Another very serious affair here is that the presses swarm with writings against the devotion to the Sacred Heart. What a revolution of ideas do all these proceedings produce in a mind accustomed to regard this city as the seat of Religion, and the bulwark against the incroachments of irreligion and impiety? Some of the most understanding as well as virtuous men here are persuaded entirely that the J'ts will be expelled Rome, that they will lose the Rom: College, Gesu etc. but still that no essential alteration will be made in the Institute: but for the ground of their hopes, they can only alledge their trust in providence. My affte. compliments as usual. I most sincerely congratulate you and your good fellow-professor for the ceremony yesterday.

Drst. Fr.

Ever yrs.

J. C.

Remember me kindly to F. F. Hodgson & Clifton.

The last of these letters, dated June 23, 1773, at Loretto, shows how poignant was Carroll's grief over the inevitable Suppression. Cardinal York, who is spoken of in these letters, was the last of the royal Stuarts. The second son of James Francis Edward, he was known to the Jacobites as Henry IX, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. Created cardinal at the age of twenty-two (1747), he was ordained priest the following year, and in 1761, he became Cardinal-Bishop of Frascati. He died in 1807. He is credited in Jesuit history with enmity towards the Society. The Spanish Ambassador, Floridablanca, an active agent in the Suppression, will appear later in Carroll's life, when St. Peter's Church, in New York City, is founded (1785). The Palafox cause referred to was the process introduced in 1726 for the beatification of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (d. 1659), Bishop of Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, whose episcopate was tarnished with an acrimonious attack upon the Jesuits. The cause was strongly promoted by the enemies of the Society, during the pontificates of Benedict XIV, Clement XIII, Clement XIV, and Pius VI.

My dear Fr.,

Mr. More has probably left Liège by this time, and I shall expect to hear from you the alterations his visit may have caused amongst you,

as well as your final determination concerning your visit to England. It is a long time since I have heard anything concerning my good Fr. Mercer, and sincerely wish to be informed of his entire recovery. You will be pleased to inform the Rector that Mr. Stourton continues reacquiring his strength very prosperously. In one of my late letters to Fr. Howard, I explained my sentiments very freely on Neville's appointment to Philosophy, in the supposition of its not being a temporary measure, formed upon present necessity. But if it should not be exclusive of Barrow, I dare say no one will have much objection to it. I shall be glad to hear from you on this subject. Poor Austin's misfortune excited, I doubt not, in you the same sentiments of grief and compassion, which the reflection of so many hours spent amicably together raised in my mind. He is indeed an example, which cannot but raise fears in those, who lived with him in the course of his studies. Who can either depend on himself or others, when a person of so religious behaviour, & so tender conscience is come to so deplorable a condition?

Before this comes to your hands, Fr. Hothersall will have informed you how far he has been affected by the late operations at Rome: however I will venture to repeat what we heard by yesterday's post. The Chancellor & Vicar of Card'l York, Bishop of Frascati by Supreme order, as they signified, visited a few days ago three houses of the Jesuits in order to search for printing presses, which were suspected to be there. The houses were Monte Portio of the English College, Rufanella of the Roman, & ye residence of Frascati. In the last two nothing was found, on which a suspicion could be fastened; but in the Rector's room at Monte Portio was discovered a paper with some lamp black on it, which is used to make blacking for shoes. I suppose this was construed to be materials for making ink, & in consequence was carried off & consigned to Card'l York, who, I suppose, is to present it to his holiness. Tho' the visitors said their search was for printing presses, yet they extended it to books etc, but with little success. They carried away from the R's room, besides the lamp-black, the offices of S. Pulcheria & Ven: Bede: & hearing the Curate of the parish had a copy of the Bourgfontaine project, they took that likewise away from him. The order for this visit was probably occasioned by some late printed sheets scattered about Rome, some on the Palafox cause, & others on the scandalous decision of Fr. Pisani's affair. In particular the judge Alfani has been deeply wounded by a series of anecdotes, which have been published of him. The paper is badly written, but is wholly founded on truth, & exposes the Judge to the contempt or rather to the execration of the publick.

Another thing has happened at Rome, which gives much uneasiness, & is probably the effect of some malicious enemy, for surely no friend could be so indiscreet, as to be the author of it. A letter was lately received by all, or at least by several Card'ls in which they are told, that the Spanish Ambassador is to come with peremptory demands for the aboli-

tion of the Society, & that his demands are to be accompanied with threats: that there is no vigour in the present government or resolution to make a proper answer, as temporal considerations prevail so much over ye spiritual welfare of the church, which the writer endeavours to shew by many late facts: wherefore he advises the Card'ls to consult on the means for hindering the mischief which may ensue.

The affair of the Roman Seminary still remains in suspense. It is said that the Card'ls Vicar Colonna & Marefoschi are to hold a conference on the subject. The former is resolute in his opinion that nothing be determined, without hearing the Seminary justify its conduct. Water-ton is still at Rome. Has Fr. Stuart had another touch of the gout? Does he follow Dr. Cadogan's rules of drinking water, & eating only one thing? Could he abide by this regime during the Pentecost villa? Should one Fr. Pellegrini of this province pass by Liège, I hope the Rr. will shew him great civility. He is an eminent preacher, & a very fine writer. I know him only by reputation, & he is now travelling thro Germany & the Low Countries, attended by his Br. Count Pellegrini, a Gen'l in the Queen's Service. Compl'ts.

J. CARROLL.

It seems obvious that a priest and Jesuit, even in those trying times for the Society, and the guardian of a young English Catholic nobleman of prominence, must have given a good part of the six months they spent in Rome to social calls. The Venerable English College would attract such visitors; and there was the Cardinal Duke of York living a few miles beyond the city at Frascati, and no doubt a thorough search would reveal a number of English, and even American, residents at Rome during that winter, with whom they met and conversed.¹⁷ But the only tradition which remains of his visit is the sad certainty Carroll felt that the total suppression of the Society was a foregone conclusion.

Had he but known the truth, the decree *Dominus ac Redemptor* was even then being prepared. It was signed three months after his departure from Rome, by Pope Clement XIV, on July 21, 1773, and was being promulgated by the time he had again settled down to his work in the English Jesuit College at Bruges.¹⁸

¹⁷ *The Diary of the English College at Rome* and the *Pilgrim Book* in FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, vol. vi, do not come down as far as 1772-1773. GASQUET, *History of the Venerable English College, Rome* (London, 1920), gives us no list of such visitors.

¹⁸ BRENT (*op. cit.*, pp. 32-33) says: "While engaged in this tour he likewise wrote a succinct history of England, for the use of his pupil, in the form of a dialogue, principally to guard his young mind against the general irreligious tendency of soul, and the particularly hostile tendency of other writings, upon the same subject, against the Catholic faith."

CHAPTER IV

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE ENGLISH JESUIT PROVINCE

(1773)

The decree suppressing the Society of Jesus was issued on August 16, 1773, and was made known to the English Jesuits at Bruges, on September 5, of that year. Father Carroll's long absence from the college brought him into close touch with the animosity everywhere prevalent in Europe against the Society, and the outcome weighed heavily upon his heart. For the English-born among the Jesuits at Bruges, a refuge, paradoxical as it may seem, existed in England; and towards England they turned their eyes for help and safety in the trial which had come upon them. An attempt was made to have Father Carroll remain in Bruges as Prefect of the Sodality of that city, but "convinced that the Society of Jesus would be either annihilated or so restricted as to be unable to continue its work, he saw no avenue open in Europe where all seemed seething with destructive fires. Everything convinced him that the wisest course was to return to his native land."¹ On September 11, 1773, he wrote to his brother Daniel, from Bruges, informing him of what had occurred at the college and of his intention to return home:

I this day received a few lines from you, of July 15, in which you complain with much reason of my long silence. My mind is at present too full of other things to make any apology. After spending part of the autumn of 1772 at Naples, and its environs, we returned to pass the winter at Rome, where I stayed till near the end of March, from thence came to Florence, Genoa, Tunis, Lyons, Paris, and so to Liège and Bruges. I was willing to accept of the vacant post of prefect of the sodality here, after consigning Mr. Stourton into his father's hands about two months ago, that I might enjoy some retirement, and consider well in the presence of God the disposition I found myself in of going to join my relatives in Maryland, and in case that disposition continued, to get out next spring. But now all room for deliberation seems to be over.

¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 38.

The enemies of the Society, and above all the unrelenting perseverance of the Spanish and Portuguese Ministries, with the passiveness of the court of Vienna, have at length obtained their ends: and our so long persecuted, and I must add, holy Society is no more. God's holy will be done, and may his name be blessed forever and ever! This fatal stroke was struck on the 21st of July, but was kept secret at Rome till the 16th of August, and was only made known to us on the 5th of September. I am not, and perhaps never shall be, recovered from the shock of this dreadful intelligence. The greatest blessing which in my estimation I could receive from God, would be immediate death; but if he deny me this, may his holy and adorable designs on me be wholly fulfilled. Is it possible that Divine Providence should permit to such an end, a body wholly devoted, and I will still aver, with the most disinterested charity, in procuring every comfort and advantage to their neighbours, whether by preaching, teaching, catechizing, missions, visiting hospitals, prisons, and every other function of spiritual and corporal mercy? Such I have beheld it in every part of my travels, the first of all ecclesiastical bodies in the esteem and confidence of the faithful, and certainly the most labourious. What will become of our flourishing congregations with you, and those cultivated by the German fathers [*in Pennsylvania*]? These reflections crowd so fast upon me that I almost lose my senses. But I will endeavour to suppress them for a few moments. You see that I am now my own master, and left to my own direction. In returning to Maryland I shall have the comfort of not only being with you, but of being farther out of the reach of scandal and defamation, and removed from the scenes of distress of many of my dearest friends, whom God knows, I shall not be able to relieve. I shall therefore most certainly sail for Maryland early next spring, if I possibly can.²

It has often been remarked that the hostility in France towards the Society of Jesus was of a different character to that of Portugal and Spain, where the design for the total extinction of the Jesuits was born. In France, it was a group of influential personages both within and outside court circles that had decided upon the Suppression. This firm and impious alliance, as Theiner calls it in his *History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV*, had not forgotten the Jesuit opposition to Jansenism in the reign of Louis XIV. "The Jansenists and the magistrates were burning to retaliate on the Society in every way in their power, and, if they did not first think of working for its entire destruction, it was only because they decided that to be a hopeless enterprise."³ The successful campaign against the Society in

² BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27.

³ SMITH, *The Suppression of the Society of Jesus*, in the *Month*, vol. xcix, p. 268.

Portugal emboldened its enemies in France, where at the time the real ruler was a woman, the mistress of Louis XV, Madame de Pompadour, whose "reign" lasted from 1746 to 1764. The King had a Jesuit confessor, and although the royal penitent never approached the sacraments, the confessor was kept near in case of serious illness. Naturally, everyone knew that the confessor's first condition for absolution would be to send the mistress away. How far the personal antagonism thus created contributed to the fall of the Society in France will never be fully known, but it is clear from one of Father Carroll's letters that the death of the Pompadour (April 15, 1764) was regarded as a possible armistice:

The death of the famous Marchioness de Pompadour, will, it is generally believed by our French brethren, occasion some great change in their circumstances; so far is certain, that they are delivered by this event from their greatest enemy, I mean the most powerful one, and who, by her interest and influence over the king of France, could more easily than anyone else prevail upon him to view tamely the proceedings against the Jesuits, which she underhandedly encouraged by all the arts which cunning and power could put into her hands. The Jesuits ground their hopes upon the declared attachment of all the royal family to their interests, upon the intimate connection and intelligence subsisting between the king and his queen and children, since the great lady's death, upon the zealous intercessions of the bishops, all the prime nobility, and every order of magistrates in the different cities and towns where the Jesuits were heretofore established. If we add to this the general discontent that has ensued upon the appointment and conduct both in morals and literary pursuits of the newly installed masters for the education of youth, we cannot absolutely pronounce these hopes to have an object merely chimerical: but I will own to you that the irresolute behaviour which has appeared so much in the French government, on many late occasions, makes me apprehend that vigour will be wanting to bring about so desirable a revolution, as it is likely to meet with great opposition from several parliaments, whose principles are very incompatible with those the Jesuits would endeavour to maintain and propagate in case of their restoration. Thus you see the prospect before us gives but little cause to be content with this world, while past sufferings have served to strengthen, if possible, our belief in another better and more equitable than this. And indeed to a man lying under the public imputation of crimes, for which his own conscience clears him, and who is persuaded of the existence of a Deity, I know no proof of an immortality more sensible and comfortable, than this reflection, that an all powerful and infinitely just Being cannot consistently with these attributes, refuse him in another

life that justice, which passion and iniquity have denied him in this. To pretend, as some ancient and modern unbelievers have done, that virtue and a good conscience is its own reward, argues very little knowledge of the human heart, for many a hardy villain, from a natural alacrity and cheerfulness of mind, and possessed of worldly enjoyments, seldom finds, at least for any long time, his remorse to prey much upon him, or disturb his pleasures, whilst several good men on the contrary, from an unhappy temper or sickly constitution, but rarely feel any even intellectual enjoyments. I cannot otherwise account for my having fallen into this train of philosophising which I hope you will excuse, than because I have habituated myself to it, as the best relief amidst so many affecting and melancholy scenes.⁴

But the Bourbon "Family Compact"⁵ wreaked its vengeance to the end. The Suppression in Portugal (1758) was followed by that in Spain (1767). After the death of Pope Clement XIII (February 2, 1769), it was openly asserted by the enemies of the Jesuits that Ganganeli was elected as Clement XIV on the express stipulation that he would make the Suppression universal.

When we compare together the three first suppressions of the Society by civil authority during the pontificate of Clement XIII, we cannot but observe that each had its own peculiar physiognomy. In France there was at all events a trial in a court of justice to investigate the charges brought against the Jesuits—though it was an investigation carried on in defiance of, rather than in compliance with, the rules of equity. In Portugal there was no trial, at least no trial of which the proceedings were published, but at all events, there was a public statement of the offenses charged. In Spain, on the other hand, the Jesuits were not even permitted to know what was the crime for their supposed commission of which they were visited with a punishment more drastic than that which befel them in either France or Portugal. They were merely told that the King reserved the secret within his royal breast.⁶

In one of Father Carroll's letters to his brother Daniel, about this time, we find a reaction to the popular rumours about the attitude of Cardinal Ganganeli (Pope Clement XIV) :

Before you receive this letter you will have heard of the Pope's [*Clement XIII*] death: in human appearance, nothing could have hap-

⁴ BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

⁵ The "Family Compact" was a secret agreement said to have been made on August 15, 1761, between the rulers of France and Spain who afterwards admitted into their designs the sovereigns of Naples and Parma. By the Compact these Bourbon princes formed an offensive and defensive alliance for their mutual protection.

⁶ SMITH, as in note 3, vol. xcix, p. 626.

pened more unfortunate to us, especially in the critical moment when an answer was to have been given to the memorials of three united courts of the family compact, France, Spain, and Naples, requiring the immediate dissolution of the society. His Holiness had himself minuted the heads of the answer he intended to make in a few days and had delivered it to his ministers to be put into the due form. The substance of it was, that no worldly consideration, no loss of temporalities, should ever force him into any measure which he could not justify to his own conscience: that the more he saw and knew of the Jesuits, the more he was convinced of their eminent services to religion, and of the falsehood of the imputations charged upon them: that he could not therefore acquiesce in the proposal made him by the allied courts. The answer entered into a much larger detail than I here mention, and would have been a glorious testimony of his Holiness's esteem and affection for the society. How matters will go on in the conclave, and after the election of the new Pope, Heaven knows. Humanly speaking, we have everything to dread from the combination formed against us; yet when I reflect on the atrocious falsehoods, injustices, cruelties, and mean artifices employed against us, I greatly confide that God's providence will not permit our dissolution to be effected by such wicked means. I know his kingdom is not of this world, and that they who seek to do his divine will, and promote his glory, are not to expect a visible interposition in their favour on every occasion, or to receive in this life an apparent testimony of innocence and divine approbation.⁷

The Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* (August 16, 1773) is one of the unfairest pontifical acts in the history of the papacy. It has two main divisions. The first states the thesis that it is the pope's office to secure unity of mind in the bonds of peace within the Church and that the Supreme Head of the Church must be ready to destroy institutions that are very dear to him, no matter what loss such destruction may entail, in order to preserve the peace of Christendom. Then follows a series of charges made against the Society of Jesus from its foundation: its domestic dissensions and jealousies; its quarrels with other religious Orders; the conflicts it had engendered with the secular clergy and with the universities; and especially its opposition to certain kings and princes. After long and prayerful consideration, Clement XIV had finally decided to yield to the wishes of "our beloved sons in Jesus Christ, the Kings of France, Spain, Portugal, and the Two Sicilies"; he was compelled by his office, which imposed on him the obligation to maintain and consolidate peace

⁷ BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29.

in Europe, to suppress and abolish the Society. The second part of the document contains the actual Decree of Suppression, with the prescriptions regulating the abolition of the Society. "All the scholastics were to leave its houses within the space of a year, and being freed from the simple vows they had taken, might on leaving embrace any mode of life to which they felt called; all in priest's orders must enter another religious Order or place themselves as secular priests under the jurisdiction of the Bishop where they might reside, their maintenance being secured to them from the revenues of the house to which they were attached at the time of the Suppression."⁸

On August 18, 1773, Cardinal Corsini, in the name of the special commission appointed to carry out the edict, despatched an encyclical letter to all the bishops of the world, authorizing them to publish the *Dominus ac Redemptor* in their dioceses and to carry out its provisions. A copy of the Brief was to be sent to each Jesuit house and an Act of Submission was to be inclosed to which every member of the Society was required to append his signature.

The death of Clement XIV on September 23, 1774, brought to the Chair of Peter a remarkable pope in Pius VI (1775-1799) who had made no secret of his disapproval of the treatment accorded to the Jesuits in certain countries. To the everlasting credit of the English hierarchy it can be said that the Suppression in England was carried out in a humane manner and without any of those refinements of cruelty which, for example, have tarnished the reputation of Spanish ecclesiastics for equity and courtesy.

There were at his time in the English Province 274 Jesuits, of whom 139 were actually in England.⁹ This would leave 135 to be accounted for in the various colleges on the Continent and in the Maryland-Pennsylvania mission. The first place where the blow fell was upon the English College, Rome, which had been under the direction of the English Jesuits, from the time of Robert Persons.¹⁰ And from Rome the car of destruction moved until it had crushed all the institutions under the Society's control.

⁸ SMITH, *ut supra*, vol. ci, pp. 501-502.

⁹ FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, vol. xii, p. 214. Cf. BURTON, *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*, vol. ii, p. 162, note.

¹⁰ GASQUET, *History of the Venerable English College, Rome*, p. 177. London, 1920.

Propaganda, it is true, had sent out instructions to all the bishops within its jurisdiction ordering that a copy of the Brief of Suppression should be sent to each Jesuit for his formal acceptance; but such a measure was highly imprudent in a land like England where the publication of papal decrees was unlawful. So far as England was concerned it was comparatively easy to communicate verbally the news to the Jesuits, and this Bishop Challoner proceeded to do, at the same time requiring each Jesuit to sign an acknowledgment of the non-existence of the Society. Since this solution could not apply to the ex-Jesuits in America, Bishop Challoner reached them by letter, addressed to the Superior, Father Lewis, in October, 1773. "The wise and prudent counsels of the Vicars-apostolic," writes Burton, "carried out with paternal sympathy for those who thus unexpectedly became their immediate subjects, made it easier for the English Jesuits to maintain their dignified and edifying attitude of absolute submission."¹¹

On the evening of October 14, 1773, the Austrian commissioners forced their way into the college at Bruges and arrested Fathers Angier, Plowden, and Carroll. Father Charles Plowden was then minister of the larger college, and his *Account of the Destruction of the English Colleges at Bruges in 1773*, written in 1807, gives us the details of this second calamity in which Carroll figures.¹² Unfortunately for his biographers, as has already been noted, all Carroll's private papers and his correspondence with his mother and kindred at home were confiscated at this time, and have never since been discovered. With Father Carroll at Bruges was another American Jesuit, Father Nicholas Sewall, who never returned to Maryland, and who became provincial of the restored Society in England, in 1821.¹³

Exile again faced the masters and pupils. In spite of the intervention of Lord Arundell of Wardour, who was a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, there was no hope of redress, and a second migration took place, this time to the English College at Liège, where the secularized English Jesuits had set up a college. The Liège Academy lasted down to 1794, when a third migration

¹¹ BURTON, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 168.

¹² The original MSS. are in the Stonyhurst Archives, and excerpts are printed in FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, vol. v, pp. 173-183. SHEA (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 35, 43), erroneously credits this account to Carroll.

¹³ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text, vol. ii, p. 704.

occurred to the present site of the college, Stonyhurst in Lancashire, England.¹⁴ Father Charles Plowden went on to Liège, but Father Carroll accompanied the other masters and the boys who had to return home, to England, where he acted as secretary for the committee which drew up a series of remonstrances to the Austrian Government over the loss of the property at Bruges.¹⁵

The Suppression was one of the last acts in a drama that had lasted since 1580—the conflict between the religious and secular clergy in England. Catholic England “beyond the seas,” as the chain of continental colleges was known, was as important a battleground as London; and with the Society condemned and suppressed by the Church, it required consummate tact on the part of the English Catholic leaders to save the Church from a recrudescence of the old bitterness.¹⁶ “The larger question,” writes Burton, “as to the treatment of the ex-Jesuits and the application of their property was one of vital importance to English Catholics, and called for the wisest handling. Fortunately, at this difficult crisis, every one concerned behaved with the greatest restraint and self-control. The Fathers of the Society submitted to the Pope’s decree with an obedience that is ever praiseworthy, especially when it is remembered what a sacrifice on their part was involved. Unable to foresee the restoration

¹⁴ Father John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., regrets “that we have not a special study of the three migrations, first from St. Omer to Bruges, then on to Liège, then to Stonyhurst. Taken together these journeys (1762-1794), form a unique page in the annals of school history, honorable in the highest possible degree both to staff and scholars.” Cf. *Month*, May, 1910. The list of American boys educated at the Liège Academy is a goodly one (Cf. *Publications of the Catholic Record Society*, vol. xiii, pp. 202-214—*Boys at Liège Academy 1773-1791*). Some years ago I went through the Archives of the Jesuit house of studies at Liège, but found nothing for my purpose, except manuscripts of philosophical and theological notes. The Library of the University of Liège also failed to reveal any American data.

¹⁵ It would be interesting to know when the two colleges at Bruges were put in charge of the English Dominicans of Bornheim, whether any of the American Dominicans, such as Father Fenwick, were sent there. Cf. GUILDAY, *op. cit.*, p. 411; ROBINSON, *Notice sur les Collèges des Pères Jésuites Anglais à Bruges*. Bruges, 1884, pp. 24-28; OLIVER, *Collections, etc.*, London, 1857, p. 484; VAN DONINCK, *Het voormalig Engelsch Klooster te Bornheim* (Louvain, 1904); and O’DANIEL, *Life of Bishop Fenwick* (Washington, 1921), do not give us this information.

¹⁶ The earlier period of the conflict has been told with admirable objectiveness by Father John Pollen in his *Institution of the Archpriest Blackwell* (London, 1916), and the Ward-Burton series carry the story down to the restoration of the English Hierarchy in 1850; the final chapters will be found in SNEAD-COX, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan* (London, 1912, 2 vols.).

of the Society forty years later, they were face to face with the complete ruin of the institution to which they had devoted their lives."¹⁷

Bishop Challoner's announcement to the American Jesuits was as follows:

London, October 6, 1773.

To Messrs. the Missioners in Maryland and Pennsylvania:

To obey the orders I have received from above, I notify to you by this the Breve of the total dissolution of the Society of Jesus; and send withal a form of declaration of your obedience and submission, to which you are to subscribe, as your brethren have done here; and send me back the formula with the subscriptions of you all, as I am to send them up to Rome.

Ever yours,

RICHARD DEBORN, *V. Ap.*

The form which they were required to subscribe to was as follows:

Infrascripti Congregationis Clericorum regularium Societatis Jesu dudum nuncupati presbyteri in Districtu Londienensi Marylandiæ et Pennsylvaniae missionarii, facta nobis declaratione et publicatione Brevis Apostolici a Ssmo. Dno. nostro Clem. PP. XIV editi die 21 Julii 1773 quo prædictam Congregationem et Societatem penitus supprimit et extinguit toto orbi terrarum; jubetque illius instituti Presbyteros tanquam Sacerdotes sæculares, Episcoporum regimini et auctoritate omnino subjectos esse, nos supradicti brevi plene et sincere obtemperantes et omnimodo dictæ Societatis suppressioni humiliter acquiescentes supramemorati Episcopi Vicarii apostolici, tanquam presbyteri sæculares jurisdictioni et regimini nos omnino subjicimus.¹⁸

Cardinal Castelli, Prefect of Propaganda, in a letter to Bishop Challoner, August 25, 1773, conceded the privilege to the ex-Jesuits of remaining in the places where they were, if they submitted fully and sincerely. The Maryland-Pennsylvania mission was unique at that time, since all the missionaries were members of the suppressed Society; they were therefore necessary to the continuance of Catholic life in the American colonies. It is interesting, therefore, to watch the good bishop's quiet ignoring of the order he had received to the effect that provisional posses-

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 164-165.

¹⁸ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 77; HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 608-609.

sion should at once be taken of all the property, goods, and appurtenances belonging to the Society. "What am I going to do with those who are in America," he writes to his Roman agent, Monsignor Stonor, "living as they are in another world, without bishop or even a priest who is not a Jesuit?"¹⁹ In the end, fortunately, nothing was done, but it was a long time before the American ex-Jesuits recovered from their fear of confiscation on the part of the Sacred Congregation. The shadow of Propaganda's hand was seen for many a year across the Atlantic, and this especially must be remembered when the question of a bishopric for the United States arises. Episcopal authority could mean only one thing to the beaten remnants of the Jesuit Society—confiscation of all they possessed, and with confiscation the fall of the missions and the end of their own maintenance.

The Act of Submission sent to America was signed by twenty-one members of the suppressed Society²⁰ and was then returned to Dr. Challoner by Father John Lewis, the superior of the Society in the colonies. Two years later Propaganda acknowledged to Challoner the receipt of this document, in a letter of thanks for the "punctuality and attention" shown by the London Vicar-Apostolic in the matter. There were at Liège at the time of the Suppression the following American Jesuits: Father Joseph Semmes, who died at Stonyhurst in 1809; Father John Boorman, who came to Maryland in March, 1774; Father Charles Sewall, who arrived in Maryland in May, 1774; Father Augustine Jenkins, who accompanied Father Sewall; Father Charles Wharton, who went to England in 1775, and later apostatized; Father Leonard Neale, who went to the missions in Demarara. There were also two scholastics at Liège: Charles Boorman, who came to Maryland in 1773 and became a professor at Georgetown College, and who later married, and Ignatius Baker Brooke, who was ordained priest by Bishop Carroll, in 1809.²¹

The superiors of the American part of the old English prov-

¹⁹ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 604.

²⁰ The fac-simile of the Act can be seen in HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Doc., vol. i, part ii, opposite p. 607. Another list in the Westminster Archives contains sixteen names. The original document, containing twenty-one names, was sent by Challoner to Propaganda (*Propaganda Archives*, 1774, *Missioni—Misc.*, vol. v, f. 113).

²¹ Cf. *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 231-233.

ince during the hundred and fifty years of the Jesuit Mission, as given by Foley (*Collectanea*, part I, 73ss), were as follows:

Father White, Andrew	1633
Brooke or Brock, John	1639
White, Andrew	1642
Fisher, Philip	1643
Hartwell, Bernard	1644
Fisher, Philip	1648
Fitzherbert, Francis	1659
Pelham (Warren) Henry	1664
Forster, Michael	1676
Pennington, Francis	1684
Harvey, Thomas	1686
Hunter, William	1696
Brooke, Robert	1709
Mansell, Thomas	1714
Thorold, George	1725
Atwood, Peter	1734
Molyneux, Richard	1735
Greaton, Joseph	1740
Poulton, Thomas	1743
Molyneux, Richard	1749
Digges, Thomas	1750
Digges, Thomas	1753
Hunter, George	1756
Lewis, John	1768-1773

Living in London, the contents of Challoner's letter to the American Fathers were no doubt known to Father John Carroll, and it must have had some effect upon his decision to return home. His situation was precarious. He had renounced all claim to his father's estate in 1762, and there was no surety that he would be given an income from the property of the suppressed Society in America. About this time he accepted an invitation from Lord Arundell to make his home at Wardour Castle, acting as chaplain to the family and to the Catholics of the neighbourhood. Henry, the eighth Lord of Arundell, entered St. Omer's College in 1753, and was probably Carroll's classmate. He died in 1808.²² "This elegant leisure was not able to detain the good priest. He felt that his real mission was in his own land;

²² Cf. OLIVER, *Collections*, etc., pp. 87-88; FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, vol. v, pp. 182-183; BURKE, *Peerage*, pp. 42-43.

though how Providence was to employ him there he could not foresee. His affectionate heart prompted him to return to his aged mother, and he felt that he must act at once."²³ Several courses were open to him: he might have remained, as did many of the professors of the suppressed colleges in England, as a chaplain to a Catholic family or to a district, or he might have gone back to the Academy of Liège as one of the *English gentlemen*, and no doubt influence was brought to bear on him to do so. But once his decision to return to America was made, he did not waver.

Father John Carroll was in his fortieth year when he set sail from England in the late spring of 1774. He had left home a boy of thirteen and was returning "a care-worn man of forty, destitute of fortune and disappointed in the hopes he had formed for the triumphs of religion, to be achieved by the Society to which he had pledged his faith forever. Its banner had been struck down, but the glorious motto, *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, was inscribed upon his heart; and while he bowed in submission to the decree of Heaven, he sought to make himself useful as a priest in the station to which God had called him."²⁴

There is no doubt that the home ties were felt intensely by all the Americans abroad at this time, but another factor must not be forgotten in judging his return to Maryland. The letters which are extant between the parents at home and the American boys abroad are filled with the political news of the day, and John Carroll's correspondence from home, which is now lost to us through the confiscation at Bruges and by other unforeseen circumstances, must have contained its share of warnings that a state of rebellion towards England in the American colonies was festering ever since the close of the French and Indian War. A careful perusal of the correspondence between Charles Carroll and his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, reveals a constant and uniform indoctrination of American principles. "You know ye old proverb," wrote Charles Carroll of Carrollton after his return to Maryland, "—nothing so dangerous as to provoke a person able to revenge ye provocation. If England forces her

²³ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 43-44.

²⁴ B. U. CAMPBELL, in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. iii (1844), p. 36.

colonies to rebellion . . ."²⁵ Pamphlets—it was the era of political pamphleteers—were sent from both sides of the Atlantic.

The English colonies were vocal with rebellion when John Carroll arrived at Richland, Va., the homestead of his brother-in-law, William Brent.²⁶ Lord North's coercive policy had resulted in the so-called Intolerable Acts. The port of Boston was closed on June 1, 1774, and after July 1, 1774, the people of Massachusetts were deprived of their chartered rights. The Administration of Justice Act, and the Quartering Act of June 2, 1774, unified the spirit of the colonies, and in September of that year the Revolution was born at the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia.

The vessel on which John Carroll came, accompanied by Father Anthony Carroll,²⁷ a native of Ireland, who returned to England in 1775, was one of the last to leave for America before the Revolution. At Richland, Father Carroll met his two sisters, Ellen and Ann. His long absence of about twenty-seven years had brought many changes in the family circle. His elder brother, Daniel of Rock Creek, had married Eleanor Carroll, daughter of Daniel Carroll and Ann Rozier, and cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Ann, his elder sister, had married Robert Brent, of Woodstock, Aquia, Va., who had been John's classmate at Bohemia and at St. Omer's; Eleanor, the next youngest to John, had married William Brent of Richland, Va. Father John Carroll spent two days at Richland, surrounded by the families of his sisters, and then proceeded to Rock Creek, where his mother had settled. "In a heart like that of John Carroll," says Brent, "such a scene was peculiarly calculated to awaken the kindest emotions. In no period of his existence abroad did distance ever sever him in affection, nor avocation or society withdraw him, from a correspondence with his family in this country."²⁸

The political situation of the English colonies had been grow-

²⁵ *Monograph Series*, United States Catholic Historical Society, no. i, p. 149; cf. *Researches*, vol. iv, p. 190; vol. v, p. 99; vol. xix, p. 39.

²⁶ Cf. EDDIS, *Letters from America, etc.*, pp. 156-188. London, 1792. From Annapolis, on May 25, 1774, Eddis writes: "All America is in a flame! I hear strange language every day" (*Ibid.*, p. 158).

²⁷ FOLEY, *Records S. J.*, vol. vii, part i, pp. 117-118.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 36. Cf. *Researches*, vol. xii, p. 53; vol. xiii, p. 73.

ing intensely during the decade preceding Father Carroll's return. The public prints of London had kept up a running commentary on the opposition to English rule in the colonies, and the debates in Parliament brought the revolutionary spirit which was alive in America home to the heart of the Empire. During his year of residence in England, John Carroll had excellent opportunities to gauge public opinion, and he returned fully equipped to take part in the movement. There was no question of his patriotism, for he was the first priest of the rebellious colonies to refuse obedience to the last of the superiors, Father John Lewis, who acted all through the war as Vicar-General of the London District. This was not in a spirit of insubordination, but with political cleavage from England, John Carroll believed ecclesiastical separation went also. He declined to conform to the English jurisdiction of Father Lewis and chose to reside independently with his mother at Rock Creek. As a result Father Lewis informed him that he would not be entitled to any share in the revenues from the ex-Jesuit estates. "Because I live with my mother, for whose sake alone I sacrificed the very best place in England, and told Mr. Lewis I did not choose to be subject to be moved from place to place, now that we had no longer the vow of obedience to entitle us to the merit of it, he does not choose to bear any part of my expense. I do not mention this by way of complaint, as I am perfectly easy at present."²⁹

He returned an amiable, cultured, and polished man, endowed with all the acquirements of the learning of the day. He left England at a time when unrest sat high in political and ecclesiastical circles, and he was not to find the land of his birth in a peaceful condition. A long and successful career in the American vineyard lay before him, and events were so to shape themselves within the next decade that upon him and upon his judgment would rest the very difficult problem of organizing the distracted Church in the United States into a compact, learned and thoroughly patriotic body of clergy and laity. With the Suppression of the Society, the old order of things had changed, and how well he succeeded is now known to all who are familiar with the beginnings of the American Republic.

²⁹ Carroll to Plowden, in *Woodstock Letters*, vol. xxiv, p. 128.

CHAPTER V

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

(1774)

The year of John Carroll's return (1774) was an important one in the history of the Church in this country. It marked the end of the canonical system of jurisdiction by which the clergy and laity were governed in the English colonies from the founding of Maryland in 1634. It marked also the year of one of the most interesting stages in the history of English religious intolerance, namely, the passage by Parliament of the famous Quebec Act, both of which events were far-reaching in their effect upon the Catholic body in the colonies.

It would be very helpful to us in attempting to describe the political, social, and religious condition of the Church in the colonies at this time, if we had the exact number of priests, people, churches, and chapels, together with their location in the thirteen provinces, upon which to base such a description. The inhabitants of the thirteen colonies were unevenly distributed. A rough estimate places the entire population at three million, and an equally rough estimate claims a Catholic population of about twenty-two thousand. Harper's *Atlas of American History*¹ gives the total population in 1770 as 2,205,000. The greatest number, 450,000, is accredited to Virginia (and Kentucky), with 309,000 in Massachusetts, 250,000 in Pennsylvania, 200,000 in Maryland and 20,000 in Delaware. The largest cities were Philadelphia (28,000), New York (21,000), Boston (15,520) Charleston (10,000) and Baltimore (5000).

The geographical location of the Catholics in the English colonies can be ascertained, though not with absolute accuracy, from contemporary sources which are still extant. In Maryland, the

¹ New York, 1920.

Catholics were mostly of English and Irish origin; in Pennsylvania there were Irish, Scottish, French and German Catholics, with the Germans predominating. New York and New Jersey had but few members of the Faith at that time, and in the other colonies the Catholics existed as individuals lost in the general body of the population.² All along the coast were the scattered remnants of the exiled Acadians.³ West of the Proclamation Line, were French Catholic settlements at Detroit, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, Peoria, Cahokia, Chartres, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, Natchez, New Orleans and Mobile.⁴ There was practically no correspondence between these Catholics and those along the Atlantic coast. Even in 1785, John Carroll was obliged to report to Rome that he was unable to learn anything of these members of the Church living in the Mississippi Valley. Florida had been divided in 1763 into two provinces, East and West Florida; and during the twenty years of British rule in that colony (1763-1783), the Spanish Catholics who had remained, and the Minorcans who had accompanied Dr. Turnbull to New Smyrna, were experiencing the effects of Protestant intolerance.⁵

For the state of the Church in the thirteen original colonies, namely, in that part of the English domain in America, east of the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys and north of East and West Florida, we have scanty records, but being few they are all the more precious. The first of these, though not first in point of

² *The Catholic Church in the United States (1776-1876)*, in the *Catholic World*, vol. xxiii (1876), pp. 488-499.

³ RICHARD, *Acadia: Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History*, New York, 1885. Cf. *Acadia: Reconstitution d'un chapitre perdu de l'histoire de l'Amérique*; par Henri D'Arles, vol. iii, *Appendice xi (La Déportation des Acadiens)*, pp. 503ss. Quebec, 1921.

⁴ FINLEY, *The French in the Heart of America*, pp. 216ss. New York, 1910. A good map of French settlements in old Louisiana will be found in THWAITES, *France in America*, p. 36. New York, 1905.

⁵ DOGGETT, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida*, pp. 96-108. Jacksonville, 1919. SHEA (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 90-92), says: "In direct violation of the treaty the Catholic inhabitants were at once subjected to vexations; the Bishop's house was seized for the use of the Church of England; the Franciscan convent, inasmuch as it had the best well of water in the place, was seized for the use of the British troops, and extensive barracks were erected on the old foundations, with lumber imported from New York. A general system of destruction was inaugurated. Of the suburbs of St. Augustine no trace was soon left, except the Church in the Indian town to the north of the city, which the English converted into a hospital. The steeple of the Franciscan Church stood like a monument of the sacrilegious work, and the parish Church was soon little more than a heap of ruins."

time, is the account of the state of Catholicism, said to have been written by Bishop Carroll in 1790, and published in the *Metropolitan* for 1830, by the Rev. C. C. Pise, who translated it from a French version.⁶ Shea gives us the following excerpts from Bishop Carroll's manuscript:

Attempts were frequently made to introduce the whole code of penal English laws, and it seemed to depend more on the temper of the courts of justice than on avowed and acknowledged principles that these laws were not generally executed as they were sometimes partially. Under these discouraging circumstances Catholic families of note left their church and carried an accession of weight and influence into the Protestant cause. The seat of government was removed from St. Mary's where the Catholics were powerful, to Annapolis, where lay the strength of the opposite party. The Catholics, excluded from all lucrative employments, harassed and discouraged, became, in general, poor and dejected.

But in spite of their discouragements their numbers increased with the increase of population. They either had clergymen residing in their neighborhoods or were occasionally visited by them; but these congregations were dispersed at such distances, and the clergymen were so few that many Catholic families could not always hear Mass, or receive any instruction so often as once in a month. Domestic instruction supplied, in some degree, this defect; but very imperfectly. Amongst the poorer sort, many could not read, or if they could, were destitute of books, which, if to be had at all, must come from England; and in England the laws were excessively rigid against printing or vending Catholic books. Under all these difficulties, it is surprising that there remained in Maryland, even so much as there was, of true religion. In general, Catholics were regular and inoffensive in their conduct; such, I mean, as were natives of the country; but when many began to be imported, as servants, from Ireland, great licentiousness prevailed amongst them in the towns and neighborhoods where they were stationed, and spread a scandal injurious to true faith. Contiguous to the houses where the priests resided on the lands, which had been secured for the clergy, small chapels were built; but scarcely anywhere else; when divine service was performed at a distance from their residence, private and inconvenient houses were used for Churches. Catholics contributed nothing to the support of religion or its ministers; the whole charge of their maintenance, of furnishing the altars, of all travelling expenses, fell on the priests themselves, and

⁶ *Metropolitan; or Catholic Monthly Magazine*, vol. i (1830), pp. 90-93, 152-155. The translator says: "The following interesting particulars, relating to the establishment of the Catholic Religion in the United States, are selected from an old French MSS. preserved in the library of the Archbishop of Baltimore. From certain passages, I am inclined to believe, that it was originally written in English by Archbishop Carroll, and translated into the language in which I find it" (*Ibid.*, p. 90). This French document is missing in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*.

no compensation was ever offered for any service performed by them, nor did they require any, so long as the produce of their lands was sufficient to answer their demands. But it must have been foreseen that if religion should make considerable progress, this could not always be the case.⁷

The emphatic stress of this source is to the effect that on many occasions attempts were made to introduce the whole code of English anti-Catholic legislation in the colonies, and that only the mercy of particular judges saved Catholics from receiving the full penalty of the law on account of their faith. Even in Maryland, apostasies were not infrequent as a result, and the Catholics, ostracized from all public offices and places of employment, were in a dejected and despised condition. Their numbers, however, kept pace with the increase of the population, and they were never wholly destitute of religious aid. There were few Catholics who could not hear Mass at least three or four times a year. What was true for Maryland was no doubt true for the other colonies, and a surprising thing it is, that they remained loyal to the Faith in spite of so much opposition and discouragement. The second of these sources is an *Account of the Condition of the Catholic Religion in the English Colonies of America*, sent by Bishop Challoner to Rev. Dr. Stonor, the English clergy agent at Rome, written some time after 1763.⁸ Those sections of the document referring to the English colonies are as follows:

Now, coming to the rich and populous provinces of *New England* and of *New York* one may find a Catholic here and there, but they have no opportunity of practicing their religion as no priest visits them, and if we are to judge of the future from the present conditions of the inhabitants, there is not much likelihood that Catholic priests will be permitted to enter these provinces, for the reason that the majority of the inhabitants are strict Presbyterians, or belong to other sects which are likewise most bitterly opposed to Catholicism.

Among the old possessions of Great Britain on the continent of *America*, the only colonies in which priests are permanently located are the provinces of *Maryland* and *Pennsylvania*. In the latter, the Catholic Religion is formally tolerated by law. In *Maryland*, the laws are opposed to it, as

⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 48-49.

⁸ SHEA, (*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12), cites part of this document. It is printed for the first time in Italian and English in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, pp. 517-524, from the *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, fols. 288-293, and bears the title *Ragguaglio dello Stato della Religione Cattolica nelle Colonie inglesi d'America*.

in England; however, these laws are rarely put into execution and usually there is a sort of tacit toleration.

It is claimed in *Maryland* there must be around sixteen thousand Catholics, of whom about half approach the sacraments.. To take care of these there are twelve missionaries of the Society of Jesus.

The number of Catholics in Pennsylvania is between six and seven thousand. They have a public church at Philadelphia which is the capital of the province. They are ministered to by four priests, likewise Jesuits. These religious manifest great zeal and lead edifying lives.

There are besides some Catholics in *Virginia*, on the confines of *Maryland*, and in those parts of *New Jersey* which border on Pennsylvania. But they have no priests permanently residing among them, their spiritual wants being ministered to by missionaries from the two provinces above mentioned. As to *Carolina* and *Georgia*, it is impossible to say whether there are any Catholics there or not. One thing is certain, there are no priests in those provinces.

Florida, a province ceded by Spain in the same Treaty of Paris, already mentioned, is almost a wilderness, but the few Catholics who have remained there are allowed the freedom of practicing the Catholic Religion in the same manner as the inhabitants of Canada.

Louisiana, or the Province of *Mississippi*, which formerly belonged to the French, has for the most part been ceded to the English by the same treaty, that is, up to the *Mississippi* River, which gives the province its name. The same freedom of worship has been granted in favor of the Catholic inhabitants, of whom there must be a considerable number. But as to how they are taken care of spiritually the writer has no information whatsoever.

The Vicars-Apostolic of London since the time of King James II have always had authority over the English Colonies and islands of America. But, whereas, the reason for this custom was not evident, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in the month of January, 1757, secured from Benedict XIV, of happy memory, a decree in favor of Monsignor Benjamin Petre, Bishop of Prusa, at that time Vicar-Apostolic of London, giving him for *six years* jurisdiction over all the colonies and islands of America under English rule; and after the death of that prelate the same decree was confirmed, March 31, 1759, for *another six years* in favor of Monsignor Richard Challoner, Bishop of Deboren, at the present time Vicar-Apostolic of London.

The same Vicar-Apostolic, far from having any ambition or desire to increase his jurisdiction in those parts, would regard with evident pleasure an act of the Sacred Congregation relieving him of a burden which is already too great for him, and to which he is unable to give the necessary attention. The great distance of those provinces from his residence in London hinders him from visiting them personally. And, therefore, he cannot have the information necessary to know abuses and to correct them; he cannot administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to those faithful who remain totally deprived of this spiritual aid; he cannot furnish them

with priests, partly for the same reason of remoteness and partly because of the lack of the necessary means to meet the required outlay.

If the Sacred Congregation, moved by these considerations and by others which will easily come to mind, considers it meet to create a Vicar-Apostolic over the other English colonies and islands, it seems that the city of *Philadelphia*, in *Pennsylvania*, would be the place best suited for him to reside in, for the reason that it is a very populous city and is moreover, a seaport, and consequently is convenient for the easy exchange of letters with the other provinces of the mainland, as also with the islands. To these various reasons may be added the fact that there is no place within the English dominions where the Catholic Religion is exercised with greater freedom.

The maps appended to Hughes' *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* show the geographical location of the Catholic population in 1774.

Two other contemporary documents assist us in locating these "congregations" and in ascertaining the state of Catholic life at this period.⁹ The first is a *Relation* by Father John Mattingly, dated September 6, 1773.¹⁰ At the head of the first page is the statement that in 1764 there were seventeen missions in Maryland; in 1771 there were twenty-three; *anno vere corrente* (1773), there were twenty. The principal house of the Society was then at Port Tobacco, in Charles County. The next in order of dignity was the house at Newtown, in St. Mary's County, and from this centre the Fathers attended the various "congregations," within a radius of twenty miles or more on Sundays and holy days of obligation. In this way Mass was celebrated once a month in all the surrounding districts. The *Relation* describes how thoroughly the missionaries laboured. From early morning until eleven o'clock confessions were heard, and then Mass was said, Holy Communion distributed, and at the end of Mass a sermon was preached and points of doctrine explained. All these ministrations were given gratuitously and only voluntary offerings were accepted.

⁹ These two documents (*Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite nei Congressi, America Centrale*, vol. i, fols. 608, 292) are published in the original Latin in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 316-320.

¹⁰ The only Father John Mattingly mentioned by FOLEY in the *Records S. J.* (vol vii, part i, p. 494), is one born in Maryland, January 25, 1735. He entered the Society of Jesus in Belgium, September 7, 1760, was ordained in 1770, and after the Suppression (1773), became travelling tutor to Sir William Gerard and other English Catholic gentry. He does not appear to have returned to America. He died in Ireland, November 23, 1807.

Among the varied labours of their ministry, the hardest was that of visiting the sick and dying. On account of the distance separating their flocks, one from another, long journeys had often to be made.

The Fathers themselves took no part in the secular affairs going on around them and were therefore held in high regard by Catholics and non-Catholics. They all felt the need of a bishop for the administration of Confirmation, but they recognized the difficulty of establishing a bishopric in Maryland in view of the fact that the Nonconformist element was averse to the presence of an Anglican bishop in the community. The Jesuit missions were fairly well provided for, owing to the excellent care and administration of the property they possessed from the original grants made to them in the time of Cecil Calvert. Some of the Fathers resided as chaplains with private families, and were thus enabled to extend their missionary labors to the surrounding towns. The Catholics at that time in Maryland and Pennsylvania numbered about 20,000. In Maryland there was practically complete freedom of worship, but it was more restrained than in Pennsylvania, where the Church was free.

The second of these documents, which is to be found in the same volume of the Propaganda Archives, is of later date than the *Relation* of Father Mattingly.¹¹ It purports to give a complete catalogue of all the Missions of the Society in the United States.¹²

Catalogus missionum Societatis Jesu in statibus unitis Americæ.

Collegium Georgiopolitanum. Patres 4. Scholastici 7. Sacerdotes Sæculares 1.

Domus studiorum in Washington (civitate). Patres 2. Scholastici 7. Frat. 3. Novitiatus apud White-Marsh. Patres 1. Novitii 9. Frat. 10. Sacerdotes Sæculares 1.

In comitatu Principis Georgii.

Missiones quæ pertinent ad White-Marsh.

1. Ecclesia in prædio White Marsh.

2. Annapolis sacellum in domo privata, distat 14 mill.

¹¹ HUGHES (*op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 963), gives the year 1822 to this document. A copy exists in the *Georgetown Archives* under date of 1823.

¹² HUGHES (*op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 335-338) gives additional names to this list from one sent in 1765 by Father Hunter, the superior, to the English Provincial.

3. Prædium domini Young in quo conveniunt plurimi Catholici, distat 6 mill.
4. Congregatio McGruder. Distat 19 milliar.
Pro his omnibus unus sacerdos sæcularis et Pater magister novitorum.

Missiones in comitatu Principis Georgii quæ pertinent ad Sanctum Thomam.

1. Congregatio vulgo Domini Diggs sacellum distat 20 mill.
2. Congregatio Boone's chapel. Distat 26 mill.
3. Congregatio Piscataway. Distat 23 mill.
4. Congregatio Mattawoman.

Missiones in comitatu Caroli quæ etiam ad Sanctum Thomam.

1. Ecclesia in prædio Sancti Thomæ.
2. Congregatio Pomfret's Neck 16 mill.
3. Congregatio Cornevalis's Neck 16 mill.
4. Congregatio Cedar's Point. Nulla ibi ecclesia.
5. Congregatio Chekomeen. Nulla ecclesia, distat 20.
6. Congregatio Newport. Distat 10.
7. Congregatio Cob-Neck. Distat 20.
8. Congregatio Upper-Zachiah. Distat 18.
9. Congregatio Lower-Zachiah. Distat 18.

Pro omnibus his tredecim missionibus sunt tres Patres e Societate, quorum unus est valde infirmus, et unus sacerdos sæcularis.

In Comitatu Sanctæ Mariæ.

1. Ecclesia in prædio Newtown.
2. Congregatio Nostræ Dominæ vulgo Meddley-Neck. Distat 12.
3. Congregatio Sancti Joannis. Distat 12.
4. Congregatio S. Aloysii. Distat 6.
5. Congregatio S. Josephi. Distat 12.
6. Congregatio SS. Cordis. Distat 12.
7. Congregatio parva trans flumen Patuxent. Distat 20.

Pro his 7 unus Pater e Societate Jesu, sed propter infirmitatem nunquam prædicat, et duo sæculares sacerdotes.

Missiones in comitatu Sanctæ Mariæ quæ pertinent ad prædium Sancti Ignatii.

1. Ecclesia in prædio.
2. Congregatio Sancti Nicolai. Distat 17.
3. Congregatio Domini Smith. Distat 12.

Duo Patres e Societate et unus Frater coadjutor.

In Marylandia.

1. In civitate Frederick-town ecclesia et domus cum prædio parvo.
2. Ecclesia in Carroll's Manor. Distans 17 mill. Unus Pater e Societate.

In littore orientali vulgo Eastern Shore.

1. Ecclesia in prædio Bohemia.
2. Ecclesia S. Josephi.

Unus Pater et frater coadjutor e Societate et unus sacerdos sæcularis.

In Pennsylvania.

1. In civitate Philadelphia, ecclesia S. Josephi et domus, unus sæcularis.
2. Ecclesia in prædio Cochenhoben [Goshenhoppen]. Unus e Societate.
3. In civitate Lancaster. Duo sacerdotes sæculares.
4. In civitate Elizabeth, quæ distat a residentia Lanc. 30 mill.
5. Mount Lebanon. 20 mill.
6. Harrisbourg (oppidum). 35 mill.
7. Sunbury. 25 mill.
8. Chester County. 15 mill.
9. Little Britain. 18 mill.

Duo sacerdotes sæculares.

Conewago etiam in Pennsylvania.

1. Ecclesia in prædio.
2. Carlisle ecclesia et domus (civitas est) distat 30.
3. In civitate York ecclesia distat. 22.
4. In oppido Littlestown, distat 6.
5. Brand sacellum, distat 9.
6. South Mountains, distat 150.

Duo Patres Societatis. Unus vero senex et infirmus, ut nunquam exire potest, audit tamen confessiones.

Numerus sociorum in tota missione Americana:

Sacerdotes 26.

Sæculares sacerdotes in nostris missionibus sunt septem.

Scholastici 25.

Nov. Scholastici 10.

Coadjutores 25.

Nov. coadjutores 9.

(Summa) 95.

The number of Jesuit priests was twenty-six at the time. There were twenty-five scholastics, ten novices, twenty-five lay brothers, and nine lay novices—making a total of ninety-five members in the Society. The different congregations are given, with their approximate distances from the central houses. It is impossible to fix the exact date of this document, but it must be after 1806, the year of the partial restoration of the Society in the United States. The figures given can, therefore, be taken only in a relative sense, but the location of the parishes or “congregations” is accurate for the period under discussion. The bulk of the Catholic population lived in Pennsylvania and Maryland. The important centres of Catholic missionary activity in Maryland were: St. Inigoes, Newtown, Port Tobacco, Whitmarsh,

Deer Creek, Frederick, and Bohemia. The estimate of 1765 claims about ten thousand adult communicants for these missions and for the chapels, and "congregations" attached to them. In Pennsylvania the chief Catholic centres were: Philadelphia, with two churches, St. Mary's and St. Joseph's; Goshenhoppen; Lancaster, and Conewago. About three thousand adult communicants belonged to these churches. Attached to these four centres were other "congregations," or private houses, where the faithful came whenever it was announced that a priest would hear confessions and celebrate Mass. The exact number of priests in the English colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution is not known with certainty. If we accept Carroll's statement of 1785 as a basis, the number could not have been over thirty. In that year there were nineteen priests in Maryland and five in Pennsylvania.¹³ In 1773, as has been seen, there were twenty-one whose names are appended to the act of submission to the Brief of Suppression: George Hunter, John Lewis, John Bolton, Thomas Digges, Ignatius Matthews, John Ashton, Joseph Mosley, Matthias Manners, Bernard Diderick, Ferdinand Farmer, Robert Molyneux, Luke Geissler, John B. De Ritter, James Pellentz, James Frambach, Benjamin Roels, Benjamin Neale, James Walton, Peter Morris, Augustine Jenkins, and John Boarman.

Scattered throughout the colonies at this time were the remnants of the Acadians who had been forcibly ejected from Nova Scotia in 1755-56. From Massachusetts to Georgia, groups of these unfortunate Catholic exiles were thrust upon unwilling towns and cities. "The Acadians suffered as Catholics. No other cause is brought home to them . . . They were required to take an oath which, as Catholics, they felt to be against their consciences . . . They were therefore expressly condemned as Papist Recusants, condemned for their religion and not on any political ground."¹⁴ Massachusetts received grudgingly some two thousand of these exiles, and Lawrence, who had carried out the nefarious work, wrote to friends in Boston urging the people to proselytize the children. Georgia had a clause in its constitu-

¹³ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 259-260, where the names and residences of these twenty-four priests are given.

¹⁴ *The Acadian Confessors of the Faith in 1755*, in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. ix (1884), p. 592.

tion forbidding the existence of Catholics in that colony, and the four hundred Acadians who took refuge there were inhospitably driven out. Fifteen hundred of the exiles reached South Carolina and met with sympathy, the authorities assisting them to reach Louisiana or to return to France. Those who were sent to New England were treated as pariahs, and the two thousand who reached Maryland were treated with humaneness by their fellow-Catholics. Nevertheless, they were not wanted by the Protestant element in the colony, for we read in the *Maryland Gazette* of February 10, 1757, the following formal protest against their presence:

That the wretched Acadians, in a manner quartered upon us, are become a grievance, inasmuch as we are not at present in a situation, and in circumstances, capable of seconding their own fruitless endeavors to support their numerous families, as a people plundered of their effects. For though our magistrates have taxed us, perhaps sufficient to feed such of them as cannot feed themselves, they cannot find houses, clothing and other comforts, in their condition needful, without going from house to house begging, whereby they are become a nuisance to the country hereby unable to afford necessary comfort to their own poor. And as it is no easy task for a Christian to withstand the unfortunate cravings of their distressed fellow citizens, those among us who especially possess the greatest degree of humanity, must, of course, be the greatest sufferers. But this is not all. Their religious principles in a Protestant country, being dangerous, particularly at this juncture, and their attachment to their mother-country, added to their natural resentment of the treatment they have met with, render it unsafe to harbor them in case of any success of the enemy, which visibly affords them matter of exultation on the slightest news in favor of the French and the Indians. We therefore pray that you will use your endeavors in the assembly to have this pest removed from among us, after the example of the people of Virginia and Carolina, at their own expense, as they request, or otherwise as the Assembly shall, in their wisdom, think fit. We humbly conceive that any apprehensions of their adding to the strength of the enemy, if transported into their colonies, would argue a degree of timidity not to be approved of. That, on the contrary, they would rather be burdensome to their country in their present circumstances, encumbered with their wives and children whose immediate wants will, for a long time, employ the utmost industry of a few able-bodied fathers amongst them. Besides, they need not be discouraged without binding them as strongly as people of their principles can be bound, by an oath of neutrality for so long time as may be judged needful. It will have perhaps this further effect, that since they so earnestly desire to quit his Majesty's protection, in a manner renouncing

it, they enfeeble their claim to the restitution and restoration they contend for; a point it would be greatly to the interest of the colonies to gain with a good grace.¹⁵

The Acadians arrived in Maryland at an inauspicious time in the history of religious toleration within that province. The old bigotry was alive again, and Catholics were preparing themselves for a renewal of the penal legislation of earlier days. Russell writes:

The old order of charity had changed, giving place to a new one of cold repulsion and intolerance. In the formal correspondence of the period, the stark tragedy of the Acadians and their position in Maryland, appears in striking contrast with the past traditions of the Province. We catch here and there a glimpse of husbands seeking their wives, mothers in quest of their children, of poor, starving, simple people left upon the shore destitute, consigned to the cold charity of those who feared and hated them as political enemies, and, worst of all, as Catholics. The government of the Province made a feeble and ineffectual attempt to afford some succor to these exiles, but so meagre was the provision made, that these pitiful outcasts were compelled to roam the country, dragging after them from farm-house to farm-house, their starving, ill-clothed children, begging for the very necessities of life. Governor Sharpe did, indeed, give permission for such as could procure the means to leave the Province for the more hospitable colony of Pennsylvania, but the greater number were compelled to remain, the objects of the scant charity and endurance of the Protestants, and were not allowed to receive from the Catholics the shelter and assistance which would have been gladly given.¹⁶

The French and Indian War made the Acadians enemies in the land of forced hospitality, and when in November, 1755, there landed in Philadelphia some four hundred and fifty of these exiles, "scorpions in the bowels of the country," as Governor Morris of Pennsylvania called them, the Quakers, ever true to their religious profession of love for all men, came to the assistance of the Acadians and by private and public benefactions lessened their sufferings. "Blessed be God," these Acadians wrote, "that it was our lot to be sent to Pennsylvania, where our wants have been relieved and we have in every respect been

¹⁵ Cited by SCHARF, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, vol. i, p. 478. Baltimore, 1879.

¹⁶ RUSSELL, *Maryland, the Land of Sanctuary*, pp. 421-422. Baltimore, 1907.

treated with Christian benevolence and charity.”¹⁷ But smallpox and other epidemics carried off many among them, and the desire to return to their beloved Acadia proved too strong for the rest to remain. They disappeared, and by the time the American Revolution broke out, there were few of these confessors of the Faith alive in the colonies. In Baltimore, however, a little group remained, for there is a record that about 1756 a purchase was made of Mr. Fottrell’s house as a temporary chapel. There probably for the first time the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered in the future episcopal city of John Carroll. There is no certainty about the priest who ministered to them.¹⁸

To sum up the status of the Catholic Church on the eve of the Revolution, it must be admitted that comparatively little has come down to us from the past clothed in the habiliments of historical certitude. Legends there are in abundance, and traditions in every town and city along the Atlantic coast, but no secure history can be based upon these uncertain data. The use of *aliases* on the part of the priests; the fear of committing historical facts to paper; the inefficient system of keeping records; and the hard missionary life of the day have had the regrettable effect of wrapping these years in a cloak of silence. Only occasionally in old registers that have survived do we catch a glimpse of these years of crypto-Catholicism in the colonies; or, as in old deeds that are recorded, we are enabled to picture the sturdy Catholic life that was veritably hidden in the Lord.

After the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 no appreciable change occurred in the American colonies. The priests continued to live as heretofore under the guidance of Father John Lewis, the last Jesuit superior, and the people obeyed the clergy in all things spiritual as if nothing had occurred to change the canonical status.

The social status of the Catholics in the colonies was not an enviable one. We have, fortunately, a description for the years 1763-75 of the position of Catholics at that time in a series of

¹⁷ Cf. *Memorial of the Acadians Sent to King George III*, in *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 25-32; HALIBURTON, *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. i, p. 183. Halifax, 1884. Cf. *The Acadians in Pennsylvania*, in *Researches*, vol. xxviii, pp. 108-111, based upon REED, in the *Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society*, vol. vi, pp. 283-316.

¹⁸ REV. J. A. FREDERICK, *Old St. Peter’s, or the Beginnings of Catholicity in Baltimore*, in the *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. v, pp. 354-391.

sermons by an Episcopalian minister, Reverend Jonathan Boucher.¹⁹ The fortitude of the Catholics, he said, under trials of peculiar poignancy, was almost as unexampled as their oppressions; and their acquiescence under a long series of accumulated wrongs was such an instance of true patriotism that it entitled them to the highest respect.

With a patient firmness of character, worthy of all praise and all imitation, they have long submitted to such injuries and indignities, as their high-spirited forefathers would have ill-brooked; and such as their undegenerate posterity would not endure, were it not that they have the wisdom and the virtue to respect the laws more than their own personal feelings. Everything most dear to the human heart has been torn from them, excepting their attachment to their religion, and their determination to love and bless those fellow-subjects, who unmindful of the duties resulting from their religion, and unmoved by so endearing an example, foolishly and wickedly continue to regard Papists as Samaritans, with whom they resolve to have no dealings.

There is a quaintness about Boucher's hypocrisy. He tells the truth about the status of the Catholics in the colonies, but the reason of this appeal to his fellow-Anglicans to assume a more friendly attitude towards their Catholic neighbours has as its motive the desire to enlist their sympathies against the Puritan rebels of Massachusetts and Virginia. He writes:

I endeavour to forget the long series of oppressions and wrongs which these unfortunate people have suffered among us. Hardly a book or an article of religion has been written, hardly a sermon on any controverted point has been preached, hardly any public debate or private conversations have been held on the subject of religion or politics in which (in the strong phrase of a noted Divine of the last century) the parties have not contrived *a thwack at Popery*. . . . To justify our rigour towards them, we pretend that by their education, modes and habits of thinking, they are disqualified from exercising certain offices of citizenship, from which, therefore, we exclude them.

Sanford Cobb has described the political situation of the Catholics in his *Rise of Religious Liberty in America*. Everywhere

¹⁹ *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution. In Thirteen Discourses Preached between the Years 1763-1775. With an Historical Preface Dedicated to George Washington, Esq., London, 1797.* The Reverend Jonathan Boucher was born in England, emigrated to America in 1754, was pastor of several Anglican parishes in Maryland, and in 1785 was obliged to leave America because of his strong Loyalist views. He died in England, April 27, 1804.

except in Pennsylvania, to be a Catholic was to cease to possess full civil rights and privileges. There can be but one interpretation to the oath of allegiance or abjuration common to the colonies: it was intended to exclude Roman Catholics from citizenship. And it is a problem of no small difficulty to explain how the Catholics of the thirteen original States, legally disabled at every turn, were in such sympathy from the beginning with the patriotic movement which led to the American Revolution. Certainly, they had nothing to expect from the Nonconformist element in the colonies but loathing and detestation.

Boucher, whose sermons have already been quoted, explains the patriotism of the Catholics as follows:

The Catholics of Maryland seemed to hesitate and to be unresolved what part they should take in the great commotions of their country which were then beginning. Their principles, no doubt, led them to side with the government, whilst their inclinations, and (as they then thought) their interest made it policy to be neutral. The persons in America who were most opposed to Great Britain had also, in general, distinguished themselves by being particularly hostile to Catholics; but then, though Dissenters and Republicans were their enemies, the friends of government could hardly be said to be their friends. In America, if they joined the Government, all they had to look for was to be bitterly persecuted by one party and to be defeated by the other. Hence for some time they appeared to be wavering and undetermined. This irresolution drew down upon them many suspicions, censures and threats . . . At length the Catholic gentleman who was possessed of one of the first fortunes in the country (in short the Duke of Norfolk of Maryland), actuated as was generally thought, solely by his desire to become a public man, for which he was unquestionably well qualified, openly espoused the cause of Congress. Soon after he became a member of that body. This seemed to settle the wavering disposition of the Catholics in Maryland; under so respectable a leader as Mr. Carroll, they all soon became good Whigs, and concurred with their fellow-revolutionists in declaiming against the misgovernment of Great Britain.

The colonial period of American history, especially during the eleven years which separated the Treaty of Paris (1763) from the passage of the Quebec Act (1774), was ending in a whirlwind campaign of anti-Catholicism, or *No Popery*, when the Revolution broke out. In those provinces where Catholics were allowed to live without public molestation, they were distrusted by the law and laid under heavy disabilities. They could not

enjoy any place of profit or of trust while they continued faithful to their religious belief, and prejudice of the *No Popery* kind was mistress of the land of future liberty. The bonds of bigotry bound down all whose conscience would not permit compromise in matters of faith. Toleration, when it did come, came not as the result of any high-minded principles of liberty on the part of the leaders of the Revolution, but accidentally as a by-product of the policy which was born with the spirit of independence.

The story of religious liberty in the United States begins with George Mason's Bill of Rights, presented in the Virginia State Convention in 1776. The sixteenth section, presented by Patrick Henry, and amended by James Madison, expressed the best conception of religious freedom uttered up to this time. With Jefferson as the leader, in the days when the Constitution was before the assembled delegates of the free and independent nation for adoption, it was a foregone conclusion that that same cleavage from "religious slavery" was to be made a part of the new government. The blow which fell, in consequence, was a disastrous one for the Episcopal clergy. Many of them had been Loyalists, and the relief which religious liberty brought was an especial boon to the Catholics in the thirteen States; but it is an idle fancy to assert that either the number or the social position of the Catholics during the War had the effect of creating the policy of non-interference in religious matters which has been the guiding star of the American spirit since that time.

CHAPTER VI
CATHOLICS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
(1775-1783)

The Catholics who aided in the success of the American Revolution can be divided for convenience sake into four classes: those residing in the colonies; the Catholic Indians of Maine and of the old Northwest; Catholic Canadian volunteers in the Revolutionary Army; and the French and Spanish allies. The status of the Catholics in the thirteen colonies has been sufficiently discussed. A distinction should be made between those Catholics living in Pennsylvania and in the other colonies. In Pennsylvania they enjoyed full religious liberty, though they were not accorded the full enjoyment of the franchise. This distinction explains the presence of loyalism in Pennsylvania Catholic circles, for that State was a centre of American Toryism; whereas everywhere else in the colonies the Revolution won the whole-hearted support of the Catholic body. The hope was that the Revolution, though begotten in intolerance, would yet be the cause of religious liberty. There are many names on the roster of Catholic patriots during these dark days—Moylan, Barry, d’Estaing, Meade, Dillon, DeGrasse, Rochambeau, FitzSimons, Colvin, Lloyd, Fitzgerald, Pulaski, Kosciuszko, the Catholic Indians of Maine—the St. John, Micmacs, Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribes—who were important factors in the eyes of the Continental Congress, and in particular, Orono, the Catholic Chief of the Penobscots; but the name which has always been given preëminence in Catholic Revolutionary annals is that of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton was unquestionably one of the foremost Americans of the Revolutionary period. His *Letters of the First Citizen*, written against the famous jurist, Daniel Dulany, in 1773, won him a prominence he never afterwards

lost. His action in the burning of the *Peggy Stewart*; his outspoken attitude on independence in the Maryland Convention and in the First Continental Congress of 1774; his commission to Canada in 1776; his signature to the Declaration of Independence on August 2, 1776; his loyalty to Washington in the foiling of the Conway Cabal; his three months' residence at Valley Forge with Washington and the American troops; his part in bringing about the French Alliance; his assistance in organizing the Bank of North America with Robert Morris, Chase and others; and his later career as the First Citizen of the land down to his death in 1832—these give him a place in our annals of which all Americans are proud. During the long period of the struggle for independence, "he devoted more of his time and more of his money to the cause of the people than any other patriot; he served the people in more different positions of responsibility and usefulness than did any other man, and he never failed in a single instance to measure up to the highest standard of statesmanship and patriotism."¹

To suggest, as Boucher has done, that the Catholics in the colonies, priests and laity alike, found their leader in Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and that this leadership explains their adherence to the principles of the American rebellion, would be a simple way of answering a problem we are trying to analyze here, namely, the paradox of Catholic patriotism from the very beginning of the Revolution and the *No Popery* mob cry of the first revolutionists.² It is not a popular thesis, that held by Van Tyne and others, that the more the evidence for the causes, remote and immediate, of the American Revolution is brought to light and studied, the more do the popularly given causes diminish in importance and the more does the religious, sectarian, or ecclesiastical cause force itself to the front.³ This thesis has many angles of vision. In the main, it places the controversy which raged from the Proclamation Line of 1763 to the Quebec Act of 1774

¹ LEONARD, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, p. 17; BYRNE, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*. Berkeley, Cal., 1919 (Newman Hall Prize Essay).

² On March 9, 1775, at the Exchange, in New York, a Union Jack with a red field, was hoisted bearing the inscription *George III Rex—The Liberties of America—No Popery*. Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxiv, p. 151.

³ VAN TYNE, *Influence of the Clergy and of Religious and Sectarian Forces on the American Revolution*, in the *American Historical Review*, vol. xix, p. 44; cf. VAN TYNE, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution*. New York, 1902.

as the chief cause of the Revolution. In its controversial phases, as Charles Evans points out, "the struggle for civil liberty in the American Colonies assumes something of the nature of religious warfare, in which the dissenting churches are opposed by the Established Church of England."⁴ Evans' lists show the significant fact that from 1700 to 1750, two-thirds of the books and pamphlets published in the colonies were on religious questions, and from 1750 to 1775, at least one-half dealt with the religious aspect of the Revolution. The pulpit was the most direct, most effectual way of reaching the public, for the newspapers were then in their infancy; and to those who see in the eleven years of pulpit utterances on the religious clause in the Quebec Act the underlying motive for rebellion, there is little doubt that the Revolution was an anti-Catholic movement, at least, in its origin. To British writers, such as the eminent Cardinal Gasquet, the Quebec Act—"the great Charter of Religious Liberty in Canada"—was the "price paid by the Empire to secure for Canada freedom for the exercise of the Catholic religion, and was in some real sense the cause of the loss of the other American Dependencies."⁵ Van Tyne, the historian of the loyalist element in the Revolution, believes that more weight should be given to this religious factor among the causes of the war. The economic causes, he holds, are not adequate enough to explain the bitterness of the controversy, and he rates religious bigotry, sectarian antipathy, and the influence of the Calvinist clergy as among the most important factors.⁶ Gasquet writes⁷: "The 'drum ecclesiastic' was beaten for all it was worth by the bigots, both in Eng-

⁴ *American Bibliography*, vol. v, p. 9. Chicago, 1909.

⁵ *The Price of Catholic Freedom in Canada*, in *The Tablet* (London), July 20-27, 1912, vol. cxx, pp. 82-83, 122-125. For a different view cf. VICTOR COFFIN, *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution*, pp. 480-528 (Madison, 1896), where the question why Canada did not join the States in the Revolution is ably discussed. "It is the purpose of this chapter [on the Quebec Act and the American Revolution]," he says, "to show that not only was the Quebec Act not effectual in keeping the mass of the Canadians loyal, but that what effect it did have was in exactly the opposite direction . . . overwhelming evidence shows that the French Canadians were not faithful to British Rule at this crisis, and that they were least faithful at the time when the Quebec Act might be supposed to have had most influence. Further evidence, equally strong, if not so great in quantity, shows that the effect of the Act on the mass of the people was one of alienation rather than conciliation" (*Ibid.*, pp. 487-488).

⁶ *Influence of the Clergy, etc.*, in the *American Historical Review*, vol. xvii, p. 64.

⁷ *Ut supra*, July 27, 1912.

land and in America, and the cry of 'Protestantism in danger' was worked up in the interest of those British colonists who held separatist views." The difficulty with this theory is that it is too simple. And yet, in the face of such collections as Griffin's *Catholics in the American Revolution*,⁸ it cannot be lightly passed by on the score of being narrow or bigoted in itself. Griffin says:

The Revolution was not due solely to oppressive tax laws nor to restrictions on popular rights. Indeed though these hold the main place in the popular narration of causes which brought on the Revolt, it is a question for historical consideration whether these oppressions alone would have moved the body of the people to acts of resistance, had not Religion been a moving force upon the minds of the people. The active malcontents or leaders of the Revolt sought to impress upon the people that Protestantism had been assailed and might in America be overthrown. . . . We will, then, give ample evidence that an active motive of the Americans in taking up arms against Great Britain was the belief of large and influential numbers that the Protestant Religion was being assailed and threatened with oppression, and that the fear of 'Popery' was, after all, the incentive which made great numbers of the Colonists take up arms who could not have been moved to activity by recitals of oppressive tax laws which did not affect directly the great body of the people, though they may have effected those in mercantile pursuits. . . . Resistance to Popery was the cementing sentiment.⁹

The Quebec Act Theory of the Revolution, if such it may be called, sees in number 10 of the famous Suffolk County Resolutions, passed on September 6, 1774, the origin of the anti-Catholic phrases of the *Address to the People of Great Britain*, and of the *Petition to the King*.

10. That the late act of parliament for establishing the Roman Catholic Religion and the French laws in that extensive country, now called Canada, is dangerous in an extreme degree to the Protestant religion and to the civil rights and liberties of all Americans; and, therefore, as men and Protestant Christians, we are indispensably obliged to take all proper measures for our security.¹⁰

⁸ Three volumes, published for private circulation, at the author's home, Ridley Park, Pa. (1907-1911).

⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 1-4.

¹⁰ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, vol. i, pp. 34-35. Washington, D. C. 1904. Cf. *Anti-Catholic Spirit of the Colonies as Shown on the Passage of the Quebec Bill*, in the *Researches*, vol. xxviii, pp. 384-392.

British soldiers on Bunker Hill were appealed to by the American patriots from Prospect Hill in a printed Address which besought them not to imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-subjects in America, because these latter were "alarmed at the establishment of Popery and Arbitrary Power in One-Half of their Country."

The Address was as follows:

Gentlemen:

You are about to embark for America, to compel your Fellow Subjects there to submit to **POPERY** and **SLAVERY**.

It is the Glory of the British Soldier, that he is the Defender, not the Destroyer, of the Civil and Religious Rights of the People. The English Soldiery are immortalized in History, for their Attachment to the Religion and Liberties of their Country.

When King James the Second endeavored to introduce the Roman Catholic Religion and arbitrary Power into Great Britain, he had an Army encamped on Hounslow-Heath, to terrify the People. Seven Bishops were seized upon, and sent to the Tower. But they appealed to the Laws of their Country, and were set at Liberty. When this News reached the Camp, the Shouts of Joy were so great, that they re-echoed in the Royal Palace. This, however, did not quite convince the King, of the Aversion of the Soldiers to be the Instruments of Oppression against their Fellow Subjects. He therefore made another trial. He ordered the Guards to be drawn up, and the Word was given, that those who did not chuse to support the King's Measures, should ground their Arms. When, behold, to his utter confusion, and their eternal Honour—the whole body ground their Arms.

You, gentlemen, will soon have an Opportunity of shewing equal Virtue. You will be called upon to imbrue your Hands in the Blood of your Fellow Subjects in America, because they will not admit to be Slaves, and are alarmed at the Establishment of Popery and Arbitrary Power in One Half of their Country.

Whether you will draw those Swords which have defended them against their Enemies, to butcher them into a Resignation of their Rights, which they hold as the Sons of **ENGLISHMEN**, is in your Breasts. That you will not stain the Laurels you have gained from France, by dipping them in Civil Blood, is every good Man's Hope.

Arts will no doubt be used to persuade you, that it is your Duty to obey Orders; and that you are sent upon the just and righteous Errand of crushing Rebellion. But your own Hearts will tell you, that the People may be so ill treated, as to Make Resistance necessary. You know, that Violence and Injury offered from one Man to another, has always some Pretence of Right or Reason to justify it. So it is between the People and their Rulers.

Therefore, whatever hard Names and heavy Accusation may be bestowed upon your Fellow Subjects in America, be assured they have not deserved them; but are driven, by the most cruel Treatment, into Despair. In this Despair they are compelled to defend their Liberties, after having tried, in Vain, every peaceable Means of obtaining Redress of their manifold Grievances.

Before God and Man they are right.

Your Honor, then Gentlemen, as soldiers, and your Humanity as Men, forbid you to be the Instruments of forcing Chains upon your injured and oppressed Fellow Subjects. Remember that your first obedience is due to God, and whoever bids you shed innocent Blood, bids you act contrary to his Commandments.

I am, Gentlemen,

your sincere Well-wisher,

AN OLD SOLDIER.

The Rev. Daniel Barber, who became a Catholic in 1818, in the *History of My Own Times*, gives as the popular viewpoint:

We are all ready to swear that King George, by granting the Quebec Bill (that is, the privilege to Roman Catholics of worshipping God according to their own conscience), had thereby become a traitor, had broken his coronation oath, was secretly a papist, and whose design was to oblige this country to submit itself to the unconstitutional power of the English monarch, and under him and by his authority to be given up and destroyed, soul and body, by that frightful image with seven heads and ten horns. The real fear of Popery in New England had its influence; it stimulated many people to send their sons to join the ranks. The common word then was: *No King, No Popery*.¹¹

The colonial opinion is well described by Alexander Hamilton in his *Full Vindication of the Measures of Congress*, in the following trenchant paragraph:

The affair of Canada is still worse. The Romish faith is made the established religion of the land, and his Majesty is placed at the head of it. The free exercise of Protestant faith depended upon the pleasure of the Governor and Council. The Parliament was not content with introducing arbitrary power and Popery into Canada with its former limits, but they have annexed to it vast tracts which surround the Colonies. Does not your blood run cold to think an English Parliament should pass an act for the establishment of arbitrary power and Popery in such an extensive country. If they had any regard to the freedom and happiness of mankind they would never have done it. If they had been friends to the Protestant cause, they never would have

¹¹ Page 17. Washington, D. C., 1823.

provided such a nursery for its great enemy. They would never have given such encouragement to Popery. The thought of their conduct in this particular shocks me. It must shock you, too, my friends. Beware of trusting yourselves to men who are capable of such an action. They may as well establish Popery in New York and the other colonies as they did in Canada. They had no more right to do it there than here. Your lives, your property, your religion, are all at stake.

The presence of this bitterness in the *Address to the People of Great Britain* and in the *Petition to the King* is explainable on the ground of this popular sentiment. The tare in the wheat of all this indignation is the sedulous care with which all reference to the Quebec Act is silenced in the *Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec*, prepared and signed by the same American leaders. They wrote—let us hope without hypocrisy—"We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know that the transcendent nature of freedom elevates those who unite in her cause, above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss Cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant States, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them." The dates of the composition of these three important documents, embryonic of the Declaration of Independence, are rather close (October 21-26, 1774), in case one wishes to uphold the integrity of leaders such as John Adams and John Jay, both violently opposed to religious freedom; Samuel Chase; Richard Henry Lee, who declared that "of all the bad acts of Parliament the Quebec Act is the worst"; Patrick Henry; and George Washington; and to protect their good name from the alleged remark of the Canadians—*Perfidious Congress!*

A comparison of these three state papers ¹² may help the reader to understand the sentiment expressed by the Canadians:

¹² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, vol. i, pp. 81-89, 115-120.

Address to the People of Great Britain
Friday, October 21, 1774

... That we think the Legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the constitution *to establish a religion, fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets*, or, to erect an arbitrary form of government, in any quarter of the globe. . . . And by another Act the Dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled, and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to Administration, so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion be fit instruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient free Protestant Colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves. . . . *Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and disbursed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world.*

Address to the Canadians
Wednesday, October 26, 1774

... These are the rights you are entitled to and ought at this moment in perfection, to exercise. *And what is offered to you by the late Act of Parliament in their place? Liberty of conscience in your religion? No. God gave it to you; and the temporal powers with which you have been and are connected, firmly stipulated for your enjoyment of it.* If laws, divine and human, could secure it against the despotic caprices of wicked men, it was secured before. . . . *We are all too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine, that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty animity with us.* You know, that the transcendent nature of freedom elevates those, who unite in her cause, above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss Cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant States, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them.

Petition to the King
Wednesday, October 26, 1774

... In the last sessions of parliament, an act was passed for blocking up the harbour of Boston; and another, empowering the governor of Massachusetts-bay to send persons indicted for murder in that province to another colony or even to Great Britain for trial whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment; a third, for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province; and a fourth for extending the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of English freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government and the Roman Catholic religion throughout those vast regions, that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free Protestant English settlements; and the fifth for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in North America.

It is hardly necessary to treat in detail the anti-Catholic invective which reached an intense stage on the eve of the Revolution. The *American Archives*¹³ are filled with examples of this spirit of hostility to the Church, an hostility which lasted down to the French Alliance.¹⁴ But the prevalence of this bigotry does not explain the problem, namely, that of Catholic American loyalty to American arms. Apart from the Quebec Act, there were other reasons why Catholics should have been found among the Loyalists. The official class and the clergy of the Established or Episcopal Church were largely of this anti-independence group. "The officers and clergy received the support of land-owners and the substantial business men, the men who were satisfied with the existing order of things. The aristocracy of culture, of dignified professions and colleges, of official rank and hereditary wealth was in a large measure found in the Tory party."¹⁵ Although we find among the Catholics some of the most aristocratic and wealthy of the colonists, and certainly no other clergy in the provinces could be compared to the Catholic priests for culture and refinement, nevertheless it is impossible to find a single case similar to that, for instance, of the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, whom we have quoted, who was driven out of America for loyalty to the King; even Griffin, whose method of research, though slightly crude, left few documents untouched, could discover no Catholic of important social or financial standing who sided with Great Britain in the struggle.

But it is not true, as is generally believed by Catholics, on the assertions of their historians, that there were no Catholic Tories in the colonies during the Revolution. To a certain extent John Gilmary Shea is responsible for this tradition. In an address before the United States Catholic Historical Society in 1884, he said: "The Catholics spontaneously, universally, and energetically gave their adhesion to the cause of America, and, when the time came, to American Independence. There was no faltering, no

¹³ PETER FORCE, *American Archives*, 1vth series, 6 vols. (March 7, 1777-August 21, 1776), Washington, D. C., 1837-1853. Cf. *Catholic and Anti-Catholic Items in American Colonial Papers*, in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. i (1887), pp. 81, 203, 316, 442.

¹⁴ A choice collection of anti-Catholic invectives on this question will be found in GRIFFIN, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 1-40, 279.

¹⁵ VAN TYNE, *The Loyalists, etc.*, pp. 4-5.

division, every Catholic in the land was a Whig. In the list of Tories and Loyalists, in the volumes written since about them, you cannot find the name of a single Catholic. There were no Catholic Tories."

This is an echo of his words, to be found in an article in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*: "There were no Tories, no falterers and final deserters among the Catholics; none to shout for Congress, while they carefully carried a British protection for emergencies. The Catholics were, to a man, with their clergy, staunch and true, which can be said of none of the sects."¹⁶ Griffin takes Shea to task for this general statement: "When we know," he says, "how Catholics fared at the hands of their fellow colonists, and remember the deep anti-Catholic hostility to 'Papists' in the early days of the Revolution, we regard it as a credit to those Catholics who were Tories rather than as an ignominy."¹⁷ The list given by Griffin does not, it is true, contain the name of any Catholic colonist of social or political prominence, but the list is a large one, and Father Molyneux, the pastor of the Church in Philadelphia during the Revolution, is placed thereon, because "not a line or word of his for or against the Revolution has ever been produced."¹⁸ For that matter, it would be hard to show, aside from Father John Carroll's part in the delegation to Canada in 1776, that the Catholic clergy took

¹⁶ Vol. xxiii (1876), p. 154. A typical illustration of this popular legend will be found in the article referred to—"never was there such harmonious Catholic action as that in favor of American Independence a hundred years ago. The Catholics in the country were all Whigs . . . and there are no Catholic names in all the lists of Tories" (p. 499). It is difficult to say how this legend of a unanimous Catholic support of the purposes of the Revolution arose; but from the similarity of the phraseology, one is inclined to believe that it had its origin in the letter written by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Baltimore, February 20, 1829, to George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of President Washington, in which he says: "When I signed the Declaration of Independence, I had in view not only the independence of England but the toleration of all sects, professing the Christian Religion, and communicating to them all great rights. Happily this wise and salutary measure has taken place for eradicating religious feuds and persecution, and become a useful lesson to all governments. Reflecting, as you must, on the disabilities, I may truly say, of the proscription of the Roman Catholics in Maryland, you will not be surprised that I had much at heart this grand design founded on mutual charity, the basis of our holy religion" (Cf. *Researches*, vol. xiv, p. 27, from the *National Gazette*, Philadelphia, February 26, 1829). One is at liberty to suspect that the great Catholic patriot was reading this laudable motive into his part in the Revolution a half-century before; it is the only statement of this kind to be found in his writings.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 167.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 169.

any active steps in the patriotic cause.¹⁹ The Roman Catholic Regiment, recruited in Philadelphia, in 1777-1778, while General Howe and his officers occupied that city, was in command of Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Clinton, who was then a member of St. Mary's parish. Clinton, it is true, was able to raise only a group of 180 Catholics, and the regiment dwindled to about eighty men in five months. We find Father Farmer's name given as chaplain, though it is not certain that he accepted the post.²⁰ Bancroft has laid undue stress on the existence of this Roman Catholic regiment of Tories,²¹ but the truth is that Catholics were as divided as others were. There were gallant warriors among the Quakers and there were Loyalists among the Presbyterians; and the wonder is that the Catholic body, after a century of persecution by the colonial leaders, did not remain entirely neutral.

Washington's action at Cambridge in issuing an order on "Pope's Day," November 5, 1775, to his soldiers that "the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope" would not be permitted, may have been that of a brave and tolerant mind; or it may have been purely a political move, owing to the fact that Congress was then making every exertion to win the support of the Catholics in Canada, in the northwest, and in Maine;²² but it was significant in this sense that from the day the first shot was fired at Lexington on April 19, 1775, the patriots, who, upon their own declaration, had gone to war with Great Britain, among other grievances, for the preservation of Protestantism, began quickly to subdue the religious element in the struggle. When the French Alliance was in the air, however, there was a recrudescence of the anti-Catholic spirit, on the part of the Loyalists, especially after Louis XVI had recognized the independence of the United States (February 6, 1778).

¹⁹ KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 104; O'BRIEN, *Hidden Phase, etc.*, pp. 188-204.

²⁰ In a letter (cf. GRIFFIN, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 325-339) to a priest in London, dated Philadelphia, March 2, 1778, Father Farmer says that though asked in September, 1777, he had not yet accepted the post. To have done so would have been imprudent for the British evacuated Philadelphia on June 18, 1778.

²¹ *History of the United States*, vol. x, p. 175. New York, 1834.

²² Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxiii, (1906), pp. 13-14; *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii, pp. 123-124; for a history of "Pope's Day" in the colonies, cf. *Researches*, vol. xxiv (1907), pp. 132-136.

The most vulnerable point of attack on the French Alliance was the fact that the ally was Catholic. The Tories declared that Congress adopted all sorts of Romish mummary. Loyalist newspapers printed absurd canards announcing that the French king was preparing a fleet which should come to America and convert his new subjects. Some of the vessels were laden with tons of holy water and casks of consecrated oil. A thousand chests of relics, beads and crucifixes were ready, and a vast number of hair shirts, cowls and scourges. Another vessel contained many thousand consecrated wafers, crucifixes, rosaries and massbooks as well as bales of indulgences. To provide for the conversion of heretics of whom America had many, the good king has not forgotten the necessary equipment of wheels, hooks, pincers, shackles, and firebrands. To instruct the Americans in the use of these pious instruments, there was ready an army of priests, confessors and mendicants . . . the contract for a Bastille in New York had already been granted, and America would soon enjoy the blessings of French government and the felicity of Popery.²³

The French Alliance, the friendly attitude of Spain during the American Revolution,²⁴ the loyalty of the Catholic Indians of Maine; the assistance of Father Gibault in the West, the active coöperation of the French Army, and the gift of six million dollars by the Catholic bishops and priests of France to the new Republic, in 1780,²⁵ gave a very different outlook to the religious causes of the Revolution. The anti-Catholic spirit, therefore, would seem to have died out among the patriots only to linger with all the bitterness of defeat among those who hated to see the colonies free and independent. Probably the last phase of the bigotry which has left a smirch on the Revolution is the treason of Benedict Arnold, for the eye that guided his defiant vindication of his disloyalty had lately seen "your mean and profligate Congress at Mass for the soul of a Roman Catholic in purgatory and participating in the rites of a Church against whose anti-Christian corruption your pious ancestors would bear witness with their blood."²⁶

²³ VAN TYNE, *The Loyalists, etc.*, p. 154; cf. FISCHER, *The Struggle for American Independence*, vol. ii, pp. 119-121. Philadelphia, 1908.

²⁴ MCCARTHY, *The Attitude of Spain during the American Revolution*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 47-65.

²⁵ *The French Clergy's Gift to America*, in the *Catholic Mind*, vol. xviii (April 22, 1920), pp. 147-153; also in GRIFFIN, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 389-396.

²⁶ This refers to the Requiem Mass at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, for the soul of Juan de Miralles, the Spanish Agent, who died at Washington's camp, Morristown, N. J., April 28, 1780. Arnold was present, not having had courage to decline, as did Dr. Benjamin Rush, because attending was not compatible with the principles

Like the great rivers of the country, American Independence had many sources; and while each of these sources can be traced to its origin, it is difficult to fix upon the spot where each one joins itself to the great river that swept the country into freedom in 1776. The religious source is the most turbulent and crooked of all these tributary streams and upon its flow the frail bark of the Catholic Church in the country, while directed by its leaders towards the meeting of the waters, was not uncertain of wreckage in the mighty river below.

The two Carrolls—John and Charles—are not alone among the members of their Faith in the ranks of the rebels. There are other Catholic priests besides John Carroll in the scene. There is Father Lotbinière, "chaplain of the United States," as he signs himself in his letter to Congress, dated Philadelphia, July 8, 1777;²⁷ there is Father Peter Huet de la Valinière, the "perfect rebel," as Governor Haldimand of Canada called him, and who was deported because "he was too dangerous at this present crisis to be allowed to remain here (Quebec);"²⁸ there were the numerous chaplains of the French navy, some of whom were to remain as missionaries under Carroll's Prefecture: ²⁹ Father Seraphim Bandal, O.F.M., the chaplain to the French Ministers; Father La Poterie, the unworthy founder of the Church in Boston; and Father Sebastian De Rosey, O.M.Cap., who laboured until 1813 in Maryland. There were the French Army chaplains, some of whom are well-known in Catholic annals: Abbé Robin, the author of the *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, which was translated by the poet of the Revolution, Philip Freneau, and published at Boston, in 1783; Father Paul de St. Pierre, who laboured in the Illinois country, and died at New Orleans, in 1826; Father Charles Whelan, around whom Carroll's first serious difficulty as prefect-apostolic was to

of a Protestant. (GRIFFIN, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 257.) Arnold's proclamation will be found in Rivington's *Gazette*, for November 1, 1780. Cf. VAN TYNE, *The Loyalists*, etc., p. 188.

²⁷ GRIFFIN, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 41-63, 92-95.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-91; cf. TÊTU, *L'Abbé Pierre Huet de la Valinière*, in the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. x, no. 5.

²⁹ The list of chaplains with the French auxiliary forces contains the names of ninety priests. Cf. GRIFFIN, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 286-293, from *Les Combattants François de la Guerre Américaine (1778-1783)*. (Paris, 1903.) Cf. DONIOL, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, 1901); DURAND, *Documents on the American Revolution*. New York, 1889.

centre; and the celebrated Abbé Raynal, who stayed but a short time and returned an ardent Loyalist.³⁰

There were other Catholic men of note in the forefront of the patriot party besides Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Michael J. O'Brien has given us a distinctly new light on Catholic coöperation in the war in his *Hidden Phase of American History*, and Griffin has gathered the names of many persons who served and have received honour and renown—Commodore John Barry, the Father of the American Navy; General Stephen Moylan, "Muste-Master General to the Army of the United Colonies," and the Colonel of the Light Horse Dragoons; Colonel John Fitzgerald, aide-de-camp and secretary to General Washington; Thomas Fitz Simons, a Catholic signer of the Constitution; George Meade, Dr. Joseph Cauffmann, Colonel Francis Vigo, Orono, and the most romantic figure of adventure during the whole war, Timothy Murphy. The names of two foreign officers, probably Catholics, in the American Army are well known—Count Pulaski and Kosciuszko. Lafayette, though born a Catholic, neglected his faith until on his deathbed. Father Charles Constantine Pise, when Chaplain of the United States Senate, in an address delivered on the Fourth of July, 1833, in the House of Delegates, at Annapolis, recalled to his hearers the fact "that the nations which gave birth to those immortal benefactors of America, those pure and lofty lovers of liberty and republicanism, were Roman Catholic." France, the birthplace of so many of the gallant defenders of the principles for which America fought, and Poland, "the home of the spirit of freedom," were Catholic lands; and the conduct of their sons, "in our regard, ought to silence forever the voice of prejudice, which, even at the present day, proclaims the Roman Catholic religion hostile to the genius of republican institutions."³¹ Charles Carroll of Carrollton's sentiment in 1829 that he signed the Declaration of Independence for the purpose of bringing about toleration of all sects professing the Christian religion, and communicating to them all equal rights, may be the mellowed reflection of an old man of ninety, whose words at this time were

³⁰ Cf. FISCHER, *The True Story of the American Revolution*, p. 212, Philadelphia, 1902.

³¹ The address was printed in the *Catholic Expositor and Literary Magazine*, for July, 1842.

always couched in the pious accents of religion and of peace. The truth is that American Catholics in 1775 had little to choose in either side of the quarrel. Independence might not mean freedom for them, and the history of the adoption of the First Amendment by the thirteen original States shows how perilously they gambled when they threw their weight and financial backing into the patriots' cause.

The coöperation of Father Peter Gibault in the winning of the West during the Revolution presents a problem. In the French towns of the old Illinois country there were few who favoured England in the struggle. After the treaty with France (1778) the friendship for America became more outspoken. The exploits of Colonel George Rogers Clark in Kentucky were to be followed by the conquest of the Illinois country. Kaskaskia, one of the oldest of these French posts, was taken on July 4, 1778, and with the help of Father Gibault, the "Patriot Priest of the West," as he is usually called, Clark was enabled to win over the other posts, such as Vincennes, which was taken on February 25, 1779. Theodore Roosevelt has said that Gibault was "a devoted and effective champion of the American cause,"³² and Shea claims that this conquest of the West was due "mainly to the influence of Rev. Peter Gibault." In his *Colonial History of Vincennes*, Law says that "no man has paid a more sincere tribute to the services rendered by Rev. Mr. Gibault to the American cause than Clark himself."³³

Father Peter Gibault was born at Montreal, Canada, in 1737. He was educated at the Seminary of Quebec and was ordained to the priesthood on March 19, 1768. Shortly afterwards he was entrusted by Bishop Briand with the missions of Illinois, and acted as vicar-general of that part of the vast Quebec Diocese. He resided mostly at Kaskaskia, though his name is found in the church registers at St. Genevieve, Vincennes, and Cahokia. For a long time he was the only priest in the old Illinois country, and it was at Kaskaskia that Colonel Clark first met him in 1778. For his services to the American cause, he received the formal thanks of the Virginia Legislature. To have taken so bold a stand in favour of American independence undoubtedly cost the

³² *The Winning of the West*, vol. ii, p. 190.

³³ Pages 53-55. Vincennes, 1858.

valiant priest his post as Vicar-General of Bishop Briand. Charges seem to have been made against him, but whether connected with his coöperation with the conquest by Clark is uncertain. There is a document in the Quebec Archives, dated June 29, 1780, in which Briand recalls Father Gibault to Quebec. There is nothing to show that he obeyed, for between the years 1776 and 1783 there are no letters in the Quebec Archives from Father Gibault.³⁴ On May 22, 1788, he wrote to Bishop Briand asking for leave to return to Canada, especially because he feels a repugnance against serving under another bishop either in Spain or in "republican America." In this same letter we find him writing as follows: "As for opposition to me because of the fear that I may have been or was active for the American Republic, you have only to reread my first letter in which I gave you an account of our capture, and my last letter in which I sent you a certificate of my conduct at Post Vincennes, in the capture of which they said I had taken a hand, and you will see that not only did I not meddle with anything, but on the contrary I always regretted and do regret every day the loss of the mildness of British rule."³⁵ At this same time Gibault was in correspondence with Father Carroll regarding the exercise of his faculties in the newly acquired territory. Carroll wrote to him on May 5, 1788, telling him that he would not be unmindful of Gibault's twenty years of service in the Illinois country, but that he was waiting for information from Canada on the method of making the necessary change in ecclesiastical government.³⁶ Carroll had learned that the Bishop of Quebec had taken umbrage at his exercise of jurisdiction in the former French missions, and he hoped that some arrangement might be made between the United States Government and Quebec for the continuance of Quebec's authority. Father Huet de la Valinière had been sent as Vicar-General to the Illinois country by Carroll, but with instructions not to interfere with Gibault until the question of jurisdiction should be settled. Father Gibault left the Illinois country in 1791, after

³⁴ Gibault's correspondence with Bishop Briand (*Quebec Archiepiscopal Archives*) will be found in *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 406-430.

³⁵ *Records*, vol. xx, p. 430

³⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-G1; Carroll's last letter to Gibault (Jan. 23, 1792, *ibid.*, Case 9A-G3) gives us no intimation of Gibault's plans.

having unsuccessfully appealed to General St. Clair, then Governor of the Northwest Territory, to have certain lands deeded to him for his support.³⁷ What became of him after this time is unknown, only the record of his death at New Madrid, about 1804, being certain.³⁸

All attempts, however laudable, to ascertain the exact quota of American and foreign Catholic soldiers in the Revolutionary Army, are of little value since they are based on criteria which cannot bear thorough investigation. It was natural for all the Irish colonists, Catholic and Protestant, to ally themselves with a cause which gave them the opportunity of a blow at their hereditary foe. It was also to be expected that in those days no serious difficulty would be encountered in France to recruit regiments for the war with England, even though the seas had to be crossed before their weapons could be drawn. The American army, judging by the regiment lists we possess, would seem to be predominantly made up of Irish and French officers and soldiers. That the majority of these French adherents to the cause were Catholics, is now an established fact; and the assertion scarcely needs proof that the 7,800 French soldiers at Yorktown, together with the 20,000 men in the fleets of DeGrasse and DeBarras, were of the Catholic Faith. The presence of the French fleet with its chaplains stimulated a change of sentiment on the part of the Americans in the matter of their attitude towards the Catholic religion. They were too hard-headed and too utilitarian not to subdue the old antipathy, when it was to their benefit to do so. Religious antagonisms had played their part in cementing the independent spirit of the American colonists, but once the larger question of freedom was understood in all its force and potency, the watchword became: "Difference in religion should make no difference between those seeking liberty."

There will always remain for the historian of the American Revolution the thorny question of how far religious differences entered into the causal elements of that great fight for freedom.

³⁷ *Illinois Historical Collections*, vol. v, p. 385.

³⁸ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xv, p. 157; ALERDING, *History of the Diocese of Vincennes*, pp. 64-68.

Few American historians give sufficient attention to this paradox of the war—the anti-Catholic outbursts among the colonists at the passage of the Quebec Act and the striking coöperation of Catholics, both American and foreign, in the cause of the Revolution. Only a few, and among them is the noted Benedictine historian Gasquet, have a definite thesis on the question. “The American Revolution,” writes Gasquet, “was not a movement for civil and religious liberty, its principal cause was the bigoted rage of the American Puritan and Presbyterian ministers at the concession of full religious liberty and equality to Catholics of French Canada. The Taxation Acts were only a minor cause, or rather occasion, and the dispute could have been settled by constitutional agitation without secession but for Puritan firebrands and the bigotry of the people.”

Cardinal Gasquet, however, leaves an important part of the question unsolved; he does not explain why Catholic leaders like the two Carrolls took such a prominent part, from the very beginning, in the cause of independence. Nor does he explain the outstanding factor in Catholic coöperation, the French Alliance. The Catholic historian of those days of struggle for national freedom has many difficulties to explain; and his work has been complicated to a considerable degree by the number of legends which have been interwoven into the general story of Catholic coöperation in the Revolution. Many of these legends bear the stamp of their origin, namely, an over-zealous enthusiasm to claim as much of the glory as possible; others are subtle and require historical disproof. Among these is the oft-quoted story that it was through Father John Carroll that the Pope used his influence to induce King Louis of France to aid America. This claim, entirely fictitious, is part of the general traditional belief that John Carroll had aided Jefferson in drafting the Declaration of Independence. The climax of these popular legends is the one which reports that King George III refused to sign the Catholic Emancipation Bill (1829) because of his hatred for John Carroll. “He detached America from my dominions by the aid of the French army and navy, and the force of the Irish Catholics”—such is the supposed speech of the King to Pitt! *Nimis probans, nihil probans*. The truth is that Father John Carroll took no active part in the Revolution, apart

from his invitation by the Continental Congress to accompany the American Commissioners to Quebec. That fact, indeed, gives him a prominence in Revolutionary Catholic annals, shared by none, but all else claimed for him by over-enthusiastic writers is historically untenable.

CHAPTER VII

JOHN CARROLL'S MISSION TO CANADA

(1776)

That the American opposition to the Act granting religious liberty to all who lived beyond the Proclamation Line was a short-sighted policy, and one to which must be credited the worst failure of the war is now an accepted fact among historians. "It is easy," Gasquet writes, "to conceive how fiercely a Protestantism as jealous and sensitive as that of New England must have resented the establishment of Catholicism in Canada." The Protestant churches became as so many meeting-houses for the purpose of protesting against the iniquitous Act, and the pulpits resounded with proclamations against Parliament. All the contemporary sources for the period are so filled with invectives over the Quebec Bill that historians like Gasquet are within the strictest rules of historical criticism in emphasizing the predominance of the anti-Catholic feelings of the times. The other intolerable Acts seem to be forgotten after June 17, 1774, when the Quebec Bill became a law; and though no one would venture to assert that the Bill was the real *casus belli*, nevertheless its passage and the opposition it created in the colonies are inevitably bound up with the Revolution. The Archives of the Archbishop's House in Quebec contain for this phase of the war many documents which have not yet been studied and without which the influence of American bigotry cannot be fully and impartially weighed. Commenting upon the religious toleration granted by the Quebec Act and upon the fact that anti-Catholicism was still at that time a popular platform in Great Britain and the colonies, Dr. Alvord points out in his masterly thesis, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, that historical events are usually so complex in their nature that they elude all adequate explanation. "The speculative mind," he writes, "finds

delight in the search for fundamental motives of human action and may demand a more precise definition of the Quebec Act in terms of political philosophy.”¹ One man at that time had no illusions about its influence in American politics, and it is this man whom John Carroll, as a Catholic priest, had to face in his endeavour to make the Canadians forget all the bitter things said and done before the outbreak of the Revolution. That man was Jean Briand, Bishop of Quebec, and sole ecclesiastical leader of the Catholics of Canada.

Bishop Briand saved Canada to the British Empire. He realized the difficulty of the task his oath of allegiance to the English crown imposed upon him. Many of the *habitants* were eager to strike a blow at England in revenge for the downfall of French power in Canada, and his courage is seen in the use of those ecclesiastical weapons, suspension and excommunication. It needed a strong hand to hold Canada in check in spite of the fact that the faith of the Canadians had been so generously vilified in the colonies; and Briand won out, even though the priests of his episcopal city and elsewhere had been shot at by American sympathizers.

There is a dramatic touch, therefore, to the distinctly Catholic act on the part of the First Continental Congress, when it sent to Canada, in company with Franklin and Chase, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Father John Carroll, the foremost Catholics of the rebelling colonies, to interview the leaders of Church and State on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

The strategic importance of Canada to the American cause was obvious from the beginning of the war. The New England colonies could easily have been isolated by a British force working southwards from Quebec and Montreal as their base. Two expeditions were therefore planned in 1775 by the Americans, and they may be classed as “the most aggressive and daring effort that the patriots made during the war.”² The two expeditions under the command of Generals Philip Schuyler, Richard Montgomery, and Benedict Arnold, failed miserably, and Carleton “slowly but surely defeated and hammered out of

¹ Vol. ii, p. 248. Cleveland, 1917.

² FISHER, *True History of the American Revolution*, p. 271. Philadelphia, 1902.

Canada the little patriot army."³ Arnold, who was in command after Montgomery's death, began the retreat in the early summer of 1776. In February, 1776, Congress met to discuss the report of its secret committee on the Canadian invasion. The *Journals of the Continental Congress* give us a summary of this report:

The Committee of secret correspondence report that they have conferred with a Person just arrived from Canada. . . . He says that when the Canadians first heard of the Dispute they were generally on the American side; but that by the Influence of the Clergy and the *noblesse*, who had been continually preaching and persuading them against us, they are brought into a State of Suspense or Uncertainty which side to follow. That papers printed by the Tories at New York have been read to them by the priests, assuring them that our Design was to deprive them of their religion as well as their Possessions. . . . That he therefore thinks it would be of great Service if some Persons from the Congress were sent to Canada, to explain *viva voce* to the People there the Nature of our Dispute with England. . . .⁴

The following day, February 15, 1776, it was resolved that a Committee of Three (two of whom were to be members of Congress) be appointed to proceed to Canada, "there to pursue such instructions as shall be given them by Congress." The members chosen were Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton. It was further resolved "that Mr. Carroll be requested to prevail on Mr. John Carroll to accompany the Committee to Canada."⁵

Father Carroll was then at Rock Creek, the guest of his mother, attending to the spiritual wants of the Catholics in that vicinity. His residence there has already been mentioned, but it needs a word of explanation. The two problems of imminent import to the secularized Jesuits in 1774 were first, the upholding

³ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

⁴ *Journals of Continental Congress*, vol. iv (1776), p. 148. Washington, D. C., 1906.

⁵ Franklin was then over seventy years of age. In a letter to a friend, dated February 18, 1776, speaking of the Committee, John Adams writes: "The characters of the two first you know. The last is not a member of Congress, but a gentleman of independent fortune, perhaps the largest in America—a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand pounds sterling; educated in some University in France, though a native of America; of great abilities and learning, complete master of the French language, and a professor of the Roman Catholic religion; yet a warm, a firm, a zealous supporter of the rights of America, in whose cause he has hazarded his all." (Cf. ROWLAND, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 145.)

of authority among themselves until the Holy See should provide for their government in religious matters, and secondly, the protection of the property entrusted to them as members of the Society of Jesus for missionary purposes in the colonies. Father John Lewis, the last of the Jesuit superiors, continued after 1773 to act as Vicar-General of the London District. This arrangement was agreed to by all with one exception, and a quasi-association of the clergy was formed under Father Lewis as chief. This exception was John Carroll himself. Shea says that it was because their association lacked the formal sanction of the Vicar-Apostolic of London, Dr. Challoner, and of the authorities in Rome. "Prudence dictated caution, and he resolved to act simply as a missionary priest under the faculties he held, rather than become subject to removal from place to place."⁶ This caution, however, does not explain Carroll's attitude, because he knew what a loosely knitted organization the body of the clergy in the English colonies had always been.

The authority of the Vicar-Apostolic of London from 1685 down to 1757 was a rather shadowy one, but the Jesuits were so accustomed to living under the rule of their superior that the continuance of Father Lewis' authority was quite reasonable. Father Carroll came back to Maryland with faculties from Bishop Challoner, and of course could not refuse to recognize Challoner's Vicar-General, Father Lewis; but, though it seems apparent that he meant to have his independence, in order to remain at Rock Creek with his mother, there was a more serious reason for his decision not to take part in the new association of the clergy. It is not only the prudent resolve of a priest who may have felt that such an association was, in spirit at least, a violation of the wishes of the Holy See in the matter of the Suppression, but also the action of a determined patriot. At Rock Creek "the American priest," as Shea calls him, "beheld a field of labour where much could be accomplished. There were Catholics in the neighbourhood, and many at greater or less distance who could be reached by a priest willing to devote himself to their service. There were stations in Virginia which had been occasionally attended by the Fathers till the difficulties of the

⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 85. Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxiii, p. 183; *Woodstock Letters*, vol. xxxiv, p. 128.

Order diminished the number of missionaries, and none came from abroad to replace those whose vigor was impaired by age or over-exertion.”⁷ Father John Carroll could easily have travelled all over southern Maryland and the northern part of Virginia, and pass his days in visiting relatives of both sides of his family, the Carrolls, the Darnalls, the Youngs and the Brents. Certainly he did not shirk work in his new field, and he began at once to visit all the Catholic homes in that part of the old Maryland mission. A room in his mother’s house at Rock Creek was set aside as a chapel for the Catholics of the surrounding country, and the people gathered to hear Mass and to revive their faith

... in the clear practical instructions of the clergyman who had won attention in the polished literary circles of France and the Netherlands as well as in the castles of the English nobility. The little congregation at Rock Creek grew so rapidly that it was soon necessary to prepare a special building, and the erection of St. John’s Church was begun about half a mile from his residence. It was, from all we know, the first Church under the secular clergy established in Maryland, erected by a congregation which supported a pastor—a system common enough to us now, but till then unknown in Maryland, where the Jesuit Fathers had maintained the services of religion at their own expense.⁸

It was at Rock Creek that Charles Carroll’s letter found him. The selection of the two Carrolls shows the foresight of Congress in such a delicate piece of diplomacy.

A *brouillon* of an interesting memorandum by Father Carroll, now in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, shows that he did not accept the invitation of Congress without weighing well the risk he ran in thus mingling religion with politics. The remarkable part of his acceptance is that he foresaw the futility of the mission to Canada:

The Congress has done me the distinguished and unexpected honour of desiring me to accompany the Committee ordered to Canada and of assisting them in such matters as they shall judge useful. I should betray the confidence put in me by the Honourable Congress, and perhaps disappoint their expectations were I not to open my mind to them with the

⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 86.

⁸ *Ibid.*

utmost sincerity, and plainly tell them how little service they can hope to derive from my assistance. In the first place, the nature and functions of that profession in which I have engaged from a very early period in life, render me, as I humbly conceive, a very unfit person to be employed in a negotiation of so new a kind to me, of which I have neither experience nor systematical knowledge. I hope I may be allowed to add, that though I have very little regard to my personal safety amidst the present distress of my country, yet I cannot help feeling my character; and I have observed that when the ministers of religion, leave the duties of their profession to take a busy part in political matters, they generally fall into contempt, and sometimes even bring discredit to the cause in whose service they are engaged. Secondly—From all the information I have been able to collect concerning the State of Canada, it appears to me that the inhabitants of that country are no wise disposed to molest the United Colonies, or prevent their forces from taking and holding possession of the strong places in that province, or to assist in any manner the British arms. Now if it be proposed that the Canadians should concur with the other colonies any further than by such neutrality, I apprehend that it will not be in my power to advise them to do it. They have not the same motives for taking up arms against England which render the resistance of the other colonies so justifiable. If an oppressive mode of government has been given them it was what some of them chose, and the rest have acquiesced in. Or if they find themselves oppressed they have not yet tried the success of petitions and remonstrances, all of which ought, as I apprehend, to be ineffectual before it can be lawful to have recourse to arms and change of government. Thirdly—Though I were able to bring myself to think (which as objects now appear to me I really cannot) that the Canadians might lawfully take up arms and concur with [*the draft of the letter stops here*].⁹

The Province of Quebec, where most of the Canadians were living, contained about 150,000 Catholics to only some 360 members of the Church of England. Both the Carrolls knew French customs and the French tongue well, owing to their long residence abroad. In the *Instructions* issued to them they were to repair with all convenient dispatch to Canada to make known to the Canadians the wishes and intentions of Congress. Among the clauses of this document was the following:

You are further to declare that we hold sacred the rights of conscience and may promise to the whole people, solemnly in our name, the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; and, to the clergy, the full, perfect and peaceable possession and enjoyment of all their estates;

⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives. Special C—F.*

That the government of everything relating to their religion and clergy, shall be left entirely in the hands of the good people of that province and such legislature as they shall constitute: provided, however, that all other denominations of Christians be equally entitled to hold offices and enjoy civil privileges and the free exercise of their religion and be totally exempt from the payment of any tythes or taxes for the support of any religion.¹⁰

These *Instructions* are of similar import to those issued by Washington to Benedict Arnold on September 14, 1775, prior to the Canadian invasion:

. . . You are by every means in your power to endeavour to discover the real sentiments of the Canadians towards our cause . . . You are to endeavour to conciliate the affection of these people . . . convincing them that we come at the request of many of their principal people; not as robbers, or to make war against them, but as friends and supporters of their liberties as well as our own, and to give efficacy to these sentiments, you must carefully inculcate upon the officers and soldiers under your command that not only the good of their country, and their honour, but their safety, depends upon their treatment of these people . . . And as the contempt of the religion of a country, by ridiculing any of its ceremonies, or affronting its ministers or votaries, has ever been deeply resented, you are to be particularly careful to restrain every officer and soldier from such imprudence and folly, and to punish every instance of it. On the other hand, as far as it lies in your power, you are to protect and support the free exercise of the religion of the country, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of conscience in religious matters with your utmost influence and authority.¹¹

The two sides of the Canadian situation were thus to be met. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, America's leading Catholic layman, was expected to be received by the leaders of the American party in Canada as a *persona grata*, speaking their language, of their faith, and holding similar political views. Father John Carroll, an ex-Jesuit, was expected to be received by Bishop Briand and the Canadian clergy as one of their own, and he was expected to impress upon the Canadian priests the large-minded tolerance in religious matters which Congress claimed. Unfortunately for all concerned, the cause was lost before the Commissioners and Father Carroll left New York for Canada on April 2, 1776.

¹⁰ GRIFFIN, *Catholics in the American Revolution*, vol. i, p. 267.

¹¹ FORCE, *American Archives*, Series iii. pp. 765-766.

Ten years before (June 21, 1766) Bishop Briand had taken possession of his see of Quebec, and from that date till his death, he was the staunchest supporter of British rule in Canada.¹² He was prejudiced against the *Bostonnais*, who were spreading infidel and licentious literature among his people; with the Catholic Indians he had little patience, because of their fickleness; he was not in sympathy with the Acadians in the tragedy which fell upon their little land; and with the rebellion in the colonies to the south he was utterly at variance. The presence of the American troops at Quebec under Montgomery and Arnold was bound to arouse the chief shepherd of that city and we have his strident call to the Canadians in his Pastorals of this year (1775-1776).¹³ When Carleton fled, Briand remained; and on the anniversary of Arnold's defeat, a *Te Deum* of thanksgiving was given (December 31, 1776).

Bishop Briand's Charge (December 31, 1776) reflects so thoroughly the situation that it is here given in full:

To the Catholic people of Quebec, Salutation and Benediction in Our Lord Jesus Christ.

What are to-day your sentiments, Dearly Beloved Brethren, on the happy and glorious event of the 31st December, 1775, of which the anniversary will, in three days from this date, recall the grateful and consoling memory? You looked upon it then as a singular dispensation of Divine Providence, to be remembered and held as a debt of gratitude to the God of armies for all time. This was the language of His Excellency and of all our officers and all our men. With the greatest consolation did we witness on the part of all the generals and faithful defenders of this town manifestations of this sentiment and see them all combine to render homage to the Supreme Being for the Victory of that day. Nor could we, in view of the principles of our holy faith augur otherwise than favourably

¹² GOSSELIN, *L'Église du Canada après la Conquête*, p. 81-165.

¹³ TÊTU, *Notices biographiques: Les Évêques de Québec*, pp. 297-355. Quebec, 1889. Briand's Pastorals will be found *ibid.*, pp. 334-343. They are among the important documents of the Revolution. The Canadians were told without any qualifying clauses that the Americans did not wish them well. Their pretended affection was not a fraternal one, but hypocritical and insincere. There was no need for the Canadians to take up arms for a boon which they already possessed. Americans were traitors to their own beliefs on religious freedom in seeking alliance with Canada, "car nulle autre secte n'a persécuté les romains comme celle des Bostonnais; nulle autre n'a outragé les prêtres profané les églises, les reliques des saints comme elle; nulle autre n'a attaqué avec de plus horribles blasphèmes" . . . and so on for a page or two. The Sacraments were henceforth to be refused to all who sided with the American "rebels." Some few Catholics had the courage to resist this disposition of affairs: they lay buried in unconsecrated ground in the cemetery of St. Michel de Bellechase until 1880.

of the event or refrain from hoping from what the Lord really accomplished and what He never fails to perform when men are faithful in rendering to Him due tribute of glory and honour. He consummated His work, and after having amid the shades of night, rescued us by a kind of miracle, or rather by a real miracle from the hands of our enemies, and delivered them into our hands, when they deemed themselves victorious, that God of goodness, against whom neither science, nor wisdom, nor strength, nor craft, nor knavery can prevail, restored to us, and not only to us but to the whole colony, the blessing of liberty.

And here perhaps I should enumerate and set before you in detail all the marvels which the Lord has accomplished in our behalf, in order to convince you that it is your strict duty to give Him thanks and sing His praises: *Cantate Domino canticum novum quia mirabilia fecit*. But you have well weighed and appreciated these wonderful mercies of God, and times beyond number have I been delighted to hear you proclaim it, in accents which faith alone can inspire. It was God and God only, who restored to us H. E. Monsieur Carleton. He it was who covered him with His shadow, who guided his footsteps, and brought him safely back through the network of most vigilant sentinels specially posted at every point of vantage in order to capture him and carry him off; it was God who enabled our illustrious Governor to put courage in every heart, to tranquillize the minds of the people and to reëstablish peace and union in the town. It was God himself who imparted and preserved unanimity and concord amidst a garrison consisting of men of different ranks, characters, interests and religions. It was God who inspired the brave and glorious garrison with the constancy, strength, generosity and attachment to their King and their duty, which enabled them to sustain a long and painful siege during the severity of a Canadian winter. Did you not also recognize a further evidence of the special protection of Divine Providence in the matter of the failure of a fire-ship which would in all probability have reduced to ashes the whole of the lower town? What more need I say? The arrival of help from Europe at a most opportune moment and but a few hours in advance of the assistance which reached the enemy; the terror manifested by the enemy on seeing His Excellency outside of the walls with a small number of men; the affair of Three-Rivers; the precipitate flight of the enemy on the approach of our troops; the victories won on Lake Champlain; was not all this the work of Divine Providence and do not these wonderful mercies call for our gratitude! *Cantate Domino canticum novum quia mirabilia fecit*. Let us then, Dear Brethren, most joyfully chant a hymn of rejoicing and gratitude to our God, who has worked so many wonders in our behalf. Let us sing it; our illustrious Governor, who is of one mind with us in this matter, asks for it. Your brave commanders, under whom you have won so much glory, have asked that it be done and begged of us to chant a solemn Mass, in order to testify before Almighty God by that august sacrifice, in a manner more worthy of Him and in better keeping with their sentiments, to their heartfelt and boundless gratitude.

Wherefore, after having conferred in this matter with the clergy of our episcopal city, we have resolved to celebrate, at or about nine of the clock, on Tuesday next, 31st December, in our Cathedral Church, a solemn Mass in thanksgiving, after which we shall, in Pontifical Robes, chant the *Te Deum*, whereat our clergy secular and regular shall attend. We exhort and nevertheless enjoin upon all the people to attend thereat, in so far as it can be done, in good faith and before God. We should not consider as being exempt from sin those who through ill will or a spirit of criticism and disobedience, and for no other reason absent themselves therefrom. The *Te Deum* is to be followed by Benediction of the most Holy Sacrament, and we grant an indulgence of forty days.

Given at Quebec, under our hand, the seal of our Arms and the signature of our Secretary, this 29th December, 1776.

✠ J. O., Bishop of Quebec.¹⁴

The Commission to Canada was ill-timed. We have no record in John Carroll's letter to his mother, dated Montreal, May 1, 1776, of the progress of the negotiations carried on by the Commissioners, but there is no doubt that Bishop Briand and the French clergy paid small attention to Father Carroll's presentation of the American cause. They recalled to him that the Catholic Faith had been proscribed from the very beginning of the colonial period in his country, that the priests were not free to exercise their spiritual mission publicly, and that the conversion of Congress was too short-lived to be taken seriously. He writes to his mother as follows:

We have at length come to the end of our long and tedious journey, after meeting with several delays on account of the impassable condition of the lakes: and it is with a longing desire of measuring back the same ground that I now take up my pen to inform you of my being in good health, thank God, and of wishing you a perfect enjoyment of yours. We came hither the night before last and were received at the landing by General Arnold, and a great body of officers, gentry, &c. and saluted by firing of cannon, and other military honours. Being conducted to the general's house, we were served with a glass of wine, while people were crowding in to pay their compliments, which ceremony being over, we were shown into another apartment, and unexpectedly met in it a large assembly of ladies, most of them French. After drinking tea, and sitting some time, we went to an elegant supper, which was followed with the singing of the ladies, which proved very agreeable, and would have been much more so, if we had not been so much fatigued with our journey.

¹⁴ *Researches*, vol. xix, pp. 66-69.

The next day was spent in receiving visits, and dining in a large company, with whom we were pressed to sup, but excused ourselves in order to write letters, of which this is one, and will be finished and dated to-morrow morning. I owe you a journal of our adventures from Philadelphia to this place. When we came to Brunswick in the Jersey government, we overtook the Baron de W—, the Prussian general who had left Philadelphia the day before us. Though I had frequently seen him before, yet he was so disguised in furs that I scarce knew him, and never beheld a more laughable object in my life. Like other Prussian officers, he appears to me as a man who knows little of polite life, and yet has picked up so much of it in his passage through France, as to make a most awkward appearance. When we came to New York, it was no more the gay, polite place it used to be esteemed; but was become almost a desert, unless for the troops. The people were expecting a bombardment, and had therefore removed themselves and their effects out of town: and on the other side the troops were working at the fortifications with the utmost activity. After spending some disagreeable days at this place, we proceeded by water up to Albany, about 160 miles. At our arrival there, we were met by General Schuyler, and entertained by him, during our stay with great politeness and very genteelly. I wrote to you before, of our agreeable situation at Saratoga, and of our journey from thence over lake George to Ticonderoga: from this latter place we embarked on the great lake of Champlain, about 140 miles to St. John. We had a passage of three days and a half. We always came to in the night time. Passengers generally encamp in the woods, making a covering of the boughs of trees, and large fires at their feet. But as we had a good awning to our boat, and had brought with us good beds, and plenty of bed clothes, I chose to sleep on board.¹⁵

When the American Commissioners arrived in Montreal on April 29, 1776, Father Carroll presented a letter of introduction from Father Farmer, of Philadelphia, to Father Pierre Floquet, an ex-Jesuit, the last of the Canadian superiors of that Mission. Father Carroll was permitted to say Mass in Floquet's house, though the latter was then in disgrace with Bishop Briand, on account of his favorable attitude towards the American cause. In June, 1776, after John Carroll's departure, Father Floquet was suspended *a divinis* by Bishop Briand, on account of his "*Bostonnais* heart." Floquet, in his own defense (June 15,

¹⁵ BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-43. The *Journal* of Charles Carroll of Carrollton (ROWLAND, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 363-400) contains little of interest; it is a nondescript account of the trials of the journey to Montreal and return. The journey north was ended on April 29, 1776, and the only reference to Father Carroll is the note that on July 12th, he set out from Montreal to join Dr. Franklin at St. John's.

1776), protested that permission was given to Carroll by Monsignor Montgolfier, the vicar-general, and that Carroll did not reside with him, and dined with him but once. But Floquet had disobeyed Briand's order that no courtesy should be shown the American priest, and he suffered accordingly. In November, 1776, Floquet submitted to the episcopal condemnation and was reinstated. He died the following year, the last of the Canadian Jesuits.¹⁶ Shea says that the American priest received scant hospitality, even from the ex-Jesuits, and "found himself, when coming to portray the toleration of his countrymen, confronted by the Rev. John McKenna, the victim of their bigotry."¹⁷

John Carroll found it beyond his honesty to explain the bigotry in the *Address to the People of Great Britain* and in the *Petition to the King*, of October, 1774, and still more difficult was it to deny the Congress a sublime hypocrisy in stating the opposite opinion in its *Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec*.

The Mission to Canada began on April 2, 1776, and ended when Chase and Charles Carroll reached Philadelphia, on June 11, 1776. Franklin in a letter, dated New York, May 27, 1776, pays a high tribute of praise to Father Carroll for his attention during the journey—"As to myself, I find I grow daily more feeble and think I could hardly have got so far but for Mr. Carroll's friendly assistance and tender care of me."¹⁸ On June 2, 1776, Father Carroll wrote from Philadelphia to Charles Carroll, senior, giving him news of his son, and on the general failure of the Mission:

Cousin Charles and Mr. Chase left Montreal with me on the 12th of May, that they might not be in any danger from a frigate running up

¹⁶ *Researches*, vol. xxiii, pp. 299-300.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 151-152. Cf. GRIFFIN, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 135-153 (*The Catholic Loyalist Highlanders of the Mohawk Valley*). TÊTU, (*op. cit.*, p. 333) says: "On rappela à M. Carroll que la religion catholique n'avait encore jamais été tolérée dans telles et telles des provinces insurgées; que les prêtres en étaient exclus sous des peines très sévères et que les missionnaires envoyés chez les Sauvages étaient traités avec rigueur et cruauté. On lui demanda aussi pourquoi le congrès, qu'il disait si bien disposé envers les catholiques, avait fortement protesté à Londres contre la religion romaine et contre les avantages qu'on lui accordait en Canada . . . les gens instruits se rappelaient encore des cruautés inouïes et des perfidies sans nombre exercées par les Américains envers la nation Acadienne, tache indélébile . . ."

¹⁸ *Works*, Sparks ed., vol. vii, p. 183.

the river, and getting between them and the eastern shore of St. Lawrence. As Doctor Franklin determined to return to Philadelphia on account of his health, I resolved to accompany him, seeing it was out of my power to be of any service after the Commissioners had thought it advisable for them to leave Montreal. Your son and Mr. Chase proposed staying at St. John's or in that neighborhood, till they should know whether our army would keep post at De Chambeau; and the former desired me to give you notice of his being safe and well. . . . When I left him he expected to follow us in a few days; but Mr. Hancock tells me that if an express sent some days since from Congress reaches them before they have left Canada, he is of the opinion they will continue there for some time. I shall set out from hence, next week and propose doing myself the pleasure of calling at Elkridge. My affectionate and respectful compliments to Mrs. Darnall and Carroll, with love to Polly. Nothing new from Canada, nor indeed any advices at all since we left it. Great divisions here between the contending parties. . . . Ten tons of powder, five hundred small arms came in yesterday. Cousin Charles received large packets of letters from you a few days before we left Montreal.¹⁹

Congress soon learned that the popular American attitude towards the Canadians was well known; and while every effort was made in Instructions and otherwise to dull the effect of the unfortunate passage in the *Address to the People of Great Britain*, it was realized in Philadelphia that there was little hope of winning the Canadians to the cause of American freedom. "It is difficult," writes Russell, "to understand how the people of the American colonies could have imagined it possible to win over Canada to a union with them against Great Britain, when at every turn they outraged her people on what was dearer to them than life."²⁰

Father Carroll returned to Rock Creek in the summer of 1776 and took up again the work of his ministry.

From this period until some years after the termination of the Revolutionary war, he was principally employed in the service of the several congregations before spoken of, which he may be said in a great measure to have formed, alternately and periodically visiting and instructing them in the exalted duties of Christianity, and enforcing the principles of piety and charity, which he taught and inculcated, by his own persuasive example; and in directing and regulating the concerns of his respected

¹⁹ Cited by ROWLAND, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 170-171.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 499.

mother's property—whilst he contributed in an eminent degree, by his respectful and affectionate demeanour towards her, by his kindness and attention to all others, and by the irresistible charm of his conversation, company, and manners, to impart to the family circle of her house the highest degree of interest and to secure to it the fullest share of domestic happiness. He availed himself of all the moments left from the above employment, and from the time devoted to acts of private devotion, for which, under all circumstances, he always set apart a large portion, to add to the abundant stock of information which he already possessed, such as could be derived from a review of ancient literature, and a close and regular inspection of the public journals, miscellanies and literary works of the day, and to reciprocate, as he always did, with peculiar grace and kindness, all the offices of friendly and liberal intercourse with a large and respectable society.²¹

From this time until he took up the challenge of the Rev. Charles Wharton in 1784, we hear very little about him. The war had hindered his correspondence with his old friends of Bruges, and with many others who were then in England. In an undated letter at this time, as given by Brent, he says to Father Charles Plowden, with whom he corresponded regularly until his death: "If your other kind letters never came to hand, you have only to blame the unsleeping avidity of your own cruizers, whom I should call pirates, were I inclined to follow your example of abusing the political measures of our adversaries."²² Hughes records during this period (1776-1784) several letters to Plowden, one dated April 27, 1780, and another, which has an important place in the documentary material for the next period of his life, dated Maryland, February 20, 1782. The loss of Carroll's correspondence is much to be deplored, for it would be of infinite value to us to know how the setbacks and the successes of the Revolutionary Army had affected him. What few letters we do possess are beyond criticism for their wholehearted sympathy with the Revolution. From the close of the war his letters to Plowden began to grow more frequent, and they will be of eminent service in helping us to understand the situation of the clergy and the people at the time of his appointment as prefect-apostolic (June 9, 1784).

²¹ BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45. The Carroll-Plowden correspondence from which so many details of Carroll's life are drawn for this work, is mainly in the *Stonyhurst and Baltimore Cathedral Archives*.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DAWN OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE UNITED STATES

(1776-1787)

One further topic needs to be discussed as part of the background to John Carroll's five years as superior of the Church in the new Republic (1784-1789); it is the lessening and gradual extinction of legal disabilities for Americans of Catholic faith. "With the dawn of the Revolution all the colonies were substantially ready for the adoption of measures, which should make the severance of Church from State complete. Though each had gone through an experience peculiar to itself, in some instances presenting marked contrast to the others, all were practically together in a general desire for a religious liberty entirely untrammelled by the civil law, in which the terms *Conformity* and *Dissent* would become forever inapplicable."¹ The effort by the First Continental Congress to enlist the Canadians in 1774-76 and the alliance with France had had a considerable effect upon the leaders in the Revolution. Congress had adopted Dickinson's address in which "all the old religious jealousies were condemned as low-minded infirmities."² This gave the tone to the religious aspect of the post-Revolutionary period; and it was a foregone conclusion that when the Constitution should be written, the principle of religious liberty, or to put it more accurately, disestablishment, would find a prominent place in its clauses.

The third anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1779, found the President and members of the Continental Congress invited to attend a *Te Deum* service at St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia. The invitations were sent out by Gerard, the French Minister, and Father Seraphim Bandol, chaplain of the French legation, preached the following sermon:

¹ COBB, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

² *Ibid.*, p. 490.

Gentlemen:—We are assembled to celebrate the anniversary of that day which Providence had marked in his Eternal Decrees to become the epoch of liberty and independence to the thirteen United States of America. That Being, whose Almighty hand holds all existence beneath its dominion, undoubtedly produces in the depths of His wisdom, those great events which astonish the universe, and of which the most presumptuous, though instrumental in accomplishing them, dare not attribute to themselves the merit. But the finger of God is still more peculiarly evident in that happy, that glorious revolution, which calls forth this day's festivity. He hath struck the oppressors of a people free and peaceable, with the spirit of delusion which renders the wicked artificers of their own proper misfortunes. Permit me, my dear brethren, citizens of the United States, to address you on this occasion. It is that God, that all-powerful God who hath directed your steps, when you knew not where to apply for counsel; who, when you were without arms, fought for you with the sword of Justice; who, when you were in adversity, poured into your hearts the spirit of courage, of wisdom, and of fortitude, and who hath at length raised up for your support a youthful sovereign, whose virtues bless and adorn a sensible, a faithful, and a generous nation. This nation has blended her interests with your interests, and her sentiments with yours. She participates in all your joys, and this day unites her voice to yours, at the foot of the altar of the Eternal God, to celebrate that glorious revolution, which has placed the sons of America among the free and independent nations of the earth.

We have nothing now to apprehend but the anger of Heaven, or that the measure of our guilt should exceed His mercy. Let us then prostrate ourselves at the feet of the immortal God who holds the fate of empires in His hands and raises them up at His pleasure, or breaks them down to dust. Let us conjure Him to enlighten our enemies, and to dispose their hearts to enjoy that tranquillity and happiness which the revolution we now celebrate has established for a great part of the human race. Let us implore Him to conduct us by that way which His Providence has marked out for a union at so desirable an end. Let us offer unto Him hearts imbued with sentiments of respect, consecrated by religion, by humanity, and by patriotism. Never is the august ministry of His altar more acceptable to His Divine Majesty than when it lays at His feet homages, offerings and vows, so pure, so worthy of the common parent of mankind. God will not reject our joy, for He is the author of it; nor will He reject our prayers, for they ask but the full accomplishment of the decrees He hath manifested. Filled with this spirit let us, in concert with each other, raise our hearts to the Eternal. Let us implore His infinite mercy to be pleased to inspire the rulers of both nations with the wisdom and force necessary to perfect what it hath begun. Let us, in a word, unite our voices to beseech Him to dispense His blessings upon the councils and the arms of the allies, and that we may soon enjoy the sweets of peace which will cement the union, and establish the prosperity of the two empires. It is with this view that

we shall cause that canticle to be performed which the custom of the Catholic Church hath consecrated to be at once a testimonial of public joy, a thanksgiving for benefits received from Heaven, and a prayer for the continuance of its mercies.³

Members of the Congress attended the solemn Requiem Mass for the repose of the soul of the Spanish Agent, Don Juan de Miralles, at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, on May 8, 1780.⁴ Again, after the victory over Cornwallis at Yorktown, the members of Congress, the Supreme Executive Council, and the Assembly of Pennsylvania, were invited to attend a service of thanksgiving at St. Mary's Church on November 4, 1781. The sermon again was delivered by Father Bandol:

Gentlemen:—A numerous people assembled to render thanks to the Almighty for His mercies, is one of the most affecting objects, and worthy the attention of the Supreme Being. While camps resound with triumphal acclamations, while nations rejoice in victory and glory, the most honourable office a minister of the altar can fill, is to be the organ by which public gratitude is conveyed to the Omnipotent.

Those miracles which He once wrought for His chosen people are renewed in our favour; and it would be equally ungrateful and impious not to acknowledge that the event which lately confounded our enemies and frustrated their designs was the wonderful work of that God who guards your liberties.

And who but He could so combine the circumstances which led to success? We have seen our enemies push forward amid perils almost innumerable, amid obstacles almost insurmountable, to the spot which was designed to witness their disgrace; yet they eagerly sought it as their theatre of triumph!

Blind as they were, they bore hunger, thirst, and inclement skies, poured their blood in battle against brave republicans, and crossed immense regions to confine themselves in another Jericho, whose walls were fated to fall before another Joshua. It is He, whose voice commands the winds, the seas and the seasons, who formed a junction on the same day, in the same hour, between a formidable fleet from the south and an army rushing from the north, like an impetuous torrent. Who but He, in whose hands are the hearts of men, could inspire the allied troops with the friendships, the confidence, the tenderness of brothers? How is it that two nations once divided, jealous, inimical, and nursed in reciprocal prejudices, are now become so closely united, as to form but one?

³ *Researches*, vol. vi, pp. 56-59; a fac-simile of the printed sermon from the Ridgeway Library, Philadelphia, will be found in SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 171-174; cf. WESTCOTT, *History of Philadelphia*, p. 365.

⁴ Cf. Washington's *Writings*, vol. vi, pp. 186-187; cf. *Researches*, vol. vi, pp. 62-72.

Worldlings would say, it is the wisdom, the virtue, and moderation of their chiefs, it is a great national interest which has performed this prodigy. They will say, that to the skill of the generals, to the courage of the troops, to the activity of the whole army, we must attribute this splendid success. Ah! they are ignorant, that the combining of so many fortunate circumstances, is an emanation from the All-Perfect Mind: that courage, that skill, that activity, bear the sacred impression of Him Who is divine.

For how many favours have we not to thank Him during the course of the present year? Your union, which was at first supported by justice alone, has been consolidated by your courage, and the knot which ties you together is become indissoluble by the accession of all the states and the unanimous voice of all the confederates. You present to the universe the noble sight of a society, which, founded in equality and justice, secures to the individuals who compose it, the utmost happiness which can be derived from human institutions. This advantage, which so many other nations have been unable to procure, even after ages of efforts and misery, is granted by divine providence to the United States; and His adorable decrees have marked the present moment for the completion of that memorable happy revolution, which has taken place in this extensive continent. While your counsels were thus acquiring new energy, rapid multiplied successes have crowned your arms in the southern states.

We have seen the unfortunate citizens of these states forced from their peaceful abodes; after a long and cruel captivity, old men, women and children, thrown without mercy, into a foreign country. Master of their lands and their slaves, amid his temporary affluence, a proud victor rejoiced in their distresses. But Philadelphia has witnessed their patience and fortitude; they have found here another home, and though driven from their native soil they have blessed God, that He has delivered them from their presence, and conducted them to a country where every just and feeling man has stretched out the helping hand of benevolence. Heaven rewards their virtues. Three large states are at once wrested from their foe. The rapacious soldier has been compelled to take refuge behind his ramparts, and oppression has vanished like those phantoms which are dissipated by the morning ray.

On this solemn occasion, we might renew our thanks to the God of battles, for the success He has granted to the arms of your allies and your friends by land and by sea, through the other parts of the globe. But let us not recall those events which too clearly prove how much the hearts of our enemies have been obdurate. Let us prostrate ourselves at the altar, and implore the God of mercy to suspend His vengeance, to spare them in His wrath, to inspire them with sentiments of justice and moderation that your victories be followed by peace and tranquillity. Let us beseech Him to continue to shed on the counsels of the king, your ally, that spirit of wisdom, of justice, and of courage, which has rendered his reign so glorious. Let us entreat Him to maintain in each

of the states that intelligence by which the United States are inspired. Let us return Him thanks that a faction, whose rebellion He has corrected, now deprived of support, is annihilated. Let us offer Him pure hearts, unsoiled by private hatred or public dissention, and let us, with one will and one voice, pour forth to the Lord that hymn of praise by which Christians celebrate their gratitude and his glory.⁵

These acts of courtesy must not, however, be interpreted by the Catholic reader as a portion of his history alone. Congress looked upon religious disabilities in the new Republic from quite another angle than did the Catholic Church. From the outset the distinction between federal jurisdiction in the matter of Church Establishment and State rights on the question was administered and applied. John Carroll, as early as 1779, expressed this view to Father Plowden:

You inquire how congress intend to treat the Catholics in this country. To this I must answer you that congress have no authority or jurisdiction relative to the internal government, or concerns of the particular states of the Union; these are all settled by the constitutions and laws of the states themselves. I am glad, however, to inform you that the fullest and largest system of toleration is adopted in almost all the American states; public protection and encouragement are extended alike to all denominations, and Roman Catholics are members of congress, assemblies, and hold civil and military posts, as well as others. For the sake of your and many other families, I am heartily glad to see the same policy beginning to be adopted in England and Ireland; and I cannot help thinking that you are indebted to America for this piece of service. I hope it will soon be extended as far with you as with us.⁶

The dawn of religious freedom in the new Republic had at last come, although "establishment" was passionately advocated in some of the state conventions; but the new spirit of equality was sufficiently strong to forbid its continuance. Madison added a new and valuable light on the question when he declared that religion did not enter within the cognizance of Government, and the federal spirit was seen when the Ordinance of 1787

⁵ *Researches*, vol. vi, pp. 73-76; the sermon was printed in the *American Museum*, (vol. iv, July, 1788), pp. 28-29; cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 198-201. The statement often made by Catholic historians that Washington, Rochambeau, Lafayette and De Grasse were present at this ceremony is erroneous; they did not leave Yorktown until Nov. 5, 1781.

⁶ Rock Creek, February 28, 1779, in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. iii (1844), pp. 367-368.

extended religious liberty to the Northwest Territory.⁷ "In none of the other States," says Cobb, "was there such various and sustained discussion as in Virginia. In most of them a few words of constitutional provision, with more or less freedom, settled the question for the time. What is most marked by the comparison of the different actions is the varying degree of ability to understand the true nature of religious freedom. No other colony, save Rhode Island, equalled Virginia's broad and comprehensive statement, while some of them fell far short of that standard."⁸ New Hampshire discriminated in favour of the Protestant religion. Massachusetts gave a civil status to the Church preferred by the several towns and parishes. New York granted a free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, though Catholics were not at first included in this freedom. New Jersey barred Catholics from holding office in the State. Pennsylvania and Delaware laid emphasis on belief in Christian doctrines. Maryland limited its religious freedom to Christians. North Carolina excluded Catholics from all offices and places of trust. South Carolina established the Protestant religion. Georgia barred Catholics from its legislature. These restrictions, however, are a sign of progress towards the final action of Congress in 1787. Cobb sums up the situation in the following paragraph:

It will thus be observed that, when the American Union was formed, there was great variety of legal expression on the subject of religion and its civic relations in the different states. By brief grouping of them it appears that in only two out of the thirteen was full and perfect freedom conceded by law. These were Rhode Island and Virginia. Six of the states, *viz.* New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, insisted on Protestantism. Two were content with the Christian religion: Delaware and Maryland. Four, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the Carolinas, required assent to the divine inspiration of the Bible. Two, Pennsylvania and South Carolina, demanded a belief in heaven and hell. Three, New York, Maryland, and South Carolina, excluded ministers from civil office. Two, Pennsylvania and South Carolina, emphasized belief in one eternal God. One, Delaware, required assent to the doctrine of the Trinity. And five, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland and South Carolina, adhered to a religious

⁷ McLAUGHLIN, *The Confederation and the Constitution*, p. 121. New York, 1905.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 489.

establishment. In one, South Carolina, the obnoxious term *toleration* found a constitutional place.⁹

This phase of American Catholic life has gathered many legends in the passage of time; chief among these is the statement, which no amount of denying seems to affect, that Father John Carroll was directly instrumental in bringing about the great triumph of religious equality before the law. It is claimed that John Carroll was the personal and intimate friend of George Washington, and that this friendship was strengthened through Carroll's success in obtaining the powerful influence of France for the American cause. It is also said that as a result of Carroll's personal appeal to Washington, the last lingering doubts about Catholic loyalty vanished and the sun of religious liberty arose in the land. There is no ground for these claims. That Carroll was known to the leaders of the Constitutional Congress is possible, since his controversy with Wharton (1785) had been favourably commented upon; but any claim for him in the organization of the Republic or in the drafting of the Constitution is erroneous.¹⁰ The provenance of these legends about John Carroll and the Fathers of the Republic is not difficult to find. Letters had appeared during the year 1786-87 in the *Columbian Magazine* (Philadelphia), from correspondents who objected to the extension of religious liberty to Catholics. Mathew Carey, the celebrated publisher of Philadelphia, was one of the proprietors of this periodical, but withdrew from the enterprise in 1787, because of the bias it displayed against his

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

¹⁰ CRÉTENEAU-JOLY in the *History of the Society of Jesus* attributes to the "learning and foresight" of Father Carroll the "establishment of the principle of religious independence," and asserts that the framers of the Constitution called him into counsel before they submitted that document to the Congress. In his Appendix to DARRAS, *General History of the Church*, the Rev. Dr. White represents the First Amendment as having been adopted on the petition of a group of distinguished Catholics, headed by John Carroll, and quotes as his authority, Bishop Fenwick. As is well known, the First Amendment was never before the Federal Convention, having been submitted to the States in September, 1789. Dr. Brownson [*Brownson's Review*, vol. iii (October, 1845), p. 506], says: "When the disclaimer [to all right to touch the empire of conscience] was inserted in the Constitution, Catholicity was looked upon as dead; there were few Catholics, comparatively speaking, in the country, and nobody dreamed of the possibility of their becoming numerous. The Protestants feeling themselves strong, thought they might afford to be liberal. Perhaps the recent struggles for political independence had, for the moment, humanized their feelings, and in the sudden expansion of their hearts, they really imagined it might be a fine thing to try the experiment of religious liberty. Yet the acknowledgment of religious liberty was not obtained without strong opposition."

Faith. He began in January, 1787, the publication of the *American Museum*, the seventh volume of which (1790) was dedicated to Bishop Carroll "as a mark of sincere esteem for his numerous amicable qualities and his distinguished virtues, and of gratitude for his friendship." In one of the summer issues (1787) of the *Columbian Magazine* there appeared an attack on the Catholic Faith which Carroll felt obliged to answer. This answer was written in September, 1787, and appeared in a supplement to the December, 1787, number of that periodical, but with "unjustifiable retrenchment" as Carroll wrote to Carey on January 30, 1789. Carroll's letter was as follows:

To the Editor of the *Columbian Magazine*.

Sir:—

One of your correspondents sends you a fabricated history of a Cardinal Turlone, who never existed, and which you inserted in a former *Magazine*; this history he enriched with inflammatory comments; but he had neither justice nor candour enough to undeceive your readers by informing them that the whole was a malicious fable. A very small part of your Monthly Miscellany is devoted to the article of news; for this you are commendable; we can readily refer to other collections for that commodity. But when you condescend to relate events of modern times, you might, once in a month, make selection of a few articles of undoubted credit and general importance, and not deal out the malicious and mischief-making forgeries of persecuting Europeans. Thanks to genuine spirit and Christianity, the United States have banished intolerance from their system of government, and many of them have done the justice to every denomination of Christians, which ought to be done to them in all, of placing them on the same footing of citizenship, and conferring an equal right of participation in national privileges. Freedom and independence, acquired by the united efforts, and cemented with the mingled blood of Protestant and Catholic fellow-citizens, should be equally enjoyed by all. The Jersey state was the first, which, in forming her new Constitution, gave the unjust example of reserving to Protestants alone the prerogatives of government and legislation. At that very time the American army swarmed with Roman-Catholic soldiers, and the world would have held them justified, had they withdrawn themselves from the defence of a State which treated them with so much cruelty and injustice, and which they then covered from the depredations of the British army. But their patriotism was too disinterested to hearken to the first impulse of even just resentment. They could not believe that the State, which was foremost to injure them, would continue, or that any others would imitate, her partial and iniquitous policy. It seems they were not acquainted with the bitter spirit which dictated the unjustifiable exclusion: they trusted to the wise and generous sentiments which

pervaded every corner of the American continent. For who that remembers our cordial unanimity in rejecting the claims of foreign oppression, could imagine that any of us would impose on fellow-soldiers and citizens the degrading mark of distrust, or the galling yoke of inferiority? Such, however, was the treatment they found, not because they were less warm or less profuse of their blood in defence of their common rights, but because the authors of injustice, who could resent and oppose British counsels levelled against their own rights of legislation, wanted the greater fortitude of emancipating their minds from the slavish subjection to the prejudices imbibed during a narrowed British education.¹¹

In his letter (Jan. 30, 1789) to Mathew Carey, Bishop Carroll says: "*After having contributed in proportion to their numbers, equally at least with every other denomination, to the establishment of independence, and run every risk in common with them, it is not only contradictory to the avowed principles of equality in religious rights but a flagrant act of injustice to deprive them of those advantages to the acquirement of which they so much contributed.*"¹² No doubt from the simultaneous appearance of Carroll's letter in the *Magazine* with the debates on the Federal Constitution, the idea arose that John Carroll had entered into the discussions on the Sixth Article and on the First Amendment of the Constitution. Father John Carroll's brother Daniel was a member of the Constitutional Congress and took a leading part in the debates on religious freedom in that body. That he may have been guided by Father Carroll is probable, but beyond this it would be difficult to prove any active participation by the first Bishop of Baltimore.¹³

The Sixth Article of the Constitution submitted to the States in 1787 reads: *No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.* In some of the State Conventions this Article was considered insufficient; in others it was considered dangerous to the welfare of the state commonwealth. Major Lusk, in Massachusetts, dreaded the liberty granted to those who were not Protestants, and "shuddered at the idea that Roman Catholics, Papists, and

¹¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Special A—G2; cf. *Researches*, vol. xv, pp. 62-63.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹³ Cf. THORPE, *The Constitutional History of the United States*, vol. ii, pp. 237ss., Chicago, 1901; TAYLOR, *Origin and Growth of the American Constitution* (New York, 1911); *Journal of the Federal Convention*, Rept. by Madison, edited by E. H. Scott (New York, 1908).

Pagans might be introduced into office and that Popery and the Inquisition may be established in America." The first of the ten Amendments submitted in 1789-91 went a step further in granting religious equality—*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion.* It would take us too far afield to follow the story of the final adoption of this First Amendment in the thirteen state legislatures. The Constitutional Congress had done all it could to ordain liberty of conscience throughout the land, but years were to pass before all the States were to accept the principle of complete religious freedom. Some of the dates are significant: Massachusetts (1833); Connecticut (1818); New York (1806); New Jersey (1844); Delaware (1831); Virginia (1830); North Carolina (1835); South Carolina (1790), and Georgia (1798). New Hampshire still retains the word *Protestant* in its religious clause and several efforts to eliminate it or change it have thus far failed.¹⁴ The grave problem of the absence of power on the part of the national government to prevent state established churches need not be entered into here. Whether written into the law or not, Christianity is the law of the land. The Catholic Church in the United States was, indeed, never to be without certain misgivings; for, from the days of John Jay's bigotry down to the last of the anti-Catholic movements which have been begun during the past one hundred and forty years, there has ever been present in American life, especially in political crises, the old antagonisms of pre-Revolutionary days.

¹⁴ DE COURCY-SHEA, *The Catholic Church in the United States*, pp. 45-46. New York, 1856. BRENT, (*op. cit.*, pp. 68-69) quotes from a contemporary manuscript, presumably Carroll's, which gives the following reasons for the adoption of the principle of freedom of conscience:

I. The leading characters of the first assembly or congress, were, through principle, opposed to every thing like vexation on the score of religion; and as they were perfectly acquainted with the maxim of the Catholics, they saw the injustice of persecuting them for adhering to their doctrines.

II. The Catholics evinced a desire, not less ardent than that of the Protestants, to render the provinces independent of the mother country: and it was manifest that if they joined the common cause and exposed themselves to the common danger, they should be entitled to a participation in the common blessings which crowned their efforts.

III. France was negotiating an alliance with the United Provinces; and nothing could have retarded the progress of that alliance more effectually, than the demonstration of any ill will against the religion which France professed.

IV. The aid, or at least the neutrality of Canada, was judged necessary for the success of the enterprise of the provinces, and by placing the Catholics on a level with all other Christians, the Canadians, it was believed, could not but be favourably disposed towards the revolution.

CHAPTER IX

THE CARROLL-WHARTON CONTROVERSY

(1784-85)

It is the first of these post-Revolutionary attacks upon the Church which has now to be chronicled—the controversy between the first American apostate priest, Rev. Charles Wharton, and Father John Carroll. Charles Wharton was born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, in 1748. He was educated at St. Omer's, entered the Society of Jesus and finished his studies at Bruges and Liège, being ordained a priest on September 19, 1772. In July, 1773, he was appointed professor of mathematics in the English College at Liège, and when the Society was suppressed, he took refuge in England. Four years later he became permanent chaplain to the Catholics of Worcester, England. Wharton wrote about this time a *Poetical Epistle to George Washington*, which had considerable vogue. It was first published at Annapolis in 1778, and reprinted in London in 1780, being sold for the benefit "of some hundreds of American prisoners now suffering confinement in the jails of England."¹ The concluding lines of the *Poetical Epistle* are as follows:

Great without pomp, without ambition brave,
Proud, not to conquer fellow-men, but save;
Friend to the weak, to none a foe but those
Who plan their greatness on their brethren's woes;
Awed by no titles, faithless to no trust.
Free without faction, obstinately just;
Warmed by Religion's pure heavenly ray,
That points to future bliss the certain way,—
Such be my country! What her sons should be
O, may they learn, great Washington, from thee!²

Wharton's gifts were of a high order, but his private life does not seem to have been free from blame. Rumours which

¹ WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. vi, pp. 575.

² *Researches*, vol. vi, p. 24.

were detrimental to his standing in the ministry were circulated in Worcester, and from letters which are extant, it would appear that a change in his religious opinions occurred at this time. "He has told me," writes his friend and biographer, Bishop Doane of New Jersey, "that the mental suffering which he then underwent was keen and severe, beyond the power of description or conception. It preyed upon a frame enfeebled and exhausted by vigils and study, with a spiritual excruciation of which the rack of the inquisition was but a feeble emblem. It may be doubted whether his nervous system ever recovered from the shock. In such a struggle, nature, unassisted, must have failed and fallen."³ Father Wharton's faith had been unsettled for a long time before his apostasy. In a letter from a friend in America (July 25, 1782) we learn that his *Letter to the Roman Catholics of the City of Worcester* announcing his defection was then in preparation. Wharton returned to Maryland in June, 1783, lived on his own estate there, and for a year gave no evidence of priestly zeal or of the decision he had made to leave the Church. Soon after his arrival he called upon Father Carroll, as we learn from a letter Carroll sent to Plowden, September 26, 1783:

Since my last to you, Messrs. Leonard Neale, from Demarara, and Ch. Wharton have come into this country. I have seen the latter only once, and propose returning his visit in about a fortnight. I find him indeed possessed of considerable knowledge, and endowed with all those talents which render society agreeable. If upon further acquaintance I discover any of those blemishes which some of his companions in England thought they did, it would give me great concern, and I should speak freely to him about them. He has surely too much knowledge, and is too well grounded in sound philosophy and sacred literature to adopt the incoherent and impious principles of modern infidelity.⁴

Father Plowden did not lose sight of Wharton and in a letter written towards the close of the year 1783, he again inquires about him. In a reply, dated April 10, 1784, Carroll tells his English correspondent that Wharton had returned to America

³ DOANE, *The Remains of the Rev. Charles Henry Wharton, D.D., with a Memoir of His Life*, vol. i, pp. 27-28. Philadelphia, 1834.

⁴ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 615-616. Cf. *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. iii, p. 662.

and was then living on his own estate about sixty miles away from Rock Creek. Carroll notes the fact that he did not bring any faculties from the London Vicar-Apostolic, and therefore did not exercise the ministry in the Maryland mission. This was not surprising for it was in line with Bishop Talbot's policy to refuse such faculties. Carroll says in his letter that Wharton was leading "a life clear of all offense," and that he was giving "no handle to censure, though they are not wanting who would be glad to find room for it."⁵ Wharton's conduct at Worcester had given Plowden cause "to apprehend some flagrant abuse of the talents with which God has distinguished him;" it was rumoured in London in September, 1784, that he had given up the Faith. That Wharton had decided to leave the Church before setting out for America is evident from the materials used in his *Letter*. The wealth of knowledge he displays in his attack on Catholic doctrine proves, as Carroll says, in his answer, that his authorities were "collected on the other side with great industry. By the Chaplain's own account, he has long meditated a separation from us; and during that time, he had opportunities of resorting to the repositories of science so common and convenient in Europe."⁶

In May, 1784, Wharton visited Philadelphia to give his *Letter to the Roman Catholics of the City of Worcester* to the printer. Dr. White, Episcopal Bishop of Philadelphia, read the manuscript and was much pleased with it.⁷ The publication of the *Letter* aroused a strong spirit of hostility to the Church in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the clergy saw that an answer was necessary.

Although attacks upon the Catholic Religion had often been made while this country was under British domination, and while Catholics were a proscribed class, yet their coarseness, and the ferocity of their authors, made them unworthy of a formal defensive argument. But Mr. Wharton's pamphlet was a production of a very different character. Written in a style of polished elegance, and professing to be rather an apology or justification for the author's departure from among brethren whom he respected and loved, than an attempt to convict them of error, it nevertheless assailed the distinctive doctrines of the Catholic church in

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 662.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 663 (Plowden to Carroll, September 2, 1784).

⁷ DOANE, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 86.

detail, with elaborate arguments, deriving force from the author's former profession and acknowledged learning, and calculated to produce a deeper impression by the absence of harsh invective, by the terms of respect and gratitude in which he alluded to the virtues and attentions of his Catholic acquaintances, as well as by his affected deference to their feelings and prejudices. . . . His frequent references to authors rarely to be found in this country at that period, and only intelligible to the profound scholar, were calculated to embarrass the unlearned inquirer, and give temporary impunity to assertions subsequently shown to be only sustained by erroneous quotations or doubtful authorities. The time at which the attack upon Catholic doctrines was made seemed to indicate an unfriendliness to that spirit of religious liberty which was then cherished by patriots, who, having just succeeded in emancipating their country from foreign control, were desirous to exhibit in the new Republic the delightful spectacle of a fraternity in all civil and religious rights and privileges, without regard to the diversity of speculative opinions, or the variety of religious profession and practice.⁸

The situation was a pathetic one for the little band of devoted priests in Pennsylvania and Maryland. Carroll was among the youngest of them, but his education and his long years of teaching made him easily the leader among his fellows, and it was natural for them to look to him for a fitting reply. On August 4, 1784, Father Molyneux wrote to Carroll inviting him to come to Philadelphia and prepare his reply. "I have a snug chamber to rest you in, and a library well fitted up in the choir of the old chapel and partitioned off from the same, where you might spend many agreeable hours in study and application, free from noise."⁹ We are given a glimpse of Carroll's difficulty in obtaining books in his correspondence with Molyneux, asking for certain authors and for verifications of many of the quotations in Wharton's *Letter*. Molyneux' letter of August 24, 1784, gives us a fair idea of the disadvantage he laboured under; for, the best library in Philadelphia was that of James Logan, and after repeated requests, Molyneux was informed that he could have access to the books in the Logan library only when he, Logan, or his brother, was present to watch him.¹⁰ Meanwhile Father Carroll's attention was called to the valuable public library at Annapolis, and it was here that he composed the

⁸ *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. iii, p. 663.

⁹ Cf. *Researches*, vol. v, p. 40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. vi, pp. 25-26.

greater part of his reply, which is entitled: *Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America*. It was published at Annapolis by the printer, Frederick Green, in the autumn of 1784.

Wharton's *Letter* is undoubtedly an example of the best controversial literature of the day, and his attack rises far above the apologetic used in the previous century. The language is restrained, polished, and at all times elegant. There is no invective, no bitterness; and, what is singularly remarkable for the time, there is no coarseness. He takes up one by one the different doctrines of the Church and then leads the reader to realize the genesis of his doubts and the sad regret he experiences in being obliged to relinquish a Faith in which he no longer believes. He writes:

At a period of life when discernment should be ripe; when passions should be calm, and principles settled, if a man relinquish the opinions of his youth; if he break through the impressions of early education, and the habits of thinking with which he has long been familiar; if he abandon connections which he has cherished from his infancy, to throw himself among strangers and begin the world anew; surely a consciousness of duty, or some unworthy principle must be the spring of such extraordinary conduct. In this case, a decent respect to his own character; to the connections, which he quits; and those, which he embraces, seems to call aloud for the motives of so important a change.

In the introduction to his famous *Letter*, Wharton lays the beginning of his change in religious belief to the friendship he had formed in England with "many valuable Protestants, with whom I lived in habits of intimacy." This served, he asserts, to enlarge his ideas and to wean his mind from the narrowness of the Catholic system. It soon became painful to regard such fellow-Christians as being imbued with error—"I dismissed the cruel idea with contempt and indignation; but with it a leading principle of my former belief was abandoned." Three points at issue between the Catholic and Protestant creeds—Transubstantiation, the infallibility of the Church, and the impossibility of being saved outside the communion of the Catholic Church—were then taken up and treated in detail, with wide knowledge and a profuse appeal to the theological writers of the past. That other influences, apart from his changed attitude

towards the doctrines of the Church, were at work in his heart, he freely confesses. One of these influences he speaks of, since no doubt, the rumours about his private life had reached his ears. "Many should say (and I expect it will be said) that I was tired of the law which obliged me to live single, and was willing to unite myself to a more indulgent community. I can only refer such declaimers to the littleness of their own minds, where, perhaps, they will discover the ungenerous source of so illiberal a reflection. I make no scruple, indeed, here publicly do acknowledge, that for some time back, I have considered the law of celibacy as a cruel usurpation of the inalienable rights of nature, as unwarrantable in its principle, inadequate in its object, and dreadful in its consequences." This obvious suspicion, he knew, would be present in the minds of many, and he declares before God that the law of celibacy would not alone have led him to abandon communion with the Catholic Church. Naturally, once he was freed from the discipline of the Church, he would marry, but he protests that "no action of my life ever authorized" anyone to suspect that he had been recreant to his vows.

In his treatment of the doctrines of the Church he made use chiefly of Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*, Usher's *Answer to a Challenge*, Claude's *Défense de la Réformation*, and Hurd's *On the Prophecies*. There is little to be gained in reviewing his logic or his method of attack upon the fundamental belief of the Church; but the whole treatise is written with such suavity and charm that it no doubt had considerable effect upon his earliest readers. In summary, Wharton described the situation as follows:

My religion is that of the Bible: whatever that sacred book proposes as an object of my faith or a rule of my conduct was inspired by the unerring Spirit of God, and for that reason I admit it with all the faculties of my soul. Your religion is the doctrine of the Council of Trent: mine the plain truths delivered in the Scriptures. You shelter yourselves under the decisions of a tribunal, which you believe to be infallible: I rely solely upon the authority of God's word. . . . Such is the religion in which, after a long, and, as I trust, sincere deliberation, I have ultimately chosen. . . . Upon this will I stake my happiness for eternity. . . . And now, my fellow Christians, I must take my leave of you. Some of you, perhaps, will believe me, when I assure them

that I do it with very painful regret. The many civilities which I experienced during my residence among you, have made a strong and lasting impression on my mind. I trust no alteration in my religious opinions will be ever be able to efface it. Convinced by reason, and taught by revelation, that true and genuine religion consists more in perfect union of heart than entire conformity of opinion, I shall still deem it my duty to cherish the sentiments of gratitude, esteem, and charity, which the worth and behaviour of several characters among you first excited in my breast. To the last of these, moreover, you are entitled, as fellow men and fellow Christians. Sentiments like these, coming from a supposed enemy, and an obscure individual, will probably be considered by many with contempt or indifference. They who cannot discriminate between the personal merit and the speculative opinions of men, will certainly rate them very low. But to persons truly candid and sincere themselves, such affections can never appear less acceptable for being cherished by a man, who, without any prospect of emolument, or promise of attention from the communion he embraces, has sacrificed a certain and comfortable subsistence, and hazarded a tolerable character among his nearest connexions, rather than incur the reproaches of his own mind, or the guilt of hypocrisy. Be this, however, as it may, it must ever prove a point of great importance to myself, not to lose sight of a commandment, which by special preference our common Redeemer calls his own; and which, as you know, is nothing more than mutual forbearance, benevolence, and love.¹¹

After the publication of the *Letter* (Philadelphia, 1784), Wharton was accepted by the Episcopalian Church and as a minister of that Church he sat in the first General Convention of that body, in New York, in the autumn of 1784. The following year he became the rector of the Episcopal church at New Castle, Delaware, and in 1786 as President of the Protestant Episcopal Convention of Delaware, he recommended his friend, Rev. William White, of Philadelphia, as bishop of that Church. In 1791, he was appointed rector of a church near Wilmington, Delaware, but left that post in 1792 to reside at Prospect Hill, near the same city. Three years later he was elected principal of an academy at Burlington, New Jersey, and in 1798, he became the rector of St. Mary's Church in Burlington, remaining in the post until his death, July 23, 1833. In 1796, Dr. Wharton published at Philadelphia, his *Short and Candid Enquiry* into the proofs of Christ's divinity; in 1813, he wrote an attack on Father Anthony

¹¹ *Letter, etc.*, pp. 39-40.

Kohlmann's exposition of the doctrine of the Sacrament of Penance.

Dr. Wharton was twice married; his first wife was Mary Weems, the daughter of Colonel Weems of Maryland. She died on June 2, 1798, and in her honor Wharton published an elegy, which begins:

Dull roll the hours, and heavy hangs the day,
Oppress'd with wo my broken spirit lies,
Since my poor heart, to wretchedness a prey,
Heav'd its last sigh o'er Mary's closing eyes.

O lovely Mary! dearer far to me
Than India's wealth, or pleasure's brightest charms,
What can alas! supply the loss of thee,
For ever, ever absent from my arms?

How in this world, to me a desert grown,
Without my heart's best portion can I dwell?
For me forlorn, forsaken, and alone,
O toll full soon the last sad solemn knell.

Farewell, bless'd spirit; and if aught below
Can still to thee a sense of pain impart,
O witness not my agonizing wo,
View not the gloom that broods upon my heart.¹²

His grief, however, was not of long duration, for he married shortly afterwards Anna Kinsey, the daughter of the Chief Justice of New Jersey. Mrs. Wharton survived the former Catholic priest by many years, and it is from her that his biographer, Bishop Doane, received considerable information about Dr. Wharton. "The first characteristic of Dr. Wharton which arrested your attention," said Doane in the funeral sermon he delivered in St. Mary's Church, on August 4, 1833, "was his singular purity of character. He was single-hearted and single-eyed beyond almost all men whom I know. He had neither guile nor the suspicion of it. Long as he lived in the world, he seemed to have suffered little from its contact. There was a delicacy of sentiment and feeling in him, which not only bespoke

¹² DOANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

his own purity of heart, but kept the atmosphere about him pure."¹³

Dr. Wharton was an antagonist worthy of Father John Carroll's pen. The *Letter* received much attention both in this country and in England, where it was written, and on both sides of the Atlantic the Catholic reply was awaited with interest. Wharton's display of learning, while pedantic, caught the fancy of the intellectual groups in the Republic, and it was in this display that Carroll proved him to have over-reached himself, for many of Wharton's quotations, not only from the Fathers and theologians, but from Protestant authors, were found to be inaccurate and erroneous. John Carroll's *Address* is twice as long as the *Letter*, and is written in a style as dignified and lofty as that of his apostate cousin. Scanty as were Carroll's sources of information and difficult as it was to refer directly to the authorities quoted by Wharton, the prefect-apostolic in a remarkably short time completed his answer and, in the opinion of the leading churchmen of the time, won on every point over Dr. Wharton. Father Carroll avers that he would have taken no notice of the *Letter* had it not been so widely circulated in America. Line by line he follows Wharton's argumentation, and at times his pages become eloquent with the nobility of his defense of Catholic doctrines. Fortunately, he was able to procure through Molyneux the Protestant authorities cited by Wharton, and with them before him, he makes many a trenchant observation upon the latter's ability in the art of critical use of these sources. The old hackneyed arguments against the Church Carroll refutes with a logic that reveals the power of the teacher in the days when he taught at Liège and Bruges. As Shea says:

Like all Dr. Carroll's writings, the *Address* had a peculiar dignity and equanimity, was free from all acerbity and harshness, and was admirably fitted to exercise a beneficial influence on the public mind. In one point he had a peculiar advantage. Dr. Wharton, who had chosen to remain in England during the struggle, could not impeach the loyalty of the Catholic clergy and people of America, and his anonymous poem to

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 65. It is said that while in Burlington, Dr. Wharton had in his service an Irish Catholic servant-girl, who did not know his earlier history. She fell dangerously ill and begged her master to send for a priest. In spite of his *Letter* in which confession was definitely rejected, Dr. Wharton told the girl he was a priest and so heard her confession. (Cf. OLIVER, *Collections S. J.*, p. 66.)

George Washington did not place him on a par with Dr. Carroll, who came back at the beginning of the Revolution to share his country's fortunes, and who had at her call proceeded to Canada to advance her interest.¹⁴

Dr. Carroll opens his attack upon Wharton by refuting the charge, hoary with age, that belief in the Church is the result of ignorance. He takes up the phrase which Wharton had belaboured—*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*—and shows that the chaplain's rigorous interpretation is nowhere held by the Fathers or the theologians. The main arguments used by Wharton against the infallible teaching powers of the Church are shown to be sophistical, and Dr. Carroll emphasizes in his reply to the other points at issue that the Church can teach nothing that is not implicitly revealed in Holy Scripture. He convicts Wharton of garbling texts from Bellarmine, of misquoting the Councils, and of a conscious misapplication of Scripture to the tenets of the Catholic Church.

As an example of Carroll's apologetical method, the following passage may be quoted:

I will not deny, that I was surprised when I read the first passage cited by the Chaplain; it appeared so opposite to the principles which St. Chrysostom had laid down in several parts of his works. It was a mortifying circumstance, that I could not conveniently have recourse to that holy doctor's writings, nor minutely examine the passage objected, together with its context. I procured a friend to examine the edition of Chrysostom's works, belonging to the public library at Annapolis; he has carefully and repeatedly read the 49th homily on St. Matthew; and not one syllable of the Chaplain's citation is to be found in it. After receiving this notice, I was for some time doubtful, whether it might not be owing to a difference in the editions. I could not persuade myself, that he, who so solemnly calls heaven to witness for the impartiality and integrity of his inquiry, would publicly expose himself to a well-grounded imputation of unpardonable negligence, in a matter of such serious concern. But I have now the fullest evidence, that the passage, for which Chrysostom on Matthew, hom. 49, is quoted, is not taken from that father. It is extracted from a work of no credit, supposed to be written in the 6th century, entitled, *The unfinished work on Matthew*. But had it even been fairly quoted from him, the Chaplain would not have had so much cause for triumph as he imagines. For the passage he adduces

¹⁴ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 227.

carries with it equal condemnation of the Protestant and Catholic rule of faith.¹⁵

Dr. Carroll's *Address* ends with the following personal note:

I have now gone through a task painful in every point of view in which I could consider it. To write for the public eye, on any occasion whatever, is neither agreeable to my feelings, my leisure, nor opportunities; that it is likewise disproportioned to my abilities, my readers, I doubt not will soon discover. But if reduced to the necessity of publishing, I would wish that my duty led me to any species of composition, rather than that of religious controversy. Mankind have conceived such a contempt for it, that an author cannot entertain a hope of enjoying those gratifications, which in treating other subjects may support his spirits and enliven his imagination. Much less could I have a prospect of these incitements in the prosecution of my present undertaking. I could not forget, in the beginning, progress, and conclusion of it, that the habits of thinking, the prejudices, perhaps even the passions of many of my readers, would be set against all the arguments I could offer; and that the weaknesses, the errors, the absurdities of the writer, would be imputed to the errors and absurdity of his religion. But of all considerations, the most painful was, that I had to combat him, with whom I had been connected in an intercourse of friendship and mutual good offices; and in connexion with whom, I hoped to have consummated my course of our common ministry, in the service of virtue and religion. But when I found these expectations disappointed; when I found that he not only abandoned our faith and communion, but had imputed to us doctrines foreign to our belief, and having a natural tendency to embitter against us the minds of our fellow citizens, I felt an anguish too keen for description; and perhaps the Chaplain will experience a similar sentiment, when he comes coolly to reflect on this instance of his conduct. It did not become the friend of toleration to misinform, and to sow in minds so misinformed, the seeds of religious animosity.

Under all these distressful feelings, one consideration alone relieved me in writing; and that was, the hope of vindicating your religion to your own selves at least, and preserving the steadfastness of your faith. But even this prospect should not have induced me to engage in the controversy, if I could fear that it would disturb the harmony now subsisting amongst all Christians in this country, so blessed with civil and religious liberty; which, if we have the wisdom and temper to preserve, America may come to exhibit a proof to the world, that general and equal toleration, by giving a free circulation to fair argument, is the most effectual method to bring all denominations of Christians to a unity of faith.

The motives, which led the Chaplain to the step he has taken, are

¹⁵ *Concise View, etc.*, p. 61.

known best to God and himself. For the vindication of his conduct, he appeals to the dictates of conscience with a seriousness and solemnity, which must add greatly to his guilt, if he be not sincere. He is anxious to impress on his readers a firm conviction that neither views of preferment nor sensuality, had any influence on his determination. He appears to be jealous, that suspicions will arise unfavourable to the purity of his intentions. He shall have no cause to impute to me, the spreading of these suspicions. But I must entreat him with an earnestness suggested by the most perfect good will and zealous regard for his welfare, to consider the sanctity of the solemn and deliberate engagement, which at an age of perfect maturity he contracted with Almighty God.¹⁸

Wharton was soon made aware of Dr. Carroll's success in refuting the *Letter*, and he wrote a *Reply* to the *Address*, which, however, failed to carry conviction to those interested in the controversy. "It is with deep concern," he says, "that the late Worcester Chaplain finds himself under the disagreeable necessity of appearing again before the tribunal of the public . . . Such an attack, of a complexion which he did not expect, lately made upon his character, rouses every faculty of defense, that reason suggests or truth can authorize. The weapon now levelled at his candour and accuracy, must, if possible, be parried by the Chaplain; and, what to him is exquisitely painful, must be made to recoil upon the hand that wields it." The "weapon" had found the vulnerable spot in Wharton's armour, and the *Reply* fell short of all expectations. Other pamphlets were written for and against in this celebrated controversy. Rev. William Pilling, O.S.F., addressed a *Caveat to the Catholics of Worcester against the insinuating Letter of Dr. Wharton* (London, 1785); and Father Joseph Berington answered Wharton's *Letter* in his *Reflections Addressed to the Rev. John Hawkins* (London, 1785). Hawkins was an apostate Benedictine, who wrote in defense of Wharton. These brochures gave rise to others, and also to an interesting bit of correspondence between the well-known Irish priest of London, Father Arthur O'Leary, and Dr. Carroll.

The Wharton-Carroll controversy gave the prefect-apostolic, for such Carroll had been named on June 9, 1784, a prominence in the learned circles of the new Republic. His *Address* was being read and favorably commented upon among Catholics and

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-119.

non-Catholics when the news became public that he had been chosen head of the Church in the United States. A copy of Father Carroll's *Address* reached his friend, Father Thorpe, in Rome, about October, 1786. Writing on December 2, 1786, Father Thorpe says:

I had before seen the London edition of it, a copy of which very speedily came to this Irish College, where the Rector, an Italian Priest, with the assistance of one of his scholars attempted to publish some remarks on it, which I sent to Mr. Charles Plowden to be transmitted to you for your amusement. They merit no other notice. Your address has pleased every body, who has read it within my knowledge. The moderation or rather singular modesty of your pen gives a grace to the goodness of the cause which it defends. You truly treat Mr. W. like a Father and a friend, and I hope that your charitable concern for him will, in time, be confirmed. The apology that he produces for his conduct is one of the weakest that I ever saw made by any of his unhappy predecessors in that walk. It is much below and unbecoming of the character, which I have frequently heard of him as a scholar; his appeals to conscience and self persuasions are little artifices contrived to engage attention at the Tea tables which he frequented at Worcester.¹⁷

"You have written," says Plowden (August 26, 1785), "as a scholar, a Christian, a gentleman and a man of feeling. . . . When I read your work, I easily foresaw the good effect which it would produce in strengthening the faith of the North American Catholics, who must be too well apprised of the artifices of your antagonist to need a rejoinder to his *Reply*."¹⁸

After the death of Archbishop Carroll in 1815, Dr. Wharton published his *Concise View of the Principal Points of Controversy between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches*. The volume contains his *Letter*, Carroll's *Address*, Wharton's *Reply*, a *Short Answer* to Kohlmann's pamphlet on the New York Confessional Case, and other papers. It is significant that during Carroll's life-time no member of the Protestant clergy ventured to come out in print in favour of Dr. Wharton. The *Concise View* is prefaced by a remarkable letter from Bishop Bruté, dated Baltimore, March 30, 1816, which contains a pathetic

¹⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-H6; printed in the *Researches*, vol. xvii, p. 5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Case 6-J8; printed in *Researches*, vol. xiii, p. 173.

appeal to Wharton to return to the Church and to his priesthood. An equally stirring reply follows, in which Wharton says:

The feelings which your letter excited, would not have partaken of anything like resentment, had you not mentioned my venerable relative and former friend, Archbishop Carroll, as countenancing your denunciations and abuse. I knew him well. I loved him during his lifetime, and shall revere him during my own. Were he still among us, I would have transmitted your letter to him; where, I am confident, it would have met the reception it deserves. He was too well acquainted with the sacred rights of conscience, and the anomalies of the human mind, to condemn the exercise of the first, or wish to regulate the latter by the standard of his own opinions; much less would he have presumed to consign them both to perdition. Sir, we Americans are better taught in these matters; and it must stir our bile to hear arrogant foreigners, presuming to vilify the most numerous classes of Christians in our country; to find them, when scarcely escaped from the fury of Jacobinism, breathing among their kind receivers the spirit of Inquisitors. On every occasion, both in public and in private, I have uniformly treated my former connexions with respect. In abandoning some of their doctrines, I still entertained for their persons and virtues the most tender attachment, and have never, for a moment, harboured the presumption of passing condemnation on them for opinions, which to profess myself, would be sinful prevarication.

An interesting episode connected with Carroll's *Answer* to Wharton is his short and dramatic correspondence with the Rev. Joseph Berington, the prominent English Catholic divine, who had answered Wharton in his *Reflections Addressed to the Rev. John Hawkins*. Berington's *State and Behaviour of English Catholics from the Reformation to the year 1780* had caused a sensation in Catholic and Protestant circles. Carroll had given copious extracts from Berington's volume in the *Address*. Certain errors in the book were condemned and Bishop Douglass had deprived the brilliant controversialist of his sacerdotal faculties. Charles Plowden, Carroll's chief correspondent, was Berington's strongest opponent; and it is a proof of John Carroll's independence that, during the time Berington was attacked by Plowden, the American prefect-apostolic wrote a letter of praise, expressing his particular satisfaction of the views on toleration and church government in Berington's *State and Behaviour*. A copy of his letter to Berington (undated, but of the year 1787) is in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives. At the end of the letter

Carroll added that he would be happy to see Berington take up two problems for discussion in a book—"the ascertaining of the boundaries to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See," and "the use of the Latin tongue in the publick Liturgy," saying:

I consider these two points as the greatest obstacles to Christians of other denominations to a thorough union with us, or at least to a much more general diffusion of our religion, particularly in N. America. . . . With respect to the latter point, I cannot help thinking that the alteration of the Church discipline ought not only to be solicited, but insisted upon as essential to the service of God and benefit of mankind. Can there be anything more preposterous than an unknown tongue; and in this country either for want of books or inability to read, the great part of our congregations must be utterly ignorant of the meaning and sense of the publick office of the Church. It may have been prudent, for aught I know, to impose a compliance in this matter with the insulting and reproachful demands of the first reformers; but to continue the practice of the Latin liturgy in the present state of things must be owing either to chimerical fears of innovation or to indolence and inattention in the first pastors of the national Churches in not joining to solicit or indeed ordain this necessary alteration.

Berington made use of this letter in his stand against Bishop Douglass and the result was that Archbishop Troy took alarm and wrote warning Carroll that the question of a vernacular liturgy had almost become a point of controversy in Ireland and that he had written a pastoral of some sixty pages against the proposition. Father Arthur O'Leary also grew alarmed and wrote to Carroll, criticizing his views, as well as a note in Carroll's *Address*, in which the American ex-Jesuit spoke rather plainly on the part taken by Clement XIV in the suppression of the Jesuits. Father O'Leary published (1786) a *Review of the controversy to which he added a Defense of the Conduct of Pope Clement XIV*. This letter to Carroll is not extant, but a draft of Carroll's reply (undated) is in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives:

I find that you are not pleased with my note on the late Pope; and that you think I was mistaken in attributing to him a time-serving policy. Peace to his spirit and may God have mercy on his soul, but whatever allowance charity may wish for him, the pen of impartial history will not join you and Mr. Pilling in attributing to his public conduct (and to that the destruction of the Jesuits belongs) the virtue of

benevolence. You think that your intimacy with the good Cardinal de Luines gave you opportunities of information which I had not; on the contrary, I think that having spent in Italy the two years immediately preceding our dissolution, and the last of them at Rome; and mixing in all companies, and not being much with my own Brethren, I had means of collecting knowledge which were perhaps wanting to Cardinal de Luines himself; and I certainly saw repeated instances of conduct, which upon the coolest and most unprejudiced consideration appear irreconcilable, not only with benevolence, but even with common humanity, and the plainest principles of justice. At the same time I do not take upon me to say that the whole weight of this misconduct fell upon the Pope, unless it be for withdrawing himself totally from business and trusting his authority to men who so shamefully abused it; I hope you will excuse this liberty; your writings express a free soul; and I cannot think you would wish me to dissemble the feelings of mine. But though I communicate them to Mr. O'Leary, I have neither ambition to make them public nor fear to do so, if occasion require. . . . A few copies of Mr. Berington's late work had reached America before your letter; but I am not the less obliged to you for your kind intention of sending it. With that gentleman I had a slight acquaintance in Europe, and some correspondence has existed between us, occasioned by his former publication on the *Behaviour of the English Catholics*. In a letter to him and before I had a thought of ever being in my present station, I expressed a wish that the pastors of the Church would see cause to grant to this extensive continent jointly with England and Ireland, etc., the same privilege as is enjoyed by many churches of infinitely less extent; that of having their liturgy in their own language; for I do indeed conceive that one of the most popular prejudices against us is that our public prayers are unintelligible to our hearers. Many of the poor people, and the negroes generally, not being able to read, have no technical help to confine their attention. Mr. Berington's brilliant imagination attributes to me projects which far exceed my powers, and in which I should find no co-operation from my clerical brethren in America, were I rash enough to attempt their introduction upon my own authority.

Berington's reply to Father Carroll is dated London, March 27, 1788. It is one of the most significant documents of this period and it would be difficult to say just what effect it had in convincing Carroll of the necessity of episcopal government, and of episcopal government bound by the most solemn ties to the centre of Christendom:

Oscot, near Birmingham, March 27, 1788.

Dear Sir:

I have reason, I fear, to reproach myself with some negligence for having so long neglected taking any notice of a very kind and flattering

letter I received from you many months ago. When it came to England, I was abroad in France; and since that, my situation has been very unsettled. I have to thank you for the very high approbation you express of my *State and Behaviour of Catholics*; a work which has been applauded and censured here almost in equal measure. Good, however, I know it has produced on the whole, and with that it would be unreasonable, not to be satisfied. You, I believe, are pretty well acquainted with the general dispositions and prejudices of the body, to which I belong; however, I am happy to be able to say that a great change is daily working, and that the prospect is opening before us.

Mr. Talbot who has promised to forward this letter to you, will also send you a small pamphlet I published very lately. The work will speak for itself, and it will tell you with what pleasure and approbation I read your reply to Mr. Wharton. Your work has been much admired here; but a foolish controversy has arisen in consequence of a misjudged omission, in the first Edition of it, of the note, wherein you censure, with becoming liberty, the conduct of the late Pope.

We have long been told you were designed for the American Mitre, but we are now told that the report was premature. I am sorry for it, if it is not to be. With your liberality of mind, we had every reason to know, that the Catholic Church of the United States would have been raised on proper foundations. You will read, I trust, with some pleasure, the short sketch of a scheme of Reformation which, in the view of your promotion, I have attributed to you. The general sentiments you expressed, in the letter I had from you, very fully justified that representation of your ideas. To their realisation I look forward with great satisfaction.

If you be chosen to the mitre, undoubtedly you will accept none but ordinary powers (though the contrary I have heard suggested); or rather you will not be disposed to surrender those powers, which the essential nature of the Christian establishment confers upon you. With these powers you will form a national Church; and this being done, every necessary reformation of abuses, and every modification of rites and discipline, the expediency of which may strike you, will be effected without obstacles, at least without those obstacles which the Court of Rome ever has, and ever will throw in the way of a Church miserably constituted as is that of the English Catholics. From us you may draw a useful lesson. Certainly were I circumstanced as you in America seem to be, I would shut my eyes on the 14 last centuries, and only consider what was the prerogative of the See of Rome during the Apostolic ages and the years immediately succeeding to them. All that is *essential* then existed; the rest is abuse and usurpation. You will persevere also, I flatter myself, in the warm wishes you express of having the public service in the language of the people. That is a point of discipline which any national Church, I conceive, may modify at will.

If it ever be in my power to serve you, or any of your friends, need I say with what alacrity I should do it. And I shall be happy, as far as

circumstances will permit, to keep up a correspondence with you. With the sincerest regard I remain, Dear Sir :

Your affectionate, humble servant

JOSEPH BERINGTON

One dissentient voice to the praise generally given to Carroll's *Address* came from Rome. Plowden writes on September 29, 1786:

Father Thorpe informs me that your Letter on Wharton has been criticized at Rome in the *Giornale Ecclesiastico* of last July, by an Abate Cucagna of the Irish College, a red hot champion in litigious Theology, who is a leader of the modern disciples of St. Austin and maddens at the name of a Jesuit. He principally finds fault with your manner of confuting W.'s objection to the Catholic Church from her supposed want of charity in excluding all from heaven who are not of her communion. He says that in this part of the answer the fundamental principles of the Christian Faith are not followed by the zealous Mgr. Carroll.

This beginning of Catholic American controversial literature deserves more space than can be allotted to it in a life of John Carroll. The two men met in Philadelphia, in October, 1785, at the house of Thomas FitzSimons, in order to arrange certain business matters connected with Wharton's family, but no record of their conversation has come down to us.

Shea sees in the interest aroused by the Carroll-Wharton controversy the beginning of the Catholic press in this country. Talbot, the Dublin printer, who had settled in Philadelphia, published in 1784 an edition of Reeve's *History of the Old and New Testament*. Up to this time and afterwards, Catholic books were published on the subscription plan, and the lists of subscribers are valuable in helping us to locate the residences of the clergy of that day. Challoner's *Bible*, issued at Dublin in 1763-4, has American names in its subscription list. Challoner's *Catholic Christian Instructed* was printed in Philadelphia in 1774, and his *Garden of the Soul*, the most popular English prayer-book ever issued, was published there in the same year.

CHAPTER X
ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION IN THE ENGLISH
COLONIES

(1757-1776)

The political and religious cleavage between England and America, caused by the Treaty of Paris (1783), brought to a close the long and unsatisfactory system by which the American Church had been governed since 1634. The historical antecedents of Carroll's appointment on June 9, 1784, as "Superior of the Mission in the Thirteen United States of North America," as the Brief styles it, run back for several centuries; in fact, to the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

The English Catholic bishops were deprived of their sees in 1559, the administration of the Oath of Supremacy, passed in Parliament, May 8, 1559, having begun with the bishops in June of that year.¹ Of all those then living, only one, Bishop Kitchin of Llandaff, who lived to be called the *calamitas sedis suae*, accepted the oath. Of the rest, three were on the Continent; among them, Bishop Goldwell of St. Asaph's, who reached Trent in June, 1561, in time to take part in the discussion on the attendance of Catholics at Anglican services. The others were placed under restraint, under the custody of the new Anglican bishops, or put in prison.² "The Supremacy Bill gives the clue to the whole of English Protestantism. England did not leave the Church on a question of dogma, but of jurisdiction, though changes of dogma, of course, followed immediately."³ With the removal of the bishops, the defection of the Church in England began, and the great Church collapsed almost like a house of cards. From 1559 down to the death of the last

¹ POLLEN, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 34-35. London, 1920.

² FLANAGAN, *History of the Church in England*, vol. ii, p. 150. London, 1857; WARD, *The English Secular Clergy*, pp. 10-11. London, 1910.

³ POLLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Catholic bishop, Bishop Watson, in 1580, the Church staggered to its fall—not to die, it is true, for it was to live on in secret in the catacombs, as in ancient days. The Sacrifice of the Mass and the administration of the Sacraments never wholly ceased, even during the bitterest period of the persecution, but “considered as a visible, public, hierarchic body, with its ancient rites, courts, privileges and jurisdiction, it was violently suppressed, and ere long ceased to exist.”⁴

Although Cardinal William Allen in a patriarchal way was recognized at Rome as the representative of the English Catholics during the last twenty years of his life (1575-1594), there was no head to the ancient Church of England. From 1598 to 1623, the Holy See made the unfortunate blunder of appointing arch-priests or prefects to that position. The only English Catholic churchman of the time who had the necessary courage, and with all his faults, the ability, to reorganize the shattered House of God in England, was Father Robert Persons, the Jesuit. The dilatory proceedings at Rome after the death of Allen left the English Catholics without a leader for four years, and paralysis was soon visible in English Catholic centres from London to the Venerable College in Rome. Father Persons was a born fighter. His years on the Continent, many of them passed under the influence of that prince of procrastinators, Philip II of Spain, had not lessened his vigorous appreciation of the struggle facing Catholicism in England. Half-way measures were distasteful to the man. He wanted, and he had the right to speak, for all recognized him as the leader, now that Allen was gone—he wanted the fight carried to the very threshold of the English court. His plan of 1597 is clear-cut and masterly.⁵ Bishops should be sent to strengthen the souls of the Catholics who remained. Confirmation was needed; Holy Orders were to be conferred; counsel to be given; official decisions on religious questions which were torturing the minds of the faithful and causing apostasies were necessary. It is useless to accuse the man of promoting this plan, which he had twice before suggested to Rome, for the purpose of gaining control of the clergy for

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵ Printed in DODD-TIERNEY, *Church History of England*, vol. iii, pp. 118-119. London, 1840.

his party in the Succession Question. Father Persons understood the religious situation of his country more cogently than any living Catholic at that period; and it is to be regretted that jealousy and political intrigue foiled him in his gallant attempt to save the realm to the Church. Instead of sending bishops to teach and to confirm, and, if necessary, to die for the Faith as an example to their priests and people, the Holy See compromised by appointing simple clergymen, with the empty title of archpriest, at the head of church government in England. The compromise of the archipresbyterate was to rebound with sorrow upon all concerned, and it is significant that in the midst of the anxieties the Appellant Controversy occasioned to the Holy See, the old English Jesuit should be banished from Rome to Naples. He had done his best to avert disaster to the juridic government of the Faith in England and had failed.⁶ From 1598 to 1623, the Archpriests Blackwell, Birkhead, and Harrison, did little more than bring confusion to the remnants of Catholicism in England. The appointment of Dr. William Bishop as Titular Bishop of Chalcedon, in 1623, gave a fleeting hope to the priests and people who had survived the hurricane of Elizabeth's reign and the sullen fury of the leaders during the reign of James I. The Bishop of Chalcedon lived scarcely a year after his consecration, passing to his reward on April 13, 1624. In the marriage treaty between Henrietta Maria of France and Charles I, the successor of James I had promised "on his word of a King" that the Catholics would be allowed a larger freedom. The Holy See, therefore (1625), appointed in Dr. Bishop's place, Dr. Richard Smith, as Bishop of England; but the Protestant bishops soon forced him out of the country (1631); he returned to France, and died in Paris in 1655.⁷ Bishop Smith created the means of effecting his jurisdiction by dividing his extensive diocese into seven vicariates, twenty-three archdeaconries, and a number of rural deaneries.⁸ He likewise confirmed the Episcopal

* POLLEN, *The Institution of the Archpriest Blackwell*. London, 1916. The opposite view to the one given in the text will be found in TAUNTON, *History of the Jesuits in England* (London, 1901), LAW, *Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1889), and in most of the modern treatises on the Appellant Controversy.

⁷ BRADY, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy, etc.* (1585-1876), pp. 74ss. London, 1878.

⁸ SERGEANT, *An Account of the Chapter, etc.*, p. 51. London, 1853.

Chapter, which had been erected by Dr. Bishop, and after Bishop Smith's death, jurisdiction devolved upon this Chapter. For the next thirty years the dean of the Chapter, with dubious confirmation of his right over the Church in England, ruled the Catholics down to the appointment of Bishop John Leyburne, in 1685, as Vicar-Apostolic of All England.⁹ Three years later (1688), England was divided into four vicariates, one of which was the Vicariate-Apostolic of London.¹⁰

From 1688, down to the appointment of Father John Carroll as Superior of the Church in the United States (1784), the London Vicariate presumably had jurisdiction over all the Catholics who had settled in the English colonies across the Atlantic. Bishop Richard Smith was in exile in 1633, when Father Andrew White, S. J., started out for America with Calvert's expedition to Maryland, and he received faculties from his own Provincial in London, Father Richard Blount. The Maryland-Pennsylvania Mission was largely a Jesuit one, and it is to the Provincials of the Society in England that the Fathers, labouring here in America, looked as to their chief pastor.¹¹ The question arises quite naturally: What was the relationship between the London vicars-Apostolic and the Catholics in the Thirteen Colonies across the seas? The only serious contribution to this question has been given by Canon Burton in his *Life of Bishop Challoner*,¹² the last but one of these London vicars-apostolic who held juridic power over the Church in the colonies. "The subject is an obscure one," says Burton. "It has been passed over in absolute silence by all Dr. Challoner's biographers, and no information was available until Father Thomas Hughes, S.J.,

⁹ "From the end of the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century English Catholics had known four different ecclesiastical authorities: archpriests (1599-1621), single vicars-apostolic (1623-1655), dean and chapter (1655-1685), and finally vicars-apostolic again, one from 1685 to 1688, and four after that date." BURTON, *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*, vol. i, p. 248.

¹⁰ The London vicars-Apostolic who presumed or exercised jurisdiction over the Catholics in the English colonies were:

Bishop John Leyburne (Jan. 30, 1688-June 9, 1702);

Bishop Bonaventure Giffard (March 14, 1703-March 12, 1734);

Bishop Benjamin Petre (March 12, 1734-Dec. 22, 1758);

Bishop Richard Challoner (Dec. 22, 1758-Jan. 10, 1781);

Bishop James Talbot (Jan. 10, 1781-June 9, 1784).

¹¹ A list of these Provincials and of the Superiors in America will be found in HUGHES, *History of the Jesuits in North America, etc.*, Text, vol. ii, pp. 17-18.

¹² Vol. ii, pp. 123-148 (*Bishop Challoner's American Jurisdiction*).

began his researches for his *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*." Father Hughes has given us the results of his earlier researches in an article in the *Dublin Review*, entitled *The London Vicariate-Apostolic and the West Indies*.¹³ So far as the documents at our disposal warrant it, it seems safe to conclude that from 1634 down to 1696, the year of the special decree *Alias a particulari*, of Innocent XII, by which an attempt was made to bring harmony between the regular and secular clergy in England, there is no evidence for the exercise of any canonical rights over the colonies by the ecclesiastical superiors in England. The question does not seem to have been raised again until 1715, when the Maryland clergy admitted that they were uncertain whether they were subject to London or to Quebec. In 1721, Bishop Giffard granted to the English Jesuit Provincial the privilege of conferring plenary indulgences *in articulo mortis*. This privilege was communicated to Father Thomas Mansell, the Jesuit Superior in Maryland. In 1722, Bishop Giffard expressed his approval of a regulation regarding the observance of holy days of obligation in Maryland. This is the first recorded instance of the exercise of jurisdiction in the colonies by the London vicar-apostolic.

It is to be noted that the Brief creating the four vicariates in 1688 makes no mention of the English colonies in America. The London District was definitively outlined in the division as "having jurisdiction in the county of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, Hertford, Sussex, Berkshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, in the Isle of Wight, in the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey." This evidently excludes the American colonies. The theory might be held, from the scanty sources we have, that Propaganda had quite lost sight of the Catholic Church in the future Republic. The absence of any document to show the Congregation's interest in the welfare of the Church in this part of North America, is in sharp contrast with the vast amount of documentary material for this same epoch in the history of the Church outside the English colonies and would partially substantiate such an hypothesis. The earliest document we have is a letter by Father Henry Harrison, S.J., who writes from Loretto, Italy,

¹³ *Dublin Review*, vol. cxxiv (Jan., 1914), pp. 67-93.

in 1695, giving a description of the American missions; but whether to the Jesuit General or to Propaganda is uncertain: "When I was sent by my Superior to those missions (Maryland-Pennsylvania), there were not as yet any English Catholic bishops. Afterwards, four such were created under the Catholic king, James. But to which one of them the aforesaid countries (the American Continent and the West Indies) are subject, I do not know. At all events, when I was in those missions, there was no vicar-apostolic there; but all the missionaries depended upon their regular superiors alone."¹⁴ If the decree *Alias a particulari* of 1696 had been obeyed in the sense that the Holy See had meant it, namely, the subordination in all matters of sacerdotal jurisdiction of the regular clergy to the vicars-apostolic, then we should begin at once to find evidence in the Archives of the vicar-apostolic of London (Westminster) for the exercise of such canonical powers. But the earliest record, that of the matrimonial case presented in 1714, to the English Jesuit Provincial by Father Killick, S.J., of Maryland, makes no allusion to Bishop Giffard, then the Vicar-Apostolic of London.¹⁵ The Provincial, Father Parker, presented the case to Father Richard Plowden, Rector of the English College, Rome, who forwarded the petition to Propaganda (February 25, 1715). Propaganda's reply would infer that the petition for faculties to dispense in such cases should be presented to the vicars-apostolic of England; but the whole matter of jurisdiction was so confused even to the Sacred Congregation, that it was "tabled for want of precedent," and was placed before the Holy See for decision.¹⁶ All that can be gathered from the correspondence on this case is that the Provincial himself was left in doubt by Rome's decision: "It will be hard to find under which V.A. Maryland is—London too far—Quebec are foreigners."¹⁷

On November 28, 1723, the English Provincial obtained from Bishop Giffard for Father Attwood of Maryland—a number of spiritual powers for the missionaries in Maryland. It is important to note, as Father Hughes has pointed out, that Bishop Giffard

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁵ HUGHES, *A Maryland Marriage Case*, in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, vol. xxii (May, 1902), pp. 521-538.

¹⁶ HUGHES, *History of the Jesuits, etc.*, Text, vol. ii, p. 587.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

in this instance "likewise confirmed, ratified, and gave (in case there is, or has been, any deficiency in any one or all) power and jurisdiction to each and all of the missionaries, who are now there residing, to exercise these functions."¹⁸ Why Bishop Giffard should give this retroactive delegation, without the same being solicited by the Maryland priests, is singular. On December 10, 1723, Giffard's vicar-general gave his approbation to a new missionary for Maryland, Father James Case, S.J., and in the interview with Fathers Case and Attwood, he said he did not see why the missionaries in Maryland should not enjoy all the privileges granted to the priests in England, his reason being, that Maryland was "part of and belonging to, the London District."¹⁹ "It is not likely," Burton writes, "that Bishop Giffard would suddenly have begun to exercise faculties in these remote lands without the sanction of Propaganda in some shape. Yet there is no record in the Westminster Archives of any formal document to that effect."²⁰

We have here the first recorded claim of the London District for juridic control of the Church in the colonies. Two years later, on March 17, 1725, the English Provincial writes at length to Father George Thorold, S.J., the Superior in America, reaffirming all the faculties conferred upon his predecessors; but "as to the faculties you have from me, I can't give you so clear an answer. You may read the *Compendium Privilegiorum* and then conclude that you have all the powers which the Provincial can give you. If . . . you have any doubt about some of them, you may send your doubts to be examined here."²¹ Finally, on November 20, 1730, a series of faculties (thirteen in all) were granted by Dr. Giffard to Thorold and to his successors for five years. The "benign response" of Bishop Giffard to the various applications made by the American missionaries created what Father Hughes calls jurisdiction by devolution from a negation. "Most cordial were the relations between the American missionaries and Bishop Giffard, *who was first installed by common*

¹⁸ *Dublin Review*, 1. c., p. 69.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

²⁰ My own researches in the *Westminster Archives* and in the Archives of the Chapter, at Hammersmith, London, failed to throw any light on this problem.

²¹ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text, vol. ii, p. 555.

*consent and mutual complaisance as the Episcopal authority over Maryland."*²²

Nevertheless, all this was irregular according to the canon law of the Church. We hear no more of it until the year 1743, when Bishop Petre (who had succeeded Dr. Giffard) and his coadjutor, Bishop Challoner, seem to have decided to transfer the burden of the American colonies to other shoulders.²³ At the end of 1742 or in the beginning of 1743, Dr. Petre suggested to the English Jesuit Provincial, Father Charles Shireburn, the plan of making the Jesuit Superior in Maryland a Vicar-General of the London District. The proposal was not sufficiently clear to Father Shireburn, and he consulted the General, Father Retz, through Father Charles Roels, then at Liège. The general's reply was to the effect that if the vicar-generalship contemplated only such matters as dispensations, absolutions and the like, the Superior might accept the charge. If it were to mean quasi-episcopal jurisdiction, then the Holy See would have to be asked to dispense the Maryland Superior, since it was against the Jesuit Constitutions for one of their Society to accept ecclesiastical dignities. Father Retz gave his preference by suggesting that some one, not a Jesuit, be nominated for the post, one, however, who would be under the obligation of seeking the counsel and approbation of the Jesuit Superior.²⁴ Even though there had been a priest, not a Jesuit, in the colonies at that date, eligible for the post of vicar-general, this last suggestion is a most surprising one to come from the head of the Society, for it was just such an alleged arrangement which had proved the strongest weapon in the hands of the enemies of the Jesuits in England in the century previous.²⁵ Basing his statement on Grassi's *Memorie sulla Compagnia di Gesù, restabilita negli Stati Uniti*, where we are told that the author saw in the sacristy of St. Thomas's Church at Port Tobacco, 1812, a patent granting extraordinary faculties, including that of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, to the Jesuit missionaries, Father Hughes concludes that the vicar-apostolic may have acted upon the

²² *Ibid.*, p. 589 (Italics ours).

²³ HUGHES, *American Ecclesiastical Review*, vol. xxii, p. 524.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 525.

²⁵ Cf. POLLEN, *Archpriest, etc.*, pp. 27-29.

general's decision. This faculty had been conferred upon the Jesuit missionaries in various parts of the world by Pope Benedict XIV, in a series of pontifical briefs between 1751 and 1753, and it would have been proper for Bishop Petre to have secured such a faculty for the Jesuits in the American colonies.

Gradually all the spiritual work being carried on by the missionaries of the various Orders in English territory was being centralized under the jurisdiction of the vicars-apostolic. In 1745, the Holy See issued a decree confirming the *Alias a particulari* of Innocent XII and making it incumbent upon all the religious (including the Jesuits) to secure faculties from the vicars-apostolic of their respective districts; and a letter (August 23, 1748) promulgating the decree made it quite clear that "it would not be lawful for anyone to exercise any faculties in their districts except those received from the bishops." The bishops then confirmed all existing faculties. This letter was not accepted with alacrity. Opposition in England was strongly advocated by the Franciscans, Carmelites, and Benedictines. The English Jesuits, and in consequence those in the American colonies, since they depended on the English Provincial, requested a delay until they had communicated with their Superiors in Rome.²⁶ The Brief *Apostolicum Ministerium* of May 30, 1753, issued by Pope Benedict XIV, was a "final" settlement of the question of jurisdiction in English ecclesiastical life. Known better under the name of the *Regulae observandae in Anglicanis Missionibus*, Pope Benedict's decree was virtually a Constitution of the Clergy in England down to the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850.

This background explains all that follows.

The question now arises, did Challoner, who was to succeed at Bishop Petre's death, on December 22, 1758, and who was then (1753) virtually in charge of the London District, understand the decree as applicable to the Pennsylvania-Maryland Jesuit Mission? It would seem that he did; for, he had been actively interested in the American Mission since 1743. Ten years later, the question of episcopal jurisdiction in the colonies was taken up seriously by the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide.

²⁶ The story of this opposition will be found in detail in BURTON, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 258-269.

A report in Propaganda Archives, dated February 15, 1753, contains the following uncertain, though significant, statement on this question: "Whence the said priests received their faculties the present writer can give no information. He believes, however, that they get them from the Vicars-Apostolic of London; and he thinks he heard before that the Sacred Congregation had assigned this charge to the said Vicar. . . . As to the English provinces on the mainland, the greatest number of Catholics are in Maryland, where the English Jesuit Fathers have a numerous mission. . . . It is supposed that the missionaries of this province are under the care of a prefect appointed by the Provincial of the Jesuits in England."²⁷

We have then a quasi-starting place in the year 1753. A singular state of affairs existed. It is evident that the two vicars-apostolic of London (Dr. Petre and Dr. Challoner) believed the American colonies to be part of their District and under their episcopal jurisdiction. Their effort in 1743 to rid themselves of the burden of the colonies is the only proof needed. It is likewise clear that Propaganda did not consider the colonies as part of the London District. The *Regulae observandae* were interpreted by Dr. Petre and Dr. Challoner as applying to the American colonies. The faculties of 1751-53 especially for the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation granted by Pope Benedict XIV are in this sense in contradiction to the *Apostolicum ministerium*. The American Jesuits had, since Dr. Giffard's day (1703-34), shown a marked and growing tendency to appeal directly to the London vicar-apostolic. A further complication arises in 1756, when Bishop Challoner began a struggle of twenty-five years to have a vicar-apostolic appointed somewhere in the English colonies, either in the West Indies or in Maryland, because the faithful there, "were destitute of the sacrament of Confirmation." On September 14, 1756, Dr. Challoner wrote to the English Clergy Agent at Rome, Dr. Stonor, giving a report of the state of religion in the American settlements:

There are no missionaries in any of our colonies upon the continent, excepting Mariland and Pensilvania; in which the exercise of the Catholic

²⁷ *Propaganda Archives, America, Antille*, vol. i, ff. 420-421.

religion is in some measure tolerated. I have had different accounts as to their numbers in Mariland where they are the most numerous. By one account they were about 5,000 communicants; another makes them amount to about 7,000; but perhaps the latter might design to include those in Pensilvania; where I believe there may be about 2,000. There are about 12 missionaries in Mariland, and four in Pensilvania, all of them of the Society. These also assist some few Catholics in Virginia, upon the borders of Mariland, and in N. Jersey bordering upon Pensilvania. As to the rest of the provinces upon the continent, N. England, N. York, etc., if there be any straggling Catholics, they can have no exercise of their religion, as no priests ever come near them; nor, to judge by what appears to be the present disposition of the inhabitants, are ever like to be admitted amongst them.

As to the islands, the state of religion is much worse than on the continent. The Catholics we have there are chiefly Irish; and neither priests nor people are half so regular as the Marilandians and Pensilvanians are. In Jamaica there are many Catholics and two priests in our time have made some attempt to settle there, but could not succeed. The inhabitants are looked upon to be generally almost abandoned, wicked people. In Barbadoes there was an Irish Augustinian who apostatized. The few Catholics there have sometimes been helped from Montserrat. This latter, which is one of the least of our Islands, has the greatest number of Catholics, such as they are, under the care of two Irish missionaries; but little or nothing is done by them with relation to the care of their negroes who are numerous. There are also some Irish Catholics in the Islands of Antigua, under the care of a Dominican, who happens to be now in town, and gives us a very indifferent account of the practice of religion among his countrymen there. There are also a few Catholics in the island of St. Christopher's, who are helped sometimes from Montserrat. And not long ago an Irish Augustinian took out faculties here to go and settle in Newfoundland, for the help of a number of his countrymen that were drawn thither by the fishing trade. I take no notice of the neutral French and Indians in Acadia who had their priests from Canada, but have been lately translated hither upon occasion of this present war.

All our settlements in America have been deemed subject in spirituals to the ecclesiastical Superiors here, and this has been time out of mind, even, I believe, from the time of the Archpriests. I know not the origin of this, nor have ever met with the original grant. I suppose they were looked upon as appurtenances or appendixes of the English Mission. And, after the division of this kingdom into four districts, the jurisdiction over the Catholics in those settlements has followed the London district (as they are all reputed by the English as part of the London diocese); I suppose because London is the capital of the British Empire; and from hence are the most frequent opportunities of a proper correspondence with all those settlements. Whether the Holy See has ordered anything in this regard, I cannot learn. But all the missionaries in those settlements do now, and have, time out of mind, applied to the Vicar-Apostolic here for their

faculties, which is true of the *padri also* [the Jesuits] in Mariland and Pensilvania; at least from the time of the Breve of Innocent XIV in 1696, only that they used rather to ask for approbation, but now also for faculties.

Some have wished, considering the number of the faithful, especially in those two provinces, destitute of the Sacrament of confirmation, and lying at so great a distance from us, that a bishop or vicar-apostolic should be appointed for them. But how far this may be judged practicable by our superiors I know not: especially as perhaps it may not be relished, by those who have engrossed the best part of the mission to themselves, and who may, not without show of probability, object that a novelty of this kind might give offence to the governing part there; who have been a little hard upon them of late years. This with my respects you will be pleased to communicate to Mr. Larker from his and your servant in Christ.²⁸

This information was laid before Propaganda and an immediate search was made in the Archives for the origin of this presumed episcopal authority over the colonies; with the following result:

No document is found in these archives to show that the charge of despatching missionaries to the islands or mainland of America was ever invested in the Archpriests of England, prior to the foundation of this Sacred Congregation; nor again in the Vicars-Apostolic who were appointed for that kingdom after the said date; nor that any superintendence over the missionaries or the missions was committed to them. Rather from the precedents which are on file in these archives, it appears that whenever, during the last century, any missionary had to be sent to the islands of America governed by the English, it was this Congregation that granted the missionary his letters patent; and it was the Holy Office [the Inquisition] which granted him his faculties; or else the matter was given in charge to the Cardinal Protector of England, who in those times was provided with ample faculties.

When in 1688 there were appointed four Vicars-Apostolic in England, a division of districts was made; and within the limits defined each was to exercise jurisdiction. Then, in the briefs despatched to each, there were enumerated the counties assigned in the division; just as is done at present in appointments to the said vicariates.

Now in that of London it is expressly said: "Having jurisdiction in the county of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, Hartford, Sussex, Berkshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, in the Isle of Wight, in the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey."

Hence, since the places are expressly named where the Vicar-Apostolic

²⁸ *Westminster Archives, Epistola Variorum*, vol. xiii, no. 135.

of London ought to exercise jurisdiction, this cannot be extended to America. Nor is that reason adduced of any value that, when the division of the four districts was made in the time of James II, it was believed that the English colonies were comprised in the London district; seeing that this is to be understood of islands adjacent, and not of those in America.²⁹

The consequence of this correspondence was that in 1757, Bishop Petre's faculties were formally extended to the American colonies. This arrangement is chronicled in a memorandum sent by Challoner to Propaganda in 1763: "The vicar-apostolic of London thought that he could exercise jurisdiction in the colonies and islands subject to the English Crown in America. When the Sacred Congregation asked him, in 1756, by what authority he did so, he answered that he had no document to that effect; but he had taken his stand on a supposition that such missions depended on him. Thereupon a relation being submitted about the state of the Catholic religion in the said islands and colonies, the Sacred Congregation, with the assent of the Pope, made good the acts up to that time; and for the future gave him power to exercise his faculties for six years in the same islands and colonies; and this jurisdiction was renewed for him, March 25th, 1759. When this affair was brought under consideration in 1756, there was some idea of having a vicar-apostolic appointed in America, to exercise jurisdiction over the English settlements. But for the time being the matter was allowed to lie over, and the above arrangement was made for six years."³⁰

To sum up the documentary evidence given thus far on this question: Bishop Challoner's proposal to have a vicar-apostolic appointed in the American colonies was not unfavourably received by the officials of Propaganda. The first thing necessary, however, was a validation of the authority exercised by the London vicars. For that reason, Propaganda had replied that a diligent search had not revealed any document in the Archives at Rome to show that this authority had been invested either with the archpriests or with the vicars-apostolic. As Propaganda understood the situation, every missionary in America had derived his faculties either from the Sacred Congregation itself, or from the

²⁹ *Propaganda Archives, America, Antille*, vol. i, ff. 422-423.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, *America, Antille*, vol. ii, ff. 27-28.

Holy Office, or from the Cardinal Protector of England. In its reply of 1757, Propaganda points out, in the quotation given above, that the limits of the London District went no farther west than the Channel Islands. Consequently Bishop Petre's faculties were extended *ad sexennium* to the American colonies and to the English West Indies. Dr. Challoner's effort to rid himself of the colonies only ended by fastening the burden more tightly upon his own shoulders. When he succeeded Dr. Petre (December 22, 1758) he was in doubt whether his legacy of responsibility included America, and he wrote to Propaganda, receiving on March 31, 1759, an affirmative answer, with faculties similar to those of Dr. Petre, again *ad sexennium*.

Meanwhile the problem underwent a change. In 1756, the last phase of the hundred years' war for the political control of the North American continent began, and General Wolfe's capture of Quebec in 1759, brought Canada within the radius of English possession and rule. Spain, too, added to the victor's winnings by yielding the great peninsula of Florida and some of the West Indies to England. "In consequence of this increase in British territory Bishop Challoner had now to consider whether under the terms of his faculties he was or was not responsible for the spiritual well-being of Canada and the other new possessions."³¹ On May 20, 1763, he wrote to Dr. Stonor, asking him to place before the Propaganda officials the question: "Under whose jurisdiction as to spirituals are these new acquisitions to be?" Propaganda replied on July 9, 1763, stating that the matter was of such importance that fresh information must be had before a decision could be rendered. Bishop Challoner's reply, dated London, August 2, 1763, is a precious document, since it contains all the information he possessed on the subject at that time. It runs as follows:

London, August 2, 1763

Most Eminent Father:

In compliance with the wish of the Sacred Congregation, I will set forth briefly, as well as the remoteness of those parts permits us to

³¹ BURTON, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 132. There was no bishop in Quebec at the time. Bishop Pontbriand died in June, 1760, and his successor, Bishop Briand, was consecrated in 1766. Cf. TÊTU, *op. cit.*, pp. 256ss.

know, the conditions of our Missions in America. The British Colonies in America, which the Holy See has placed under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of London, are partly on the Continent and partly on the Islands. On the Continent they occupy the very extensive Provinces of Nova Scotia, New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina and Georgia. But in these most flourishing colonies, if you except Pennsylvania and Maryland, there is no exercise of the Catholic religion, and consequently no missionaries, the law and civil authorities prohibiting it. In Pennsylvania and Maryland the exercise of religion is free; and Jesuits, holding faculties from us, conduct the missions there in a very laudable manner. There are about twelve missionaries in Maryland, and as they say about sixteen thousand Catholics, including children; and in Pennsylvania, about six or seven thousand under five missionaries. Some of these missionaries also make excursions into the neighbouring Provinces, Jersey on the one side, Virginia on the other, and secretly administer the Sacraments to the Catholics living there.

It is to be desired that provision should be made for so many thousand Catholics as are found in Maryland and Pennsylvania, that they may receive the Sacrament of Confirmation, of the benefit of which they are utterly deprived. Now that Canada and Florida are brought under the English sway, the Holy Apostolic See could easily effect this, a Bishop or a Vicar Apostolic being established at Quebec or elsewhere, with the consent of our Court, by delegating jurisdiction to him throughout all the other English colonies and islands in America. This would be far from displeasing to us, and would redound greatly to the advantage of those colonies.

There are many islands in America under the British sway, *viz*: Newfoundland, Bermuda, Bahama, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, etc.: but the number of those who profess the Catholic faith in these islands is very small. Its exercise is tolerated nowhere scarcely, except in Montserrat, where there are at this time three Irish missionaries, but holding faculties from us. In the other islands above named there are at this time no priests, but some of them are visited from time to time by the missionaries of Montserrat, but it is to be deplored that many of the Catholics on these islands seem to have very little regard for their religion, and when they can, show an unwillingness to maintain and support a missionary among them; and certainly to this day we have never been able to ascertain anything of the Peter Lembec who, in a Spanish letter to the Sacred Congregation, offered to carry a priest at his own expense to Jamaica and maintain him. There was also, for a time, an Irish missionary with faculties from us in the island of Newfoundland, on the Northern Ocean, but when the last war broke out he was expelled by the Protestants.

The islands which by the terms of the recent treaty the French have ceded to the English, are Granada, Grenadina, St. Vincent's, Dominica, and Tobago, in which the exercise of the Catholic religion is served;

but we are entirely ignorant of the present state of the Catholic religion in them, or what the ecclesiastical government is.

To obey the commands of the Sacred Congregation, I have briefly set these forth, and with all reverence I subscribe myself,

Most Sacred Father,

Your Eminence's most obedient servant,

✠ RICHARD, *Vicar Apostolic.*³²

Like all letters destined for Rome, this report passed through the hands of the Papal Nuncio at Brussels, but it never reached Propaganda, either going astray, or, as Challoner suspected, being confiscated by the British secret service. The important message it contains for the American historian is that: "It is to be desired that provision should be made for so many thousand Catholics who are found in Maryland and Pennsylvania, *that they may receive the Sacrament of Confirmation of the benefit of which they are utterly deprived.*" Challoner again urged the appointment of a Bishop or of a Vicar-Apostolic, to be located beyond the Proclamation Line of 1763, so as to be under the protection of the British Government. Cardinal Castelli, Prefect of Propaganda, wrote again asking for a report on the colonies, and Dr. Challoner sent a duplicate on March 15, 1764, repeating his former request. "If matters there (Canada) were once properly settled, I wish our friends could think of charging the person to be chosen, or some other with the title of vicar-apostolic, with the care of those other colonies which we at this distance cannot properly assist, and which are *now quite deprived of the Sacrament of Confirmation.*"³³ Again, on August 28, 1764, Dr. Challoner wrote to the English Clergy Agent at Rome requesting "an *éclaircissement* with regard to these new acquired islands . . . and . . . Florida."³⁴ From the general tenor of these letters it might be inferred that Challoner was troubled more about the English West Indies than about Maryland and Pennsylvania, but it was the mainland and not the islands which was in his mind at all times. Religious conditions in the islands were actually deplorable, and it served his purpose

³² *Westminster Archives, Papers, 1761-1765.* This translation (made by Shea) will be found in *Researches*, vol. xii, pp. 44-45.

³³ *Westminster Archives, Epistolæ Variorum*, vol. xiv, no. 73.

³⁴ *Ibid., Epistolæ Variorum*, vol. xiv, no. 77.

to use their condition as a motive for the real wish he had at heart—to rid himself of America entirely. The colonies were of no appreciable value to the London vicar-apostolic, and he would have been far above the average of his time, had he continued to feel an interest in a group, “beyond the seas,” that brought him nothing but difficulty. Propaganda replied again on Christmas Eve, 1764, giving Dr. Challoner the necessary faculties, but deferring the appointment of a separate vicariate to the future.³⁵ The situation remained in this *status quo* down to the outbreak of the American Revolution and continued in fact until Carroll’s appointment as prefect in 1784. About this time, however, the scene is changed to the American colonies and we have now to witness another cause for this postponement.

³⁵ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere* (1764), vol. cciv, ff. 599.

CHAPTER XI
OPPOSITION TO THE AMERICAN BISHOPRIC
(1765-1784)

Between 1756, when Dr. Challoner began the correspondence with Rome which had for its purpose the reorganization of American jurisdiction, and 1765, when he was thwarted in his desire to set up a separate ecclesiastical system in the colonies and the islands, his plea for the appointment of an American bishop or vicar-apostolic was based mainly on the need of the Sacrament of Confirmation. The first letter of the series already quoted contains a charge against the Jesuits, and Challoner intimates rather broadly that to set up a vicar-apostolic or a Bishop in the American provinces might not be "relished by those who have engrossed the best part of that mission to themselves, and who may, not without show of probability, object that a novelty of this kind might give offence to the governing part there; who have been a little hard upon them in late years."¹ The same statement, hidden in this case at the end of a long letter, will soon overtake the arguments he offers for the establishment of an American Church: namely, the great distance which did not permit him to make a visitation in America; his constant lack of information which hinders him from directing the Church there; the destitute state of the people (*totalmente privi*), on account of the lack of the Sacrament of Confirmation; and his inability to send a representative there by reason of the distance and the expense. A letter to Dr. Stonor, who was then at Douay, dated London, February 15, 1765, contains the same charge in stronger terms:

What you add of settling two or three Vicars-Apostolic in that part of the world, is an object that certainly deserves the attention of our friends [Propaganda]. But I foresee the execution of it will meet with

¹ *Westminster Archives, Epistolæ Variorum*, vol. xiii, no. 135.

very great difficulties, especially in Mariland and Pennsylvania, where the Padri have had so long possession, and will hardly endure a Priest, much less a Bishop of any other institute: nor indeed do I know of any one of ours that would be fond of going amongst them, nor of any of them that would be proper for that station, who could be spared by us in our present circumstances.²

On May 31, 1765, Bishop Challoner returned to the subject with his Roman agent, lamenting the lack of Confirmation among his American subjects. He felt certain that the authorities at Rome would not allow the situation to remain, since, "'tis morally impossible for us to have a proper superintendence over places so remote. And to let so many thousand Catholics as there are in some of our northern Colonies remain entirely destitute of the Sacrament of Confirmation is what, I am sure, our friends will never suffer."³

The Jesuit historian, Father Thomas Campbell, who deals with this aspect of the question in his article, *The Beginnings of the Hierarchy in the United States*, says "This is a very formidable arraignment; the great sanctity of Bishop Challoner gives unusual weight to this already grave charge, and there are few who will not be ready to admit—for we all reverence his authority—that there must have been a solid reason for what such a great and good man so solemnly declares, and at the end of two years again insists upon."⁴ It was at this juncture in the negotiations between London and Rome that the American Jesuits, though apparently uninvited, interposed a remonstrance against the appointment of a bishop.

Let us see what the actual political and religious conditions in America were, before taking up this remonstrance. The reader has but to peruse Hughes' interesting chapters on Maryland and Pennsylvania⁵ to realize that the Catholics in these States were then living through the worst period of the anti-Catholicism of eighteenth century colonial history. So violent had the persecutions become that more than one influential group of

² *Ibid.*, *Epistola Variorum*, vol. xiv, no. 81. Shea transcribes this document (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 56) to read *perfect* instead of *priest*. The original has: "pt. much less a B. of any other institute." I take the abbreviation to stand for *priest*.

³ *Ibid.*, *Epistola Variorum*, vol. xiv, no. 83.

⁴ In the *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. i (1899), pp. 251-277.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, vol. ii, pp. 435-564.

Catholics had contemplated a general exile-movement—they and their forebears not accustomed to it—either to the West Indies, or to the Arkansas district of old Louisiana, or to Louisiana itself. The Catholic Petition of 1758 to Governor Sharpe of Maryland accused the provincial Government of having reduced the Catholics to the level of the negroes, “not having the privilege of voting for persons to represent us in the Assembly.” It was the year previous, that Charles Carroll, the father of Carrollton, began negotiations with the Court of France for a grant of land on the Arkansas river. Apart from this general condition of things, Dr. Challoner was badly misled in speaking of “best places” in such a colony. There are extant several letters from Father Mosley to his relatives, of the years 1764 and 1766, which tell us of the hardships the Jesuit missionaries endured. In one of these he says:

Our journeys are very long, and our rides constant and extensive. . . . I often ride about three hundred miles a week, and never a week but I ride one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles. In our way of living we ride as much by night as by day; in all weathers, in heats, colds, rain, frost, and snow. You must not imagine that our chapels lie as yours do. . . . They are in great forests, some miles away from any house of hospitality. Swamps, runs, miry holes, lost in the night, etc.—this, as yet, and ever will in this country, attend us. Between three and four hundred miles was my last Christmas fare on one horse.⁶

The truth is that Dr. Challoner was echoing, unconsciously perhaps, one of the main charges in the quarrel which had disturbed Catholic England for two centuries, the old Regular-Secular fight for power; but his charges against the Jesuits displayed his simple ignorance of American conditions. It seems strange that he should accuse the Fathers of an unwillingness to receive any stranger among them, when he admits almost in the next paragraph that he had no missionaries to send out to the colonies. The English colonies were not a desirable place for any priest at that date. Even Carroll himself, when writing as bishop thirty years later to Archbishop Troy to solicit labourers for his vineyard, warns those who come that only hardships and priva-

⁶ *Letters of Father Joseph Mosley, S.J., and some Extracts from His Diary (1757-1786)*, compiled by Rev. E. I. Devitt, S.J., in the *Records*, vol. xvii, pp. 118-210, 289-311.

tions awaited them. This charge of selfishness we can pass over. It scarcely needs an answer, since it is at variance with the truth. But the second charge is more serious, and it is again a repetition under another form of that age-old accusation in England against the Society, namely, that it tends towards a presbyterian form of church government. Several documents apparently support Bishop Challoner in his stand. The first is the *Laity Remonstrance* of July 16, 1765, signed by Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Ignatius Digges, Henry Darnall, (Father Carroll's grandfather), and two hundred and fifty-six leading Catholic laymen of Maryland, protesting against the appointment of an "Apostolical Vicar." The Remonstrance is sufficiently clear. It is as follows:

Copy of ye Petition of ye R C to Mr. Dennett relating to V: A: Hond Sir:

Haveing receivd intelligence yt a plan is on footing for sending into this province an Apostolical Vicar, we think it our duty to god, ourselves, & posterity to represent our objections against such a measure, as wt would give our adversaries, bent on our ruin, a stronger handle yn anything they have hitherto been able to lay hold on, and consequently terminate in the utter extirpation of our holy religion. The grounds of these our just fears & apprehensions are—1. The legislative power of this collony is so disposed with regard to those of our persuasion, as to have made many attempts of late years to put the most pernicious penal laws in force against us, and are still, every convention aiming more or less at something of yt kind. Would not the presence of An Apostl. Vicar afford a new and strong argument for further deliberations on this head? —2. Amongst the sundry motives alledged for putting the penal laws in force, one of the strongest and most urged was the too public exercise of our Divine worship, in so much that one of the gentlemen was obliged to quit the colony to avoid being summoned for a fact of that kind. Would not the functions of an Apostl. Vicar be deemed a more public, & open profession thereof than anything of that kind that could have been done hitherto? —3. The Genln. have no farther liberty for exercising their priestly functions yn in a private family, & that by a particular grant of Queen Ann suspending during the Royal pleasure ye execution of an act of Assembly, by wch. it was made high treason for any Priest to reside in the colony, wch. act still subsists, & will of course take place whenever the above grant is repeald. Would the functions of an Apostl. Vicar be interpreted functions of a Priest in a private family? 4. Neither this province, nor indeed any one of the British American colonys has ever hitherto had one of that Ecclesiastical rank & dignity. Would not our setting the 1st. example of yt kind appear very bold & presuming, if not also even dareing and insulting? Reflecting on these reasons

amongst several others we cannot but judge the above of sending us an Apostl. Vicar in the present situation of affairs would necessarily draw after it the utter destruction & extirpation of our H. religion out of this colony, & consequently compel us either to forfeit a great part of our estates & fortunes in order to retreat to another country, or utterly give up the exercise of our H: religion. We therefore by all that is sacred intreat you Hd: Sir, as head of the Genln. we have for our teachers, that you will be pleased to use all yr intrest to avert so fatal a measure, & as far as you judge necessary or proper for that purpose to transmit coppys hereof to all whom it may concern. In testimony whereof, and that the above are the true sentiments of ye Body of ye R: Catholicks in Maryland we R: Caths. of the said province have hereunto set our hands this 16 day of July 1765.

C: CARROLL

IGN: DIGGES

HEN: DARNALL

Sign'd by 256 [others] †

The second document is a letter from Charles Carroll of Annapolis to Bishop Challoner, on the same day, informing him that the *Laity Remonstrance* would be presented to him by Father Dennett, the English Jesuit Provincial:

Copy of ye address of ye R. C. relating to a V. A.

ANNAPOLIS IN MARYLAND, July 16-1765.

My Lord:

The revd. Mr. Jos: Dennett will communicate to yr. Ldship a letter from many of the principal Rom: Caths: of Maryland derected to him, wherein they set forth a few of the many, and weighty reasons they have against the appointment of an Apostl: Vicar for America. Altho I have subscribed with others to that letter, other considerations have induced me singly to address myself to yr Ldship on the subject. Maryland has been settled above a 130 years, the Fathers of the Society accompanied the 1st settlers our fore fathers, and have from that Period to the present time very justly deserv'd our esteem, love, & gratitude, an uninterrupted peace & harmony has at all times as well as at the present subsisted between us & these our spiritual guides. Should an Apostl. Vicar, or Priest of any other Denomination be sent amongst us, I am fearful ye peace & harmony wch. has so long subsisted, will be very soon banished. I have many reasons to alledge agst. such a step, too tedious to trouble you with, and of wch. many must be obvious to yr. Ldship. Yr. Ldship must know, yt for many years past attempts have been made to establish a Protestant Bishop on this continent, and yt such attempts have been as constantly oppos'd thro the fixed aversion ye people of America in general

† CAMPBELL, *l. c.*, pp. 256-258.

have to a person of such a character. If such is the aversion of Protestants to a Protestant Bishop, with wt. an eye will they look upon an Apostl. Vicar? I am confident no one here has ever thought such a person necessary. Some may suggest yt this my letter to yr. Ldship as well as the R. Caths. Letter to Mr. Dennett has been wrote at the instigation of the Jesuits. For myself my Lord I most sincerely profess yt uninfluenced by them I write this & sign'd ye other letter, wch. contains not only my own but I am well convinced ye true sentiments of every Rom: Cathck. in Maryland. I writ it in order to continue in the enjoyment of my spiritual peace, & a quiet possession of my Temporal goods, and from these motives only, & I beg yr Ldship by the Dignity you hold in the Church, by the zeal you have for God's honour and glory, yt you would strenuously oppose by all means becoming yr Character, ye appointment of an Apostl. Vicar for America. But in case such a one should be appointed, I most earnestly beseech you, if possible to put a stop to his coming hither, as such a step I am afraid will create great troubles here, & give a handle to our enemies to endeavour at the total suppression of the exercise of our Religion, & otherwise most grievously to molest us.

I have the honor to be, yr Ldships most obt. & most humble servt.

CHA: CARROLL.

P. S.—I have my lord sent coppies of this my letter to ye. Rd. Mr. Dennett in order yt he may coöperate with yr Ldship to prevent a step wch to me seems most fatal & pernicious.⁸

This letter, as the writer himself avows, was not influenced by the Jesuits in Maryland. The argument it carries, namely, the imprudence of sending a Catholic prelate to the colonies at that time, is familiar also to historians of the Episcopal Church in the United States. In his *Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, Arthur Lyon Cross presents an historical situation almost identical to that of the Catholic clergy.⁹ The Anglican Church in colonial America was ruled by the Bishop of London, and the attempts to create a colonial diocesan between 1638 and 1748, especially the efforts of Rev. John Talbot in 1702, not only met with failure, but also disclose a similarity of cause which corroborates the *Catholic Laity Remonstrance*. Only when the cleavage came in 1775 was it possible to hope for success. Dr. Cross corroborates Father Campbell's argument that "the fierce

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259. Campbell ascribes this letter to Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The young barrister returned to America in February, 1765. His father, Charles Carroll of Annapolis was then the acknowledged leader in Catholic lay circles. Cf. ROWLAND, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 70.

⁹ *Harvard Historical Studies*, vol. ix (New York, 1902). Dr. Cross neglected a strong argument for his thesis in ignoring the Catholic history of this period.

Puritanism of the colonies was then at white heat. It was raging furiously against prelacy of every kind, Protestant as well as Catholic, and the appointment of a Catholic bishop would have simply precipitated the Revolution."¹⁰

Bishop Challoner mentions the contents of Charles Carroll's letter and the Remonstrance in a letter to Stonor, dated September 12, 1765. He pigeonholed the document, excusing himself from sending it to Hilton, the *alias* for Rome:

I believe I never told you how much those gentlemen [the Jesuits] were alarmed upon hearing the first rumour of a Bishop being designed for North America and what opposition and subscriptions they procured from the laity there, which they would have had me to have sent to Hilton but I desired to be excused. By which I plainly see it will be no easy matter to place a Bishop there, although there be so many thousands there that live and die without confirmation. The state of the islands is still worse, as they are very indifferently served with Missioners, and it is not possible for us at this vast distance to inspect or correct their faults: and withal the circumstances are such that it would scarce be possible to fix a Bishop there.¹¹

The matter remained at a standstill until the end of Challoner's life (January 10, 1781), although the London Vicar-Apostolic never wholly abandoned his project. There is a letter in poor French in the Westminster Diocesan Archives, not in Challoner's handwriting, but evidently dictated by him, dated June 25, 1770, to the effect that he would be willing to appoint the Bishop of Quebec (Briand) as his vicar-general to take care of the Catholics in the "lower colonies."

Monseigneur:

Le Zèle du Salut des Ames, et surtout de celles qui ont si récemment embrassé la Verité en l'Amérique Septentrionale, que Votre Grandeur a toujours fait paroître m'engage de vous adresser des Personnes qui se sont adressés ici à mon Ancien et moi pour nous demander du secours spirituel pour les Acadiens, qu'ils ne parlent que François et nous n'avons

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 264. Dr. Cross writes: "Undoubtedly, there is something to be said in favor of the argument that the attempt to introduce bishops and the opposition thereby excited, formed one of the causes of the Revolution. There can be no doubt that the opposition to bishops was based mainly on political grounds: this fact is indicated by the absence of any resistance to the establishment of an episcopate after the Revolution." Cf. TIFFANY, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, p. 277. New York, 1895.

¹¹ *Westminster Archives, Epistolæ Variorum*, vol. xiv, no. 102.

que très peu de Prêtres qui soient habiles en cette langue. J'ai Vus plusieurs de cette partie de l'Amérique qui étoient Prisonniers à Southampton pendant la dernière Guerre, et j'ai admiré avec tous ceux, qui les connoissoient, leur Religion. Ils demandoient toujours en premier Lieu, comme ils devoient les secours spirituels, que leurs compatriotes vous demandent encore aujourd'hui. Nous avons alors fait ce que nous avons pu, pour eux, et Nous ne doutons aucunement que Vous ne fassiez ce même à présent. Que s'ils ne sont pas soumis à Votre Jurisdiction, il sera aisé d'obtenir de Rome les Pouvoirs nécessaires aux Prêtres; qui y seroient destinés. S'ils sont sujets de la Grande Bretagne comme leurs voisins de la Nouvelle Ecosse, et qu'ils n'ont pas d'ordinaire, nous pouvons nous même donner ces Pouvoirs. Ce que Je remarque pour faciliter l'approbation des Prêtres qu'on pourra envoyer, etc.¹²

It is in conjunction with this suggestion, as well as with the request from Rome that Bishop Briand visit the American colonies, administering Confirmation and overseeing ecclesiastical things in general, that a letter from Father Farmer, dated Philadelphia, April 22, 1773, to Father Bernard Well, refers.

The Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda Fide wrote to Bishop Briand on September 7, 1771, asking him to administer Confirmation in the English colonies outside the Diocese of Quebec:

Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord and Brother,

From several relations which have reached us lately, the Sacred Congregation has learned that in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and other coterminous places there are found Catholics who, though in other matters are not suffering from the want of spiritual succor, have however not received the sacrament of Confirmation. The Most Eminent Fathers greatly desire to grant them this favour but they readily understand that their wish can hardly be realized unless your Lordship, as being the nearest Bishop, consent to assume this task and perform this remarkable office of charity. In their name, therefore, I earnestly beg of you cheerfully to undertake this burden agreeable to God and especially useful to our Faith, the faculties for which, solicited from our Most Holy Lord, you will find in the accompanying sheet. If you are so prevented by difficulties, as to be unable to fulfil this ministry in person I beg at least that you answer me as quickly as possible, informing me of any other appropriate manner in which that orthodox flock may be succored. Meanwhile I beseech God to long preserve your Lordship in health and welfare.

Of Your Lordship

With brotherly greetings,

JOSEPH MARIA CARD. CASTELLI, *Prefect*,
STEPHEN BORGIA, *Secretary*.¹³

¹² *Ibid.*, *Epistolæ Variorum*,—in a small copy-book inserted in vol. i.

¹³ *Researches*, vol. xxi, pp. 133-134.

Together with this letter came special faculties for Bishop Briand in case he should accede to Castelli's request:

In an audience of our Most Holy Lord Pope Clement XIV, obtained by me, the undersigned, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith [Propaganda] on the first of September, 1771.

Our Most Holy Lord in accordance with the report presented by me the undersigned, and considering the special reasons alleged, has granted the Reverend Lord Henri Du Breil de Pontbriand,¹⁴ Bishop of Quebec in North America, the faculty to administer the sacrament of Confirmation to the Catholics living without his diocese, namely, in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia and other coterminous places, and has declared that the said faculty is to last for ten years only.

Given at Rome on the day and in the year as above.

STEPHEN BORGIA, *Secretary*.

Bishop Briand acknowledged the receipt of this letter on October 15, 1772, telling the Cardinal-Prefect that as soon as the Governor of Quebec should return from London he would endeavour to obtain permission to go to Maryland and Philadelphia "to do my best to fulfil the mission with which it pleases His Holiness to honour me. Meanwhile I shall write to some missionaries in that country to forewarn them."¹⁵ Instead of writing personally, Bishop Briand commissioned Father Bernard Well to write to one of the Jesuits in Philadelphia to this effect. Father Farmer's answer is one of the very interesting side-lights we possess for this period.

Philadelphia, 22nd. April, 1773

*Reverend Father in Christ,
P. C. [Pax Christi]*

Your Reverence's most welcome letter, dated February 15, was delivered to me on the 17th of April. In the absence of Rev. Father Diderick I opened it, according to directions given in the address. The above mentioned Father had been in one of the Pennsylvania Missions, a hundred or more miles distant from Philadelphia; having, in a private discussion with a non-Catholic man, made use of some rather harsh and insulting words, he came nigh being killed, a musket having been twice discharged

¹⁴ There is an error in the name. Bishop de Pontbriand died in 1760. His death coincides with the fall of New France. His successor, Bishop Jean-Oliver Briand, occupied the see from 1766 to 1784. Propaganda may not have been cognizant of Bishop Pontbriand's death, which occurred eleven years before the issuance of these faculties.

¹⁵ *Researches*, vol. xxi, p. 135.

by night on his dwelling or chapel. Wherefore he was obliged to remove to the Missions in the Province of Maryland. I shall, in due time, send him your Reverence's letter. Your Reverence desires to know the state of our Missions. I shall describe them briefly. In only two of the several English Provinces or Colonies is the Catholic Religion tolerated, namely in Maryland and Pennsylvania; in the latter in virtue of a Royal Charter given to the founder of the Colony; in the former, more from ancient possession than owing to any right. In Pennsylvania, by virtue of a Royal deed, all religions are tolerated, not that each one is free to perform publicly the rites of his religion, but in this sense that he may accomplish them in private, and that he may be in no wise compelled by anyone to share in any exercise whatsoever of another Religion than his own.

As, however, the oath that must be exacted of all such as desire to be numbered among the born subjects of the kingdom, or who hold divers offices in the Commonwealth, contains a renunciation of the Catholic religion, none of our faith can obtain the like favors. In Pennsylvania there are presently five Missionaries, one Englishman and four Germans, who attend with no mean labor to small congregations of men nearly all poor and widely scattered throughout the Province. In Philadelphia, however, where reside two missionaries, there is a greater number of souls comprising men of different nationalities. In Maryland, there are both more missionaries and a greater and better number of faithful, but, as I already mentioned, they enjoy less liberty than that which we here enjoy. All of these Missionaries are of our Society; the Superior resides in Maryland. I shall have to consult him regarding the matter treated in your Reverence's letter. But as a prompt answer is requested, until the Reverend Father Superior can examine the question and advise thereon, I beg to express my own sentiment.

From the foregoing it is easy to see that the Catholic Religion is practised with far greater authority and freedom in Canada than in our own country. Wherefore it is most certain that the advent in our midst of the Right Reverend and Illustrious [Bishop of Quebec] would create great disturbances, with the danger of depriving us of the paltry privileges we are now enjoying, especially in Maryland, where, as already mentioned, the exercise, even in private, of our Religion rests upon no authority. For the same reason, when several years ago, the Vicar-Apostolic of London intended to send some one hither for the purpose either of visiting or of giving Confirmation, the gentlemen of Maryland placed under our care, by a letter written to the Right Reverend Vicar, informed him of the danger to which they were exposed; wherefore the aforesaid Vicar, under whom are all these colonies, gave up his intention.

I do not wish you to understand by this that we are not greatly desirous of having Confirmation administered to those of our flock born in this country, but that it is plain to our eyes, being given especially the character of Americans, that such rite could not safely be conferred by a person established in dignity. For it is incredible how hateful to non-

Catholics in all parts of America is the very name of Bishop, even to such as should be members of the Church which is called Anglican. Whence many considered it a most unworthy measure that a Bishop be granted to the Canadians; and, as for several years past the question is being agitated in England of establishing in these Provinces a Protestant Bishop of the Anglican Communion, so many obstacles were found, due especially to the character of the Americans (of whom most of the early colonists were dissidents from the Anglicans, not to mention such as left our own faith) that nothing has as yet been effected. Hardly I can persuade myself that the Right Reverend [Bishop] might succeed in obtaining from the Governor of Canada or from the King, the faculty of exercising his power beyond the limits of the Provinces belonging formerly to the Canadian government, and lately ceded by treaty to the English.

From Europe we have received no letters for several months past, so that we are ignorant as to what may be the state of our society. However, from what we learned last year from Ours, and also from what the newspapers announce, we justly infer that our interests in Rome are not succeeding favourably, though that doth succeed favourably whichever it pleaseth Divine Providence to ordain.

Your Reverence will excuse me for not having written this more neatly, as in this city, especially at the present time, we are very busy with the various labours of our ministry. I earnestly recommend myself in all holy intentions.

*Of Your Reverence,
The most humble servant in Christ,*

FERDINAND FARMER, S. J.

P. S.—My Reverend colleague, Father Robert Mollineux, most cordially greets your Reverence. Should it please ye to send me other letters, they may be addressed as follows:

*To Mr. Ferdinand Farmer,
Walnut Street,
Philadelphia.¹⁶*

Such a solution of the difficulty as that of sending Bishop Briand on a "progress" through the American Colonies was impossible. Even though there had been no intolerant spirit at work, it is highly probable that his presence would have given offense to American clergy.¹⁷ The Suppression of the Jesuits

¹⁶ The original of this letter (in Latin) is in the *Archiepiscopal Archives* at Quebec. *Miscellaneous*, pp. 144-145. The translation given here will be found in *Researches*, vol. xxi, pp. 118-120.

¹⁷ Dr. Cross quotes an interesting letter (*op. cit.*, p. 256, note 3) from the Fulham MSS., written by Mr. Martyn to the Bishop of London, dated South Carolina, October 20, 1765: "If I may form a Judgment from the present prevailing turbulent Spirit through this and other colonies, I can venture to affirm that it would be as unsafe for an American Bishop (if such should be appointed) to come hither, as it is at present for a Distributor of the Stamps."

that same year (1773), and the outbreak of the Revolution (1775) added further complications to the problems of juridic ecclesiastical control over the Church in the English Colonies. The delay in Carroll's appointment must be viewed not from the standpoint of indifference or apathy on the part of Rome, but solely from motives of policy. The Holy See realized the grave danger to church discipline which might arise in the absence of a canonically appointed Superior, but there was nothing to gain in forcing the issue upon the rebellious colonies. Moreover, it was prudent to await the outcome of the war. It is to John Carroll's credit that, when the Church here was finally organized under his leadership, he quickly gained control of all elements that might have caused disorder. For the next ten years—"ten years of inaction" Hughes calls them—the administration of the Church in the colonies was practically paralysed. The work in the American vineyard went on in a listless way, as it was bound to, without a shepherd, and manned by a little group of priests who had been dishonoured and disbanded by the Holy See.

CHAPTER XII
CHURCH ADMINISTRATION DURING THE WAR
(1775-1784)

Theoretically, during the American Revolution, the London Vicars-Apostolic (Dr. Challoner, 1759-1781, Dr. Talbot, 1781-1784), were the Superiors of the Catholic clergy and laity in the "Thirteen Provinces of America." Canon Burton writes that "it is indeed a strange and curious fact to remember, but it is none the less true, that, during the rest of Bishop Challoner's life, his jurisdiction over his American priests and people remained the only remnant of authority in the hands of an Englishman that was still recognized in America. King and Parliament and Ministry had lost their power, but this feeble old man, living his retired life in an obscure London street, still continued to issue his faculties and dispensations for the benefit of his Catholic children in Maryland and Pennsylvania."¹ Practically, however, the outbreak of the War resulted in the stoppage of all juridic relationship between London and the Maryland-Pennsylvania Mission.

There is no document in the Westminster Diocesan Archives or in the ecclesiastical archives in the United States to show any distinctive use by Bishop Challoner of his faculties in the matter of dispensations and subdelegation, but his headship of the Church in this country was virtually accepted by the fact that the priests, and consequently the laity, acted during the War under the jurisdiction of the last Jesuit Superior, Father John Lewis, who was Bishop Challoner's vicar-general in the colonies. Bishop Challoner's death became known to the American clergy about the time of the victory at Yorktown (October 19, 1781), and they were too patriotic, or too prudent, to appeal to his successor in matters ecclesiastical; in fact, Bishop James Talbot not

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 118.

only showed no desire to continue his American jurisdiction, but even refused to give faculties to two American priests, Fathers John Boone and Henry Pile, who applied to him on their way home in 1783, declaring that he would exercise power no longer over the American Church. The only outstanding factor of these ten years of inaction is Father John Carroll's *Plan of Organization*, of 1782. On February 20, 1782, he wrote to Father Charles Plowden, whose name will now appear regularly until the end of Carroll's life, describing the listlessness which had come over the ex-Jesuits who had merely stayed at their posts, doing their work in a spiritless way, while the war waged back and forth across the land:

The clergymen here continue to live in the old form. It is the effect of habit, and if they could promise themselves immortality, it would be well enough. But I regret that indolence prevents any form of administration being adopted, which might tend to secure to posterity a succession of Catholic clergymen, and secure to these a comfortable subsistence. I said, that the former system of administration (that is, everything being in the power of a Superior) continued. But all those checks upon him so wisely provided by former constitutions, are at an end. It is happy that the present, Superior [Father John Lewis] is a person free from every selfish view and ambition. But his successor may not [be]. And what is likewise to be feared, the succeeding generation, which will not be trained in the same discipline and habits as the present, will in all probability be infected much more strongly with interested and private views. The system, therefore, which they will adopt, will be less calculated for the publick or future benefit, than would be agreed to now, if they could be prevailed upon to enter at all upon the business. *But ignorance, indolence, delusion (you remember certain prophecies of re-establisment), and above all the irresolution of Mr. Lewis, put a stop to every proceeding in this matter.*²

These are the words of a man of insight and of courageous principles. At the time they were written, Father John Carroll held no official position in the body of the clergy, and was not even in touch with those who were considered their leaders. He had shown a spirit of independence from the time of his return in 1774, and very soon he began to exhibit points of dissimilarity with the majority of his fellow-priests in the mission. The hope of an early restoration of the Society of Jesus he looked upon

² HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 609 (Italics ours).

as delusion, although no member of the great Order to which he belonged felt the blow which had fallen upon them more keenly than he. But his mind was too logical and his insight too far-reaching to allow him to entertain any false sentiments in a matter which, as an ex-Jesuit, touched him so intimately as the vindication of the Society's good name. Father John Carroll had outgrown the insularity of many of his fellow-labourers; and added to this calm logical outlook went an absence of characteristics which, if present in his make-up during those days of reorganization, would have seriously hampered him in the work that was to fall to his lot. Among those characteristics was freedom from emotionalism. To the sentimentality that creeps out in the clergy correspondence of the day over the fall of the Society, he was never a party. John Carroll was not a cold man. He could be affectionate, and no doubt his correspondence, if it existed today, would display a tender side to his nature. Apart from his domestic relations, he was as phlegmatic and practical as any Englishman of his time. He hated pretense and sham. He avoided pomp and show. He stood for authority, but only so long as authority lived up to its obligations. And no American living at that time caught so quickly and indelibly the spirit that had created the new Republic. His attitude was uncompromising on all points of doctrine. He was a man who loved the truth, a man of facts. Dr. Wharton fared badly at his hands because Carroll was not satisfied to accept a single quotation or reference in the chaplain's *Letter*. Every sentence was compared with the original, and with that disaster to Wharton every one who has read the *Address* is familiar. His position was a singularly unhappy one, in one way, but was also singularly felicitous in another. The indolence of his fellow-priests he did not hesitate to pillory. He knew it was an indolence caused by the suppression of their beloved Society. But he saw the danger of their listlessness. They knew better than anyone the kind and the content of any clerical organization which would be set up; and with immigration growing, it was evident that the secular clergy of Europe would follow or accompany their people; religious of other Orders than the Jesuits would come—all with their own ways and means of securing control. If American Catholicism was to have the proper start, the time was

urgent. Father Lewis had grown old and gray in the service. Nothing could be expected of him. Father Molyneux in Philadelphia for a time seemed to be more alive than the rest, and did not appear to have his mind clouded by the "delusion" of a restoration, but laziness soon overtook him. Carroll knew that the hopes of a restoration were not wholly innocent of a desire to protect the important proprietary rights the Jesuits had acquired—a problem which was to sit like Banquo's ghost at every board-meeting of the clergy for almost a half-century. Another factor John Carroll realized, and, realizing, accepted without conditions: that the old order of things had passed away forever in the new Republic. Independence was not an experiment. There was a finality about Yorktown that could not be gainsaid. The last year of the War and the years immediately following the victory of 1781 are somewhat blemished by reconcentration camps, persecutions, and exile with all its misery, in the lives of those who did not wish to share the fruits of the victory. *America for Americans* was the shibboleth even in those days; and in their own way, bombastic though it may have been, the leaders and the victors of American independence were determined beyond all compromise to secure their country from foreign interference and foreign overlordship. To have made a distinction between London and Rome at that time would be asking too much of those who were then flushed with victory. John Carroll felt this spirit and was not out of sympathy with its basic purpose. He had indeed come closely into contact with a similar spirit during his twenty-seven years in France and Belgium; and although the extreme doctrines of that clerical party in Europe which looked askance at the centralized authority of the Holy See never found a place in his written word, nevertheless we must admit that it is this spirit which will direct him in much that he does from the time he is appointed prefect-apostolic until his mantle as archbishop falls upon Leonard Neale's shoulders in 1815.

His *Plan of Organization* (1782), while treating mainly of the problem of property, shows how unmistakably his mind was directed by the spirit of honesty and open diplomacy. He places upon the clergy of the two States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, where the bulk of the Jesuit estates was, the obligation arising

from justice and from charity, of using the funds entrusted to their predecessors and to themselves, solely for the spiritual uplift of the faithful, and for the sustenance of the clergy. A due and equitable administration of the estates could be secured only by the adoption of some form of administration, settled upon by joint concurrence of all, and founded upon principles of justice and equality. A sensible arrangement of checks and balances was to be agreed upon among themselves, for the danger was present that, without any such check on the administrators, the estates might be squandered. Whatever administration be adopted, it was of the utmost consequence that it should be settled by common consent. He would have the clergy of the different districts meet and elect a deputy for this general meeting. All this was necessary to protect the estates from unworthy administrators, from any bishop who might be appointed over them, and even, if necessary, from undue interference on the part of the representatives of the Holy See. Carroll refers to the system of checks and balances adopted by the ex-Jesuits in England, and ends his *Plan* with these words: "They have rightly distinguished between the spiritual power derived from the Bishop, and which must be left in the hands to which he has intrusted it; and the common rights of the missioners to their temporal possessions, to which, as the Bishop, or Pope himself, have no just claim, so neither can they invest any person or persons with the administration of them."³

Hughes says that presumably a copy of the *Plan* was communicated to his clerical brethren, since, in the following year,

³ *Ibid.*, p. 614. The entire document with Carroll's marginal corrections will be found in HUGHES (*l.c.*). That Carroll was not unduly emphasizing the possibility of encroachments upon the property rights of the clergy will be granted by all who are aware of the unjust, and, at times, the cruel confiscation of Jesuit property in Europe. "Your information of the intention of Propaganda," he writes to Plowden (September 26, 1783), "gives me concern no farther, than to hear that men, whose institution was for the service of Religion, should bend their thoughts so much more to the grasping of power and the commanding of wealth. For they may be assured that they will never get possession of a six pence of our property here; and, if any of our friends could be weak enough to deliver any real estate into their hands or attempt to subject it to their authority, our civil government would be called upon to wrest it again out of their dominion. A foreign temporal jurisdiction will never be tolerated here; and even the spiritual supremacy of the Pope is the only reason, why in some of the United States the full participation of all civil rights are not granted to the Roman Catholics. They may therefore send their agents when they please; they will certainly return empty-handed. . . ." Cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 617-628.

all the main lines traced by Carroll were followed in the proceedings of the Chapter of 1783. Carroll's correspondence with Plowden gives us additional light on his *Plan*. On September 26, 1783, he tells his former colleague: "Our gentlemen here continue, as when I last wrote. We are endeavoring to establish some regulations tending to perpetuate a succession of labourers in this vineyard, to preserve their morals, to prevent idleness, and to secure an equitable and frugal administration of temporals. *An immense field is opened to the zeal of apostolical men. Universal toleration throughout this immense country, and innumerable R. Catholics going and ready to go into the new regions bordering on the Mississippi; perhaps the finest in the world, and impatiently clamorous for clergymen to attend them.*"⁴ The leader is again apparent in this letter for he says that "the object nearest my heart is *to establish a college on this continent for the education of youth, which might at the same time be a seminary for future clergymen. But at present I see no prospect of success.*"⁵

Church administration, therefore, during the period of the war was for all practical purposes non-existent. The only change in the clerical situation was made by the Angel of Death. They could not accept any longer, without causing prejudice, the jurisdiction of the London Vicar-Apostolic, even had that patriotic Englishman, Bishop Talbot, the brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury, discovered in his heart any love or respect for the rebels in the former colonies.

The Holy See was rather far away in those days, and they had no intermediary whom they could trust. Their confidence in Rome had received a body-blow but ten years before, and they had no special reason to encourage the establishment of a "foreign power," such as the Congregation of Propaganda Fide was considered, over the American Church. Something, however, had to be done. The little band of priests showed where the merciless hand of death had robbed them, here and there, of a brother and fellow-labourer. The vast country was alive with possibilities, material and spiritual. Immigration was like a sluiceway, raised an inch or so, but with a strong hand ready to send

⁴ HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 615 (Italics ours).

⁵ *Ibid.*

a gulf stream of humanity across the Atlantic, seeking liberty, peace, and happiness. Whether Carroll's *Plan of Organization* alone aroused the sleeping shepherds is not certain, but by the summer of 1783, we find the clergy gathered at last for the purpose of organization.

On June 27, 1783, in consequence of a call sent out by Father Lewis, who still continued to act as Vicar-General of the London District, six deputies of the American clergy met at the old Jesuit residence at Whitemarsh, half-way between Georgetown and Annapolis, in a First General Chapter, to consider the grave question of providing a Constitution for the American Church. At this meeting they exchanged views on the ways and means of securing the same. The mission was divided into three Districts—the Northern, Middle, and Southern—in each of which the clergy were to meet and to appoint two delegates for a General Chapter.⁶ At these local meetings, a *Form of Government* was proposed, and on November 6, 1783, the delegates met again at Whitemarsh to decide according to their instructions what was to be accepted. At this meeting there were present: Father John Lewis, the Superior, who also represented the Northern District; Fathers John Carroll and Bernard Diderick from the Middle District; and Fathers Ignatius Matthews and James Walton from the Southern District. Carroll's *Plan* was fully discussed, but its ultimate adoption was postponed until the final meeting of this First Chapter, held on October 11, 1784. The two principal questions deliberated upon by this Chapter were: the maintenance of ecclesiastical life and discipline, and the preservation of ecclesiastical property. Three separate sections were decided upon as forming the Constitution of the clergy—*The Form of Government*, in nineteen articles; *the Rules for the Particular Government of Members belonging to the Body of the Clergy*, in six articles; and *the Regulations respecting the Management of Plantations*, in eight articles.⁷

A Formula of Promise was added, which each member of the Select Body of the Clergy was to sign. The Chapter then ad-

⁶ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 205.

⁷ Original copies of these documents with the signatures of those present are in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Special C-E1. Hughes has published only a few of these important papers; cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 617-628.

journed to meet in three years (October 10, 1787), and all the deputies signed the minutes. The clergy were henceforth known as the Select Body of the Clergy; their deputies were called Representatives to the Chapter; and the Board of Trustees, formed to exercise administrative function, was called the Corporation. The Constitution adopted in 1784 remained the Rule of the clergy until 1806, when the Society of Jesus was partially restored in the United States. All the problems that dealt with this Chapter Meeting have an important bearing on the history of the Church in the earlier half of the nineteenth century; but among these problems the one which interests us most and which very soon begins to centre itself around Father John Carroll, is the question of the superiority over the Church in the Republic.

Two events of the Chapter need to be recorded. The first was the appointment (November, 1783) of a Committee of Five to draw up a Petition to the Holy See, asking that Father John Lewis be formally constituted the Superior of the Church in the United States, with certain episcopal privileges—those of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, blessing chalices and altar stones, and giving faculties to new-comers in the mission. This Petition, composed by Fathers Lewis, Diderick, Matthews, Walton, and John Carroll, gives us a clearer idea of the attitude of the clergy towards the problem of a hierarchy of jurisdiction in the American Church:

Most Holy Father:

We, John Lewis, Bernard Diderick, Ignatius Matthews, James Walton and John Carroll, missionary priests, residing in the Thirteen United States of North America, assembled together from the neighboring stations to take counsel for the good of the missions, our fellow-priests residing in the more remote parts of this mission agreeing herein and approving by letter, in our name and in the common name of our brethren, with all respect represent to your Holiness, that we, placed under the recent supreme dominion of the United States, can no longer have recourse, as formerly, for necessary spiritual jurisdiction to the Bishops and Vicars-Apostolic residing in different and foreign States (for this has very frequently been intimated to us in very positive terms by the rulers of this Republic), nor recognize any one of them as our ecclesiastical Superior, without open offense of this supreme civil magistracy and political government. Wherefore we, placed in this difficult position, have recourse to your Holiness, humbly beseeching you to vouchsafe to confirm anew the ecclesiastical Superior whom we now have, namely, John

Lewis, a priest already approved and confirmed by the Vicar-Apostolic of London, to whom this whole mission was subject before the change of political government, and to delegate to him the power of granting the necessary faculties to priests coming into these missions, as it shall seem expedient; that said Superior may delegate this power to at least one or more of the most suitable missionaries as the necessity and distance of time and place may require.

Moreover, as there is no bishop in these regions who can bless the holy oils, of which we were deprived for several years during the confusion of the war, no one to bless the chalices and altar stones needed, no one to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation, we humbly beseech your Holiness to empower the said John Lewis, priest, Superior, to perform these things in the present necessity, and until otherwise provided for this mission by your Holiness, that our faithful, living in many dangers, may be no longer deprived of the Sacrament of Confirmation nor die without Extreme Unction according to the rite of the Church.

Moreover, we also pray your Holiness to bestow on this mission the indulgences of the Jubilee, and to extend to the missionaries the ample faculties which may seem seasonable in these vast and remote regions racked by a long bitter war, where on account of the constant military movements, neither the Jubilee on the exaltation of your Holiness to the See of Peter, nor the Jubilee of the year 1775, could be promulgated, much less celebrated or enjoyed.

This, Most Holy Father, is what the aforesaid petitioners, missionary priests in these regions of United North America, humbly solicit from your Holiness' supreme wisdom and providence for the good of the Catholic Religion.⁸

Shea says that this Petition, which is not dated in the original, was forwarded through Cardinal Borromeo. Evidently it was presented to Pius VI, as it is still among the *Propaganda Archives*.⁹ When its contents became known to the rest of the American clergy, it was feared by some that it was not sufficiently respectful in tone, and accordingly another Committee, of which John Carroll was a member, was appointed to draft a second Petition. This second request for a Superior contained the modification that they be permitted to elect their own Superior; it declared also that the United States Government would not permit the presence of a bishop in the country. Father Carroll was instructed to send this second Petition to the Holy

⁸ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, ff. 238. (Translation from SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 209-211.)

⁹ *Propaganda Archives, l c., America Centrale*, vol. ii, no. 8. (Another copy.)

Father through a friend at Rome. Accompanying the Petition was a letter from Carroll instructing his friend on the mind of the American clergy toward the establishment of a hierarchy in the United States.

You are not ignorant that in these United States our religious system has undergone a revolution, if possible, more extraordinary than our political one. In all of them free toleration is allowed to Christians of every denomination; and particularly in the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, a communication of all civil rights, without distinction or diminution, is extended to those of our religion. This is a blessing and advantage which it is our duty to preserve and improve, with the utmost prudence, by demeaning ourselves on all occasions as subjects zealously attached to our government and avoiding to give any jealousies on account of any dependence on foreign jurisdictions more than that which is essential to our religion, an acknowledgment of the Pope's spiritual supremacy over the whole Christian world. You know that we of the clergy have heretofore resorted to the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District for the exercise of spiritual powers, but being well acquainted with the temper of Congress, of our assemblies and the people at large, we are firmly of opinion that we shall not be suffered to continue under such a jurisdiction whenever it becomes known to the publick. You may be assured of this from the following fact. The clergy of the Church of England were heretofore subject to the Bishop of London, but the umbrage taken at this dependence was so great, that notwithstanding the power and prevalence of that sect they could find no other method to allay jealousies, than by withdrawing themselves as they have lately done, from all obedience to him.

Being therefore thus circumstanced, we think it not only adviseable in us, but in a manner obligatory, to solicit the Holy See to place the episcopal powers, at least such as are most essential, in the hands of one amongst us, whose virtue, knowledge, and integrity of faith, shall be certified by ourselves. We shall annex to this letter such powers as we judge it absolutely necessary he should be invested with. We might add many very cogent reasons for having amongst us, a person thus empowered, and for want of whom it is impossible to conceive the inconvenience happening every day. If it be possible to obtain a grant from Rome for vesting these powers in our Superior *pro tempore*, it would be most desirable. We shall endeavor to have you aided in this application, by a recommendation, if possible, from our own country and the minister of France. You will know how to avail yourself of so favorable a Russian minister at Rome; and if Mr. Thorpe will be pleased to undertake the management of the business there, we will with cheerfulness and gratitude answer all expenses which he may incur in the prosecution of it. He will be the judge, how and whether the annexed petition ought in prudence to be presented to His Holiness, but at all events the powers

therein contained, are those which we wish our Superior to be invested with.¹⁰

Father Carroll's views on the question of establishing the American hierarchy were always guided by this distinction. He could see no other way of meeting fairly and honestly the American attitude toward "foreign jurisdiction," except by the appointment of a Bishop Ordinary with his see in the United States. He instructs his correspondent, therefore, that the Superior asked for in the Petition should have episcopal powers.

The second event was the formal presentation by Father John Carroll at the last meeting (October 11, 1784) of the Chapter of Father Thorpe's letter from Rome, dated June 9, 1784, which reached Rock Creek on August 20, 1784, announcing to Carroll the fact that the Holy See had chosen him as prefect-apostolic of the Church here, and that as soon as the necessary information on the state of the Church reached Propaganda, the Holy See would promote him to the dignity and character of a bishop. Father Thorpe's letter was discussed by the Chapter at the last meeting of the delegates, October 11, 1784, with the following result:

The business of Mr. Thorpe's letter was next considered by the Chapter and the following resolves passed. It is the opinion of the majority of the Chapter, that a Superior *in spiritualibus* with powers to give confirmation, grant faculties, dispensations, bless oils, etc., is adequate to the present exigencies of religion in this country. Resolved therefore: 1. That a Bishop is at present unnecessary. 2. That, if one be sent, it is decided by the majority of the Chapter, that he shall not be entitled to any support from the present estates of the Clergy. 3. That a committee of three be appointed to prepare and give an answer to Rome, conformable to the above resolution. The committee chosen to meet at the White-Marsh are Messrs. Bernard Diderick, Ignatius Matthews, and Joseph Mosley.¹¹

Father Carroll had also received the news of his appointment as prefect-apostolic and of the future bishopric, on September 18, 1784, from Father Charles Plowden's letter of July 3, 1784. Plowden's letter is a frank avowal of the French intrigue, which forms the subject of the next chapter, and it is clearly the prevail-

¹⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Special C-A4 (in Carroll's hand); cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹¹ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 633.

ing English attitude on the Church which the Revolution had removed from English jurisdiction:

It appears, however, to me, a great incongruity that a negotiation should be carried on between the American States and the Court of Rome upon affairs of the Catholic Religion without the participation of the priests who are actually in the country. If Dr. Franklin reflects, he must see the impropriety of such an act and be sensible that your civil and ecclesiastical rights may be much prejudiced by it. It is not improbable that the ultimate answer of the States and of Franklin will be that your country is open to the Roman Catholic as well as to other religions, leaving the manner of establishing it to the Pope, that is, to the Propaganda. This is just the answer lately given by the King of Sweden during his residence at Rome. In consequence of it a Vicar-Apostolic is named to go to Stockholm, and a sum of money is given to build a Catholic Church. Now, as Franklin may be presumed to be less informed than we could wish upon these matters, I have desired Messrs. Sewall, Hoskins, and Mattingly to write to him with a view of giving him information, and as you are personally acquainted with him, I trust you will zealously do the same. A confidential representation will come with better grace from American Catholic clergymen than from British-born priests . . . I have suggested to them to entreat Franklin not to concur in any proposal which may be detrimental to the tranquillity and prosperity [of your Church] . . . I have had the consolation to receive information that on the 9th of last month the Propaganda had sent off ample faculties, according to the tenor of the petition, with power to give the Sacrament of Confirmation to you, and that you are to be appointed Bishop and Vicar-Apostolic as soon as proper information can be procured from America. I heartily congratulate with religion, you and your country. Mr. Thorpe and the Cardinal judged that the Memorial which came to Rome in the name of Messrs. John Lewis and his associates could not be presented in its own full shape; it demanded too much, it demanded it in a manner too immethodical, and it would have given occasion to too many comments which at such a distance from information could not well be answered. You cannot be ignorant that prudence was highly requisite as well to obtain your request as to remove every occasion to the gentlemen of Propaganda introducing their own pretensions . . . They must have some motive for delegating you with plenitude of power while the negotiation between Doria and Franklin is yet undetermined. Perhaps they feared that it might result in the establishing a Bishop in Ordinary which would at once withdraw the American Missions from their control. Our friends at Rome have taken much pains to inculcate the danger of introducing any alien or foreigners with spiritual powers into your Missions, and, it seems, with some success.¹²

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 633.

Father Carroll replied the day he received this letter (September 15, 1784): "Nothing can place in a stronger light the aversion to the remains of the Society than the observation made by you of a negotiation being carried on relative to the affairs of religion with Dr. Franklin, without ever deigning to apply for information to the Catholic clergy of this country." When John Carroll first heard that the Paris Nuncio, Doria Pamphili, was consulting his friend, Franklin, on the question of episcopal government in the United States, he was on the point of writing at once to the American envoy, but he feared that such a procedure would place him in "a conspicuous point of view." No one realized more keenly than Carroll the necessity of spiritual independence from every foreign court, the Holy See alone excepted; and the French intrigue, while it accidentally hastened his own appointment, became very distasteful to him. "I do assure you, dear Charles," he wrote, "that nothing personal to myself, excepting the dissolution of the Society, ever gave me so much concern [as the news in your letter]. And, if a meeting of our gentlemen held the ninth of October agree in thinking that I can decline the intended office without grievous inconvenience, I shall certainly do so."

Meanwhile, the Committee of Three, appointed in the meeting of October 11, 1784, set to work on the proposed *Memorial* to Rome against the appointment of a Bishop. On December 9, 1784, Father Diderick, who led the opposition to the introduction of episcopal government in the United States, sent Father Carroll a copy of the *Memorial*, with the following letter:

Port Tobacco, December 9, 1784.

Rev. Sir: We send you a copy of the letter we have drawn up to send to Rome. We hope it will not be disagreeable to you, as your intended promotion seemed to give you much uneasiness. We should be happy, in case of a bishop's being appointed here, that you should be the person, as we have not any objection to your person and qualities. But as we look upon it to be unnecessary and hurtful to the good of religion, we have sent this letter according to what was determined in chapter.

We are, with due respect, Rev. Sir,

Your most obed't and humble servants,

BERNARD DIDERICK,

IGNATIUS MATTHEWS.¹³

¹³ CAMPBELL, in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. iii, p. 797.

The *Memorial* was as follows :

Most Holy Father :

Of the twenty-two secular priests living in the thirteen United States of North America, six were appointed a few months ago to deliberate together upon the welfare of the Catholics in this part of the world. Having assembled for this purpose, they expressed the opinion that there is not the least necessity for a bishop in this country, because there is no institution as yet for the education of youth, and their subsequent preparation for holy orders. I, Bernard Diderick, have been requested by the committee to notify your holiness of this sentiment, and to acquaint you also with the following circumstances :

1. The majority of the Protestant population here are averse to a Roman Catholic prelate, and for this reason the episcopal office if introduced would most likely awaken their jealousy against us.

2. We are not able to support a bishop in a manner becoming his station, and at the same time to supply the necessary wants of our fellow laborers in the ministry; moreover, the Catholics cannot be induced to aid us with their means in effecting this object.

3. Were it even admitted that the two points just mentioned would present no difficulty, we are entirely at a loss to see how the greater number of missionaries, whose coöperation would be so very desirable in this immense region, could be furnished with the means of passing to this country.

We therefore humbly entreat Your Holiness not to persist in the design of conferring the episcopal dignity upon any individual in these parts, unless the necessary provision be made in some other quarter for his support. Should Your Holiness entertain a different view, it would be a source of much affliction to us, while at the same time we are convinced that it will be much more detrimental than otherwise to the interest of religion; for as it has pleased Your Holiness to appoint one of our body to administer confirmation, consecrate altar-stones, bless the holy oils, and grant dispensations in the prohibited degrees, this appointment is equally advantageous for the good of religion.¹⁴

Carroll's sentiments on the *Memorial* are expressed in a letter to Father Thorpe, dated Maryland, near Georgetown, February 17, 1785, which follows in its chronological place in the series of documents given in the next chapter. "At the same meeting," he says, "but after I had left it thro' indisposition, a direction was given to Messrs. Diderick, Mosely and Matthews to write you a letter (I believe likewise a *Memorial* to the Pope) against the

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 797-798. The contemporary copies of these documents are in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Special C-A3, but they are so badly worn with age that I could not compare them with Hughes.

appointment of a bishop. I hear that this displeased many of those absent from the meeting, and that it is not certain whether the measure is to be carried into execution. Mr. Diderick has shown me a copy of his intended letter to you, of his *Memorial*, and of a letter to Cardl. Borromeo. He has no other introduction to write to this worthy Cardinal than the information communicated to me by our common friend Plowden, of his great worth and friendly disposition to you. I made objections to some parts of his letters; and I cannot tell, as I mentioned before, whether they will be sent. It is matter of surprise to me that he was nominated to the Commission of Three; he is truly a zealous, painstaking Clergyman; but not sufficiently prudent, and conversant in the world, or capable of conducting such a business with the circumspection necessary to be used by us towards our own Government, and the Cong. of the Propaganda.”¹⁵

The First Chapter Meeting was scarcely over when Father Carroll received a third notification of his appointment in a letter from the French Chargé d'affaires. Barbé de Marbois, dated New York, October 27, 1784; and finally on November 26, 1789, he received the official documents from Rome, sent (June 9, 1784) by Cardinal Antonelli, the Prefect of Propaganda. The Chapter *Petition* in favor of Father Lewis and the Diderick *Memorial* did not arrive in time to prevent Father Carroll's appointment, but they had the desired effect of delaying the appointment of a bishop for the United States until 1789. Another factor, quite foreign to the best interests of the American Church, had intervened in the meantime, and this factor it was which actually hastened Carroll's appointment as prefect-apostolic. This was an intrigue at Paris for what Shea calls “the enslavement of the Catholics in this country.”¹⁶

¹⁵ GUILDAY, *Appointment of Father John Carroll, etc.*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, p. 237. The letter is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-F1.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 213 note.

CHAPTER XIII

FRENCH ECCLESIASTICAL INTERFERENCE IN THE AMERICAN CHURCH

(1783-1784)

At the very time when the American clergy were holding their meetings at Whitemarsh for the purpose of reorganizing the government of the Church under one of themselves, who would be subject in spiritual affairs to the Holy See only, and thus be free, as the Republic was, from all foreign alliances, an interesting and significant series of negotiations was being promoted in Europe, and especially at Paris, the object of which was to place the nascent American Church under French control. France had proven herself America's noblest and most generous friend during the Revolution. In December, 1776, an American mission at Paris, presided over by Benjamin Franklin, had formally asked the assistance of the French Government in the great struggle for independence. That the policy of France was to take advantage of England's conflict with the American colonies was understood by all at that time. France was still smarting under the defeat she sustained in the Seven Years' War and she was recognized as the chief sufferer among the continental nations which had been humiliated by England. America's independence would be a great check upon the arrogance of the British Navy. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs in France at that time, the Count de Vergennes, was not only in favour of immediate intervention in behalf of the rebelling colonists, but was also a warm personal friend of Franklin.¹ Burgoyne's surrender, or, as it was called, to spare the English general's feelings, the "convention between Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Major-General Gates," on October 17, 1777, marked the turning point in the war.² From that date down to

¹ FISHER, *Struggle for American Independence*, vol. ii, pp. 113-115.

² General Sir John Burgoyne was one of the most tolerant men in the British

the victory at Yorktown the Revolution became an international affair. The news reached Paris in December, 1777, and its immediate effect was to hasten the Alliance with France. This was signed on January 17, 1778. Soldiers, money, warships, and supplies were to be furnished to the struggling colonists. Ultimate victory for the Americans was now a certainty. Franklin, in his house at Passy, a suburb of Paris, gathered around him the best men of the French capital, and it was through his shrewdness and statesmanship that the Alliance was kept in vigorous activity until the end of the war. It must be remembered that France was a great Catholic country at this time.³ The King, Louis XVI, mediocre as he was in statesmanship, was a most Christian King in more than name, and there is no doubt that every aspect of the future of the new nation then coming into existence was discussed between him and his ministers. The French Alliance, as is well-known, was denounced by the Loyalists in America as "a horror and an infamy worse than the Declaration of Independence." That Protestant colonists should ally themselves with the great Roman Catholic monarchy, the ancient enemy of the Anglo-Saxon race, and ally themselves for the purpose of making war upon their own faithful and loving mother, England, was a depth of degradation to which, they declared, they had thought it impossible for Americans to descend. "They saw in it nothing but ruin, and the Romanizing of America under despotic government."⁴

It is hard to enter upon the story of the effort made in France at this time (1783-1784) to give an organized hierarchy to the Church in the new Republic, without considerable suspicion of all concerned. The leading fact to be kept in mind, however, for a cautious judgment on the whole episode, is Franklin's prompt acquiescence in the appointment of John Carroll once the latter's name was seriously considered. The whole matter can be easily

service. His speech in the House of Commons, on December 11, 1770, in favor of freedom of worship and the abrogation of the test oath for Catholic soldiers was the beginning of the debate which led up to the relief which came to the Catholics in England in 1778.

³ Cf. *The French Clergy's Gift to America*, in the *Catholic Mind*, vol. xviii, no. 8.

⁴ FISHER, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 120; cf. VAN TYNE, *Loyalists in America*, pp. 132-136, for an excellent summary of the loyalist point of view; KITE, *Notes on Franco-American Relations in 1778*, in the *Records*, vol. xxxii, pp. 131-150.

followed in the diplomatic and ecclesiastical correspondence of the time.⁵

In the *Instruction*⁶ sent by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide to Prince Doria Pamphili, Archbishop of Seleucia, and Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, dated January 15, 1783, the Nuncio is reminded that the occasion of the general peace which was to be concluded among the nations of Europe was an important one for the future of the Church in the new Republic across the seas. He is informed that up to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, all the possessions of England on the continent or on the islands of America were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of London. "The approaching declaration of the independence of all those provinces," he is informed, "will destroy the bonds of their political and civil subordination to the British government; it will thereby destroy all bonds in religious matters, and, therefore, the Vicar-Apostolic of London will be deprived of the influence and direction he has exercised until now in the religious affairs of those provinces."⁷ The Nuncio should, therefore, exert his own power with the Court of France, to the end that, through the influence which the King has with the leaders of the American Congress, he may obtain the insertion of an article in the Treaty of Peace "concerning the free exercise and the maintenance of the Catholic religion." His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI, was to be approached on the question of assuming the royal patronage of the Church in the new Republic. A plan for establishing new missions and for sending missionaries to the new Republic was to be discussed, if the opportunity offered itself. A most desirable method of organizing the Church in the United States "would be to establish in one of the principal cities a Vicar-Apostolic, with episcopal character, chosen from among the subjects of the new Republic, who should

⁵ These *Documents* (on the appointment of the first Bishop of Baltimore) appeared in the original French, Italian, and Latin in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1910, pp. 801-829. They were copied at Rome by Professor Carl Russell Fish, while he was engaged on his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives* (Washington, 1911), and were translated into English and published by the late American Church historian, Rev. Edward I. Devitt, S.J., in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. xxi, pp. 185-236, and were later printed separately. They are cited here as *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*.

⁶ For the diplomatic and historical value of these Instructions, cf. CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Recueil des Instructions Générales aux Nonces de Flandre*, pp. 3-9. Brussels, 1914.

⁷ *Propaganda Archives, Istruzioni*, vol. i, ff. 41-44; *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, p. 4.

receive from the Holy See powers for the spiritual government of the Catholics of all those regions, and who, thereafter, should receive the charge of establishing various missionary stations, more or less numerous, according to the requirements of each province.”⁸ A bishop vicar-apostolic was proposed by the Holy See, not only because he would be able to guide the Church and confer on the Catholics all they needed to render their spiritual life complete, but also because “national jealousy could thus be obviated, by not constraining these new republicans to receive those sacraments [Confirmation and Holy Orders] from foreign bishops.”⁹ The Holy See recognized that the members of the American Congress might not be willing to allow a Catholic bishop to enter the United States; if such should prove to be the case, a native American might be appointed prefect, with the title of vicar-apostolic, enjoying episcopal power, except for the administration of Holy Orders. The rule is laid down in this *Instruction* to the Nuncio that if, by any chance, a native American be found worthy for this important post, he should be preferred, whether for the simple prefecture or for the vicariate-apostolic. If an available American should not be found, then Congress should be asked to allow a foreigner to be appointed. It would appear also from the text of the *Instruction* that Congress was to be given the privilege of stating whether the choice was acceptable or not. The maintenance of the new ecclesiastical head in the United States should also be discussed, and in case no help be proffered, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide would be ready to assign an allowance to the new bishop, to the prefect, or the vicar-apostolic. The Holy See no doubt hoped that if the missionaries who would go to America were Frenchmen, the King would assist them “from his royal and liberal munificence.”

Less than a month later, on February 10, 1783, Doria Pamphili replied to Cardinal Antonelli that he had transmitted His Eminence's wishes to the Prime Minister, Count de Vergennes,¹⁰

⁸ *Prop. Arch.*, *ibid.*, *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, p. 5.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Charles Gravier Vergennes, Prime Minister of France, born at Dijon in 1717, died at Paris, 1787. Entered the diplomatic service under Chavigny, French ambassador at Lisbon. Appointed in 1750, Minister to Elector at Trèves. Six years later, became ambassador at Constantinople. Recalled in 1768, was later (1771) appointed

at a conference held on Tuesday of the preceding week. Article VIII of the peace preliminaries (signed on November 30, 1782) between England and America, had secured religious peace to the new Republic. The Prime Minister saw no difficulty in establishing a vicariate-apostolic in America, with an American having episcopal power, and the Nuncio begged him to inform Mr. Franklin, the minister plenipotentiary of the new Republic, that he desired to treat with him on this important matter. The main object of France in the war was American Independence, and while John Jay and John Adams, two of the American commissioners, were very suspicious of the intentions of France, Franklin never lost his complete confidence in our ally. France had been forced to give up so much for the hard-won independence of the new Republic that it is not surprising to find Franklin willing, probably anxious, partially to recompense France by allowing the French Government to have control over the Church in the United States.¹¹

Cardinal Antonelli replied on March 19, 1783, telling the Nuncio what a great consolation his letter of February 10 had been to all in Rome. He is especially cheered by the hope that Catholic missionaries will be tolerated in the United States and that a native vicar-apostolic will be permitted to reside in the new Republic.¹² Six months were to pass before the Nuncio was able to report on the results of his promised interview with

to Stockholm. Louis XVI gave him the post of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and it was in this capacity that he concluded the Franco-American alliance on January 26, 1778. Had he lived, it has been said, he might have prevented the French Revolution.

¹¹ *Prop. Arch., Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 186; *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, pp. 6-7.

¹² Two interesting documents find a place here in order of time, though they have little bearing on the question under discussion. The first is a letter from the Capuchin, Father Sulpitius de Fribourg, dated Isle of San Domingo, June 25, 1783, to Propaganda, calling attention to the sad state of the Catholics in the Carolinas, and announcing his willingness to go to the faithful there, if the Holy See would give him proper authority. He explains that he is well versed in French and German and could easily perfect himself in English. Propaganda replied on September 27, 1783, praising his great zeal, but postponed accepting his worthy offer until some sort of ecclesiastical government be set up in the new Republic. Father Sulpitius wrote also on July 8, 1783, laying his desire before Cardinal Antonelli, and on March 13, 1784, a similar answer, if not in the identical terms to that of September 27, was sent to the good friar. This is a good example of the anxiety expressed by Carroll in his letters to Plowden in 1782, that apostolic men, seeing the state of the clergy in the newly created States, would succeed in having themselves sent to save the souls of the faithful. (*Propaganda Archives, Scritture originale, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 195.) A further example of this self-aroused interest in the American Church can

Mr. Franklin. On September 1, 1783, two days before the definitive treaty of peace was signed, Doria Pamphili wrote to the Cardinal, telling him that he was transmitting a *dossier* of three papers, marked A, B, and C, respectively, relating to the organization of the Church in the United States and giving to the prefect a complete account of the negotiations entered into up to that date:

I have the honor of transmitting to your Eminence, herewith, three papers marked A, B, and C, respectively, and relating to the establishment of apostolic missions in the new republic of the United States of America, which matter was committed to me. The first is a copy of a note or memorandum, that I sent to Mr. Franklin, minister plenipotentiary of the new republic, the second and third are copies of a note of Mr. Franklin and of some observations made by him on the subject of my note just mentioned. In order to take time to send a categorical reply to Mr. Franklin, I merely acknowledged the receipt of these papers, in which your Eminence will find Mr. Franklin to be of opinion that our court, or, in other words, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, will be free to take all measures that may be useful to the Catholics of America without infringing the constitutions, and that the congress will not fail tacitly to approve the choice that the Sacred Congregation may make in concert with the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of a French ecclesiastic, who, residing, in France, may regulate the affairs of Catholics in America, through a suffragan there. In this connection, I am of the opinion that, rather than a French ecclesiastic, the apostolic nuncio for the time being in France, in concert with that Sacred Congregation, might, himself, invest an ecclesiastic with the character of bishop, of prefect, or of vicar-apostolic for the government

be seen in the following letter (*Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 263), from John O'Connolly, dated at Paris, May 23, 1784:

Monseigneur,

Quoique mes Supérieurs m'aient destiné pour les missions de Irlande, dont je suis natif, j'ose cependant représenter à Votre Eminence, que l'état déplorable de la foi catholique en Amérique me pénètre, de la plus vive douleur; d'autant plus que la tolérance accordée dans ce pais, à toute sorte de sectes, y donnera entrée à toutes celles qui se donnent pour protestantes, et y feront des prosélytes nombreux; s'il n'y a point de prêtre touché de zèle des âmes pour en empêcher le progrès funeste; et pour gagner à la vraie foi ceux que les faux apôtres chercheront à corrompre, sous prétexte de réforme. C'est dans ces sentiments et dans le désir d'encourager à la persévérance les vrais fideles de ces contrées que je supplie Votre Eminence de me faire expédier des patentes pour la mission de l'Amérique septentrionale; *ubi messis multa, operarii autem pauci, vel nulli*. Pour ce qui regarde mes mœurs, Votre Eminence en sera instruite par le Père Gardien de St. Isidore à Rome. J'ose espérer que Votre Eminence daignera m'accorder cette grâce et m'honorer d'une réponse.

in question. There being in America, as Mr. Franklin says in his note C, no college or establishment in which a Catholic ecclesiastic may receive the instruction that it is necessary for him to have, nor the hope of a public appropriation for such a purpose, Your Eminence will recognize that recourse must be had to other means in this connection, and that those suggested by Mr. Franklin in his note C, concerning the four establishments of English Religious that exist in France, could not, and should not, be proposed, much less, accepted. The last paragraph of that note deserves all attention, tending as it does, to the attainment of desirable ends. I have thought it well to give information of the contents of these papers to the Count of Vergennes, a true statesman, full of zeal and attachment for our holy Catholic religion; and as I begged of him to facilitate the means of establishing a college in France for the education of as many priests as may be necessary for the spiritual welfare of the Roman Catholics who now are, or may come to be, in the States of the new republic, the royal minister, assuring me that he will give all the assistance that it may be in his power to lend in that connection, suggested that I speak to Monseigneur the Bishop of Autun, minister of ecclesiastical benefices of this realm, in order that he, by his lights, and by his good offices, may assist in the establishment of the proposed college, at St. Malo, Nantes, L'Orient, or any other city of France, near the coast, it being necessary, however, first to obtain the requisite funds, and to know, approximately, the number of priests that the Roman Catholics of the United States may need, and whether there be in that country, individuals inclined to undertake the studies and to adopt the ecclesiastical state. Accordingly, I had an interview with Monseigneur the Bishop of Autun, on Wednesday, and we agreed to confer together, on Saturday of last week, with the Count of Vergennes. To this end, on the day appointed, I went to Versailles, and the Count of Vergennes, as well as the above-named prelate, showed himself to be desirous of obtaining the funds necessary for so important an end. While this matter is being thought over, I trust that your Eminence will give me what information you have in regard to the mission of North America, and will obtain further information from the prelate who is in charge of that mission, requesting him to give the number of priests that are in those states, and the number of them that may be needed there. In quest of this information, after receiving the answer of Your Eminence, I will endeavor to obtain that the Count of Vergennes write to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who has been minister plenipotentiary of the Most Christian King to the United States of North America for the last three years, and who is much esteemed and loved there.¹³

The first note (Note A) is a copy of a memorandum which the Nuncio had sent to Mr. Franklin on July 28, 1783, requesting him

¹³ *Prop. Arch., Scritt. riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, ff. 206-213; *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, pp. 8-11.

to transmit the same to the American Congress and to support it with his influence:

Before the revolution that has just been consummated in North America, the Catholics and the missionaries of those provinces were in spiritual dependence upon the Vicar-Apostolic residing at London. It is obvious that this arrangement can not be continued; but, as it is essential that the Catholic subjects of the United States have an ecclesiastic to govern them in what concerns their religion, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, which exists at Rome with a view to the establishment and preservation of the missions, has determined to propose to the Congress the installation of one of their Catholic subjects, in some city of the United States of North America, with the powers of Vicar-Apostolic and with the character of Bishop, or simply as Prefect-Apostolic. The establishment of a Bishop Vicar-Apostolic seems to be preferable, all the more, since this would enable the Catholic subjects of the United States to receive Confirmation and Holy Orders in their own country, instead of being obliged to go to foreign countries to receive those Sacraments; and as it might happen at times, that no one be found among the subjects of the United States qualified to be entrusted with the spiritual government, whether as Bishop or as Prefect-Apostolic, it would be necessary in such cases that Congress be pleased to consent that the choice be made among the Bishops of a foreign nation, the most friendly to the United States.¹⁴

Shea tells us that the Nuncio transmitted also to the French Minister in the United States, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, a similar letter addressed to the "Senior Catholic Missionary in the United States." Note B is a résumé of Franklin's reply to the Nuncio. The American Minister, after mature reflection on the matter contained in the Nuncio's letter of July 28, decided that "it would be absolutely useless to send it to Congress, which, according to its power and constitution, cannot and should not in any case intervene in the ecclesiastical affairs of any sect of religion established in America." Mr. Franklin was of the opinion that the Holy See was entirely free in taking whatever measures might be useful to the Catholics of America, without infringing the Constitution, and that Congress would not fail to give a tacit approval of the choice made by the Sacred Congregation. But, as the Note goes on to say, it was understood that the choice in question would be "of a French ecclesiastic; who

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

residing in France, may regulate the spiritual affairs of the Catholics who live, or who may come to establish themselves, in those States, through a suffragan residing in America."

Observations on the Note of M. the Apostolic Nuncio

Mr. Franklin, after reading the note of M. the Nuncio and reflecting upon it maturely, believes that it would be absolutely useless to send it to the Congress, which, according to its power and constitution cannot and should not, in any case, intervene in the ecclesiastical affairs of any sect or of any religion established in America. Each particular state has reserved to itself by its own constitution the right to protect its members, to tolerate their religious opinions and not to interfere with the matter, as long as they do not disturb civil order.

Mr. Franklin is therefore of opinion that the Court of Rome may take, of its own initiative, all the measures that may be useful to the Catholics of America, without disregard to the constitutions and that Congress will not fail to give its tacit approval to the choice that the Court of Rome in concert with the minister of the United States may make of a French Ecclesiastic who, residing in France, may regulate the spiritual affairs of the Catholics who may live or who may come to establish themselves in those states through a suffragan residing in America.

Besides many political reasons that may make that arrangement desirable, the Apostolic Nuncio must find in it many others that may be favorable to the intentions of the Court of Rome.¹⁵

The third Note (C) contained the surprising suggestion about the English colleges. The Cardinal-Prefect had stressed the necessity of maintenance for the vicar-apostolic of the new Republic, and Franklin suggests to the Nuncio that, since there is in America no college or establishment where a Catholic ecclesiastic might receive the necessary preparation, the four monasteries of the English Benedictine monks, the annual revenues of which amounted to almost 60,000 *livres*, might be used for this purpose. "It is possible," so runs Note C, "that the King of France, to please the Court of Rome and to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the United States, would permit these establishments to train, instruct, and in part support the ecclesiastics who would be used in America."

The American revolution, by separating the interest of the colonies from those of the mother country changes the relations that bound the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Catholics of America with those who live in the English dominion. The unity of the present government seems to require that those bonds be diminished and weakened by taking from the British ministry all influence over the subjects of the United States.

In the greater number of the colonies, there is no endowment, no fixed revenue, for the support of a clergy of whatever denomination; Legislature, viewing this subject from the standpoint of a more general freedom, has been unwilling to make a public charge of a tax that should be only voluntary and private. Neither is there a college or public establishment where a Catholic ecclesiastic may receive necessary instruction. These are two equally essential points to be considered.

There are in France four establishments of English monks, the total revenues of which may amount to 50,000 or 60,000 *livres*. These monks are few. The want of subjects makes those who remain useless at least.

It is possible that the King of France to please the Court of Rome, and to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the United States, would permit these establishments to train, instruct and in part support the ecclesiastics who would be used in America.

It would be expedient that one of the Bishops named by the Holy See should be a subject of the king, residing in France, in a position, always, to act in accordance with the Nuncio of His Holiness and the American minister, and to adopt with them the means of training the ecclesiastics, which might be agreeable to Congress and useful to American Catholics.¹⁶

From these three memoranda it is clear that a definite policy regarding the American Church had been decided upon between March and September, 1783. Cardinal Antonelli's concession that a foreigner might be chosen as head of the American Church was evidently being made capital of in Paris, and whoever originated the scheme found in Franklin a willing tool in the project for subjecting his Catholic fellow-citizens to a foreign superior, nominated by French influence and residing in France. The Nuncio was not favorably disposed toward the suggestion that the property of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation be confiscated for the purpose of educating priests for the American Mission.¹⁷ Vergennes also saw the injustice of the proposal and intimated to the Nuncio that Talleyrand would be the proper official to consult in this aspect of the affair. By September, 1783, therefore, the French scheme was fully developed. Besides

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁷ TAUNTON, *English Black Monks*, vol. ii, chapters xvii-xix. London, 1897.

a French vicar-apostolic for the United States, with episcopal character, who would rule the Church here through a suffragan or vicar-general, an American Seminary was to be erected in one of the sea-coast towns of France, supported by the revenues of the English monastic establishments in France which were to be confiscated for this purpose. How much money would be necessary for the project would depend upon the number of priests needed in the United States. The Nuncio called on Talleyrand and a conference was agreed upon between Doria Pamphili, Talleyrand and Vergennes at Versailles. The Prime Minister and the Bishop of Autun both showed themselves desirous of carrying out the American Seminary plan. Accordingly, the Nuncio was directed to ask at Rome for further information on the American mission: namely, the number of priests already in the States, and the number that was still needed for the Church there. The Nuncio intended also, he tells Antonelli, to ask Vergennes to inquire from de la Luzerne, then French Minister at New York, "and who is much esteemed and loved there," for information on these two points.

As we have seen, the American clergy, although ignorant up to this time of the intrigue, had already begun to create their own organization during the peace year (1783-1784). The Whitmarsh meeting of the clergy on June 27, 1783, had decided upon a Chapter form of government. Father John Lewis, the Vicar-General of the London Vicar-Apostolic up to the outbreak of the war, was the acknowledged head of the Church in the United States down to the General Chapter of the American Clergy, on November 6, 1783, when his nomination as superior for the whole Mission was sent to Rome. News of the proceedings of the June meeting had no doubt been reported to the Nuncio, for his letter of September 1, 1783, as has been seen above, contains a rather emphatic suggestion that silence on the whole plan should be kept: "On the other hand, Your Eminence will deign to inform neither the ecclesiastic just mentioned (the superior of the Mission in the United States) nor anyone else, with the exception of the Holy Father, of my negotiations with the Count de Vergennes and with Monseigneur the Bishop of Autun, since it is a question, as yet, of mere project, of which it would not be well to speak before it be realized, or developed

sufficiently not to be frustrated by anyone who may regard the proposed establishment unfavorably."

There were, indeed, several quarters from which opposition might legitimately be expected. The English Benedictines in France had dwindled to a mere shadow of their former greatness; St. Edmund's Monastery in Paris, for example, was reduced to such a state that during the latter half of the eighteenth century "it was seriously considered whether it would not be as well to disband the house altogether."¹⁸ All the English religious houses in France were indeed to be swept away in the whirlwind of the French Revolution ten years later, their sequestration taking place on February 18, 1793, a few days after the declaration of war between England and France;¹⁹ but no religious Order, with the great antiquity of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation behind it, could acquiesce without a protest in the heartless project contained in Franklin's Note C to the Nuncio. There was a lack of generosity in the plan if, as Taunton states, Benjamin Franklin during his stay in Paris (1776-1784), was a constant guest at St. Edmund's Monastery.²⁰ Another source of opposition was naturally the American Catholics themselves. Priests and people were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of independence—at that time more intense in American life than ever afterwards; and the proposal to place them under a "foreign prince or potentate," was obnoxious to a nation which had just forged its way to freedom, and at such awful cost. Whether the English Benedictines became aware of the Franklin proposal we do not know. Both Taunton and Ward are silent on the matter, and both had access to archives which should have contained documents on the subject had it been discussed.

We know that the French vicar-apostolic project was first made known to Carroll through former English associates. Carroll expressed his great surprise, as we have seen, in a letter to Plowden, dated September 15, 1784, that his old friend Dr. Franklin had become a party to the Nuncio's intrigue,²¹ which, however, was not meeting with the success its leaders expected.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 287.

¹⁹ WARD, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, vol. ii, p. 78. London, 1909.

²⁰ TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 285.

²¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 218 note.

On September 27, 1783, Antonelli wrote to the Papal Nuncio at Paris, telling him that the Holy Father, Pius VI (1775-1799), had greatly commended his zeal and sagacity in having obtained the active coöperation of Vergennes and Talleyrand "in this salutary work." He reminds the Nuncio that "this Holy Congregation does not withdraw from its original offer to assist in the support of a vicar-apostolic endowed with episcopal character, or of a bishop, if this should be preferred, whom it will be necessary to put at the head of the Catholics in the United States." Very wisely, Antonelli rejected "without further discussion" the Franklin project of suppressing the four monasteries of English Benedictines in France. Antonelli's letter of this date is one of the most interesting in this correspondence:

September 27, 1783.

Your Lordship has so well begun the great matter of a plan for missions in the provinces of the new republic of the United States of North America that I do not doubt that you will soon bring it to a most happy termination. The Holy Father, who has been informed of your action, has greatly commended your zeal, and your sagacity in having interested the Count of Vergennes and Monseigneur the Bishop of Autun in this salutary work, the former, for his protection as worthy Prime Minister, the latter, for the subsistence of the new workers, in view of his ministry of ecclesiastical benefices in that kingdom. This Holy Congregation, however, does not withdraw from its original offer to assist in the support of the Vicar-Apostolic endowed with the episcopal character, or of a bishop, if this should be preferred, whom it will be necessary to put at the head of the Catholics in the United States.

Conformably with the judicious suggestions of Your Lordship, the following points should be established:

I. The proposition of Mr. Franklin, to suppress the four monasteries of English-Benedictines that exist in France, should be rejected, without further discussion. Besides the odium that would be aroused in the nation, which would be highly displeasing to the pacific and generous spirit of His Most Christian Majesty, grievous injury would be done to the missions of England, if the four monasteries in question should be suppressed, since the English Benedictine Congregation, which furnishes nearly forty missionaries who work for the good of souls in England, would be reduced to the one monastery that, with the four in France, constitutes the total number of the convents of the worthy Congregation.

II. The Nuncio to France, as Your Lordship opportunely suggested to Mr. Franklin, should have the supervision of these American missions, as is the case with the Nuncio at Brussels for the missions of Holland, and he would come to an understanding with the minister of the United

States at Paris, whenever it was necessary to act in accordance with him for the greater good of those missions. This arrangement would also be compatible with an agent of the Vicar-Apostolic, or of the Bishop to be established in the United States, at Paris, in the person of some French ecclesiastic, who, upon occasion, would act in concert with the minister of those States and with the Nuncio. It is to be desired that, some day, this new republic may have a Catholic minister at Paris; but, in the present circumstances, in which the minister is heretical, possibly Presbyterian, or Non-Conformist, which are the dominant sects in those states, it would be desirable to have a French ecclesiastic in private correspondence between the Nuncio and the minister.

III. It was suggested above, and is repeated now, that it appears very necessary to establish that the superior, who is to have jurisdiction over all the Catholics of the American Republic, be invested with the character of bishop, with the title of Vicar-Apostolic, or, if acceptable, that he be the bishop of a diocese in that country. He may take his title from any city in the provinces of that republic that may seem to be the one best adapted for his residence. As the greater number of Catholics are in Maryland and in Pennsylvania, it would appear that the residence should be established in one of these two states; but it will be better to determine this point according to what may be most satisfactory to the minister and to the states. There is no doubt that all the missionaries should depend upon the Vicar-Apostolic, or Bishop, and receive from him their powers and destination among the various stations, according to requirements. And to that end, the Prelate will be invested with the most ample powers, as for instance, those of the first formula.

IV. As to the subjects to be chosen, for the vicariate-apostolic, or the episcopacy, as well as for missionaries, present conditions seem clearly to indicate that they should be taken from among the ecclesiastical subjects of His Most Christian Majesty. But if in time any native should be found available for the sacred ministry, there is no doubt that the Vicar or Bishop would be free to ordain him, and to employ him in the missions.

V. It would be most useful to establish a college for the sole benefit of these missionaries, at Nantes, St. Malo, l'Orient, or some other place, near the ocean; but it may be foreseen that the magnitude of the idea would make its realization difficult. It is clearly understood that Monseigneur d'Autun, by his favour, could overcome all obstacles; but great and expensive things, as would be the creation of a new college, should not be sought.

VI. Consideration might be given, therefore, to the idea of increasing to some extent the income of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, where ecclesiastics, already, are trained for the East Indies; or better still, the Seminary of Saint Esprit, the ecclesiastics of which are destined to the missions of South America, at Cayenne and Guiana, imposing upon it the obligation of maintaining there, for the present, a reasonable number of ecclesiastics, to be sent under the suggested authority in America to

the provinces of the United States. If, to begin, eight or ten missionaries are sent, besides the vicar, or bishop, this will provide sufficiently for the needs of the faithful in question, the number of whom is not precisely known to this Holy Congregation, which is also without exact information of the number of the old workers, who, for the greater part, were of the suppressed Society of Jesus; for, neither directly, nor through the Vicar-Apostolic of London, has news been received concerning those Catholics, of whom some information was sent to Your Lordship in the instruction of the 15th of January of the present year.

VII. If the number of workers suggested should prove to be insufficient, it will be time, then, to think of other means of study for a greater number of subjects, and it will be possible, even, if there be a desire to form a national clergy, to establish at the College of the Propaganda, here, two or three places for Americans, as has been done for so many nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Your Lordship, however, who is better informed of the state of affairs, will know which of the points noted above should be communicated to the minister, and which not; upon this point, His Holiness and this Congregation repose on your known zeal and activity, of which there are so many exceptional proofs; and thanking Your Lordship for the letter which you enclosed from Monseigneur the Vicar-Apostolic of London, I remain, with all esteem, heartily yours, etc.²²

The hierarchical character of the French project as outlined by Antonelli was as follows: At the head of American ecclesiastical affairs would be the Papal Nuncio in Paris, who would, as Ordinary, act with the knowledge and understanding of the American Minister in Paris, "whenever it was necessary to act in accordance with him for the greater good of those missions." Subordinate to the Nuncio would be a French vicar-apostolic or bishop, with an official agent at Paris, who would act in concert with the American Minister and with the Nuncio. Antonelli hoped that some day the new Republic might have a Catholic Minister at Paris, but until that should occur, it would be best to have a French ecclesiastic act as agent for the American Mission. Apart from this, there would always be, he explained, "the formal correspondence between the Nuncio and the minister." The third point in Antonelli's letter is quite significant: It is becoming more evident, in fact, it appears very necessary, to appoint a Bishop for the United States, who should have his See in that country. Since the greater number of Catholics live in

²² *Prop. Arch., Lettere*, vol. 242, f. 753; *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, pp. 14-17.

Maryland and in Pennsylvania, it would appear, he says, that the bishop's see should be established in either one of these two States. Whoever is appointed, whether as bishop or as vicar-apostolic, should have episcopal jurisdiction over the Church in the States. The choice of an ecclesiastic to occupy this post is clearly indicated by present conditions—"he should be taken from among the ecclesiastical subjects of His Most Christian Majesty." Not only was the ecclesiastical head to be chosen, but the missionaries also for the Church in the new Republic, were to be selected from among the French clergy. If, in the course of time, Antonelli adds, an American be found available for the sacred ministry, "there is no doubt that the vicar or bishop would be free to ordain him, and to employ him in the missions."

It may be necessary for the reader's benefit to emphasize the fact that the ecclesiastic who thus describes the early American Church was not only a cardinal, but was also the Prefect of the Congregation which had for its purpose the propagation of the Faith in non-Catholic lands. There were means at his disposal for a thorough acquaintance with the state of the American Church, but those means were seldom employed. The interest shown in the organization of the Church in the United States in these early years was mainly political and financial, and from this date down to the first Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829, no impartial reader will be able to accuse the Roman authorities of accurate knowledge of American Catholic affairs in general or of American conditions geographical and otherwise, in particular. The American clergy will be at the mercy of meddlers and at the mercy of badly informed chiefs in the Congregation to which they are obliged to look as to their superiors, until an Archbishop of Baltimore breaks the restraint the American clergy must have felt, and appeals directly to the Pope in a letter which lacks nothing in its indignation at the sad situation in which Roman curial ignorance had placed them.²³

Antonelli's letter of September 27, 1783, must have been

²³ Archbishop Neale to Pope Pius VII, Georgetown, March 6, 1817. Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 34. Cf. Maréchal's *Report* of 1818 in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 439-453. An interesting side-light on the situation will be found in S. B. Morse (of telegraph fame), *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberty of the United States*, p. 141. New York, 1835; it was published originally under the pen-name "Brutus," in the *New York Observer* (1834-1835).

written with the cognizance of the plans formulated by the American clergy. He persists, however, in the Franco-American Seminary project. He directs the Nuncio's attention to the idea of combining the Seminary project with either the Seminary of Foreign Missions or the Seminary of the Holy Ghost in Paris. If the income of either of these establishments was to be augmented for the purpose by Talleyrand, they could be required to furnish a certain number of missionaries for the missions in the United States. Eight or ten missionaries, he thinks, would be a sufficient number to send to the United States; but of this he is not quite certain, because the number of Catholics in the United States "is not precisely known to this Holy Congregation, which is also without exact information of the number of the old workers." Later on, he deems, there might be room for a national American College at Rome, for the formation of the national clergy.

On December 15, 1783, Franklin wrote to Vergennes that the delay in the spiritual organization of the American Church was causing him some concern: "I understand that the Bishop or spiritual person who superintends or governs the Roman Catholic clergy in the United States of America resides in London, and is supposed to be under obligations to that Court and subject to be influenced by its Ministers. This gives me some uneasiness, and I cannot but wish that one should be appointed to that office who is of this nation and who may reside here among our friends. I beg Your Excellency to think a little of this matter and afford me your counsels upon it."²⁴

"But for this positive evidence," says Shea, "we could scarcely believe that Dr. Franklin lent himself to a plan for treating his Catholic countrymen in this manner and helping a conspiracy to subject them not to a Superior chosen from among themselves, but to one nominated by the French Court and residing in France."²⁵ Franklin certainly had opportunities in Paris of learning that the Vicar-Apostolic of London had exercised no jurisdiction over the Church in America from the outbreak of the Revolution; Bishop Talbot's refusal to recognize the American Church as part of his charge was too well known at the time

²⁴ *Researches*, vol. xi, p. 190.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 215.

to have escaped one so fortunately placed as Franklin. On receiving Franklin's letter, Vergennes made a memorandum, which shows that the Prime Minister was not altogether satisfied about the French vicar-apostolic plan, and that he was better acquainted with the situation than Franklin. "Mr. Franklin," he says, "represents that since the Bishop governing the Catholic Clergy in America resides in London, it is to our interest to name someone for that charge who could reside in the United States." Franklin had already consulted Archbishop de Cicé of Bordeaux on the Seminary subject, doubtless at the suggestion of Talleyrand, as we learn in a letter from de Cicé to Vergennes, dated December 27, 1783: "I regard it a duty, Count, to inform you of the proposition just made me by Mr. Franklin. The object is to secure to religion among the Catholics of the United States more order and facility in the number and choice of ministers necessary for them. I reasonably presume that in this matter Mr. Franklin is the interpreter of the wishes of his Catholic fellow-citizens. He seems to desire that to attain securely what they propose, they should have in France a titled ecclesiastic, appointed to provide for the wants of the Church."²⁶

The truth is that Franklin was not only acting blindly in the whole affair, but was proceeding without the knowledge of the Catholic leaders in the new Republic. Certainly his wishes regarding the chief pastor of the flock in the United States were at variance with those of the American clergy, as evidenced in the Whitemarsh meeting of 1783-1784. The Archbishop of Bordeaux, while not a party to the enterprise, was brought into the affair, on account of the Bordeaux American Seminary scheme, of which the correspondence speaks often during these two years. Cicé acted very cautiously, albeit generously, in the matter. Among the Franklin MSS. at the Library of Congress (fol. 2617), there is a letter from the Archbishop of Bordeaux to Franklin, assuring him of his eagerness to second the worthy efforts of Talleyrand and the American minister to supply the American mission with priests, but asking for more detailed information before he gave his consent to the Bordeaux project.²⁷

It would appear from a letter of Antonelli to Doria Pamphili,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

²⁷ *Recherches*, vol. xxvii, p. 345.

of June 9, 1784, that Talleyrand had first made the proposition that one of the Seminaries in Bordeaux be used for the American Seminary project.

Meanwhile Vergennes' commission to Luzerne had not been neglected. That worthy French gentleman had consulted with the leaders of the American Republic and on January 31, 1784, he wrote to Vergennes from Annapolis, stating that while Congress did not wish to take any action in the matter, which was beyond its competency, the delegates had assured him that a Catholic bishop would be very well received. That part of the letter which touches on the subject is as follows:

Monseigneur the Apostolic Nuncio has made some propositions in the name of His Holiness to Doctor Franklin in regard to the sending of a Bishop or a Vicar-Apostolic whom the Holy Father desires to place over the Roman Catholic Churches of this continent. The Congress has respectfully welcomed that overture; it has been unable, however, to take action in this matter, which is not of the competency of Congress. It is a matter that concerns the Catholics alone; and the delegates who have spoken to me on the subject have assured me that a Catholic bishop would be very well received in the state of Pennsylvania and much more so in Maryland, where there are many Catholics, providing the prelate carefully avoided to assume any temporal jurisdiction or authority. The Congress, in general, would be pleased at the residence of a prelate, who by conferring the sacrament of Holy Orders on the priests of these parts, would relieve them of the necessity of receiving it in London, or in Quebec, as has been done in the past. Some of the delegates even believe that a Catholic bishop would not refuse to confer Holy Orders on the Anglican ministers of America, who until now, have been obliged to procure their ordination at London; but this practice does not seem to me to be compatible to the profession that those who receive Holy Orders must make or with the examination that they must undergo. The State Legislatures and Congress refrain from entangling themselves with religious matters.²⁸

This letter was no doubt communicated at once to the Nuncio, who probably sent it to Propaganda. On May 11, 1784, as we have seen from the *Secret Journals of Congress*, one of the resolutions passed was to the effect that Dr. Franklin be requested to notify the Nuncio at Paris of the American policy of non-interference in religious affairs: "*Resolved*, That Doctor Franklin be desired to notify the Apostolic Nuncio at Versailles, that Con-

²⁸ *Prop. Arch., Scritt. riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 241 *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, pp. 19-20.

gress will always be pleased to testify their respect to his sovereign and state; but that the subject of his application to Doctor Franklin being purely spiritual, is without the jurisdiction and powers of Congress, who have no authority to permit or refuse it, these powers being reserved to the several states individually,"²⁹

This resolution could not have reached Franklin before the end of the summer, but the shrewd American Minister had already arrived at the same conclusion. Antonelli, likewise, was beginning to see the wisdom of appointing one of the American missionaries.³⁰ Writing to Luzerne under date of May 12, 1784, he states that the Sacred Congregation desires full information of the condition of the Church in the United States. (The four points of information asked for are those which Father Carroll eventually answered on March 1, 1785, in his *Relation*):

Before the American revolution, the Catholics and missionaries of those states, in what concerns religion, were under the vigilance and direction of the Vicar-Apostolic residing in London. That revolution having separated the interests of the United States from those of England, and having entirely changed the government of those states, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda has seen the necessity of taking other measures for the government of these missions; hence, Monseigneur, the Archbishop of Seleucia, Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, was charged by this Congregation to make on that subject to the Congress of the United States some proposition, not less useful to religion and to the spiritual assistance of the Catholics than acceptable to the government of those States.

Monseigneur the Nuncio mentioned the matter to Mr. Franklin, who, however, answered that, having seriously reflected on it he considered it absolutely useless to refer the question to the Congress, which, by its constitutions and faculties, could not, and should not, entangle itself in ecclesiastical affairs, and consequently, that it was in the power of the Court of Rome to take all measures that might be of advantage to the Catholics of America, without offending the constitutions. After receiving this answer, the Congregation, by order of His Holiness, instructed Mon-

²⁹ Vol. iii, p. 493. Boston, 1821.

³⁰ About this time there should have arrived at Rome a letter in Italian (copy in my possession—*Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 223), sent from Maryland, November 10, 1783, and unsigned and unaddressed, which I take to be a translation of Carroll's letter of this date. The Italian version differs from the English and seems to have been made by some one who knew the animus of Americans in general towards "prelacy." At the end of the letter, in Latin, is the information that Father John Lewis was sixty-two years old. It was this fact, not mentioned by the American Committee, which decided Rome to appoint Carroll, who was much younger.

seigneur the Nuncio to agree with the ministers of His Most Christian Majesty, and with the minister of the United States, upon the most desirable means of giving to the missions of North America the stability and development of which they might be capable.

His Most Christian Majesty having wished, on such an occasion, to give a new proof of his piety and of the interest that he takes in the preservation and extension of the Catholic religion in all parts of the world, found no difficulty in agreeing to a plan that is no less useful to the Catholics of the United States than to the government of those provinces; but, to establish a stable condition of things, and to forestall all the objections and difficulties that might present themselves in its realization, it is necessary to have certain information that may make it possible to compass that object.

1st. To have exact knowledge of the conduct and capacities of the ecclesiastics and missionaries who are in the various provinces of North America; which one of them would be the most worthy, and the most acceptable to the assembly of those provinces, to be created Bishop *in partibus* and invested with the character of vicar-Apostolic, considering that it will be desirable to fix the residence in that province in which there is the greatest number of Catholics.

2d. If there be among those ecclesiastics a native of the country who may be among the most worthy, in equality of merits, he would be preferred to any of another nationality; and whenever the provinces would be in lack of missionaries, a Frenchman will be sent to establish himself there, residing in the province suggested above.

3d. To know the number of the ecclesiastics and missionaries, as, also, that of the Catholics in the different provinces and their area, assuming that the greater number of them is to be found in Pennsylvania and Maryland. It would be well, however, to know the same in regard to the other provinces.

4th. To know if there be schools in those provinces, where the Latin language may be learnt, and where those youths who wish to prepare for the ecclesiastic state may have studied the humanities before repairing to France or to Rome for the study of philosophy and of theology.³¹

On this same date, May 12, 1784, the Nuncio also wrote to Luzerne at New York, asking him to assist Propaganda in ascertaining full knowledge of the state of affairs in the Church of the United States. He incloses a letter which he has drawn up by order of Propaganda, which he begs Luzerne to deliver "to one of the oldest missionaries of those provinces." He does not touch in this enclosed letter on the subject of the bishop vicar-apostolic or on the manner of his selection, but he adds that

³¹ *Prop. Arch., Scritt. riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 253; *Fisk-Devitt Transcripts*, pp. 20-22.

"the ex-Jesuit, Mr. Carroll of Maryland, has been spoken of to me with eulogy, this Carroll being the same who was educated at St. Omer, and who, in 1776, was sent by the Congress to Canada, with Mr. Franklin and other commissioners. I hope that Your Lordship will be pleased to give me information concerning him, and will let me know whether you consider him worthy to be named bishop in *partibus* and vicar-apostolic." ³²

As Shea has intimated, this came about through the English ex-Jesuits, who had become aware of the French intrigue, and Plowden, Carroll's great friend, on hearing of the intrigue, wrote at once to Franklin to dissuade the American minister from the French scheme. Fathers Sewall and Mattingly, natives of Maryland, were then in England, and they added their protests to that of Plowden, explaining to Franklin that out of respect and consideration for the missionaries then in the United States no appointment should be made without their participation and consent. Plowden tells this to Carroll in his letter dated September 2, 1784. It is not certain that this intervention preceded the letter of the Nuncio to Luzerne of May 12, 1784, but from this time on the French scheme was doomed. Franklin's eyes were opened, says Shea, and as he knew John Carroll personally, "he must have felt not a little chagrined to find himself made even indirectly the medium of impeaching the loyalty of the Carrolls and other patriotic American Catholics, priests and laymen. It is certain that he at once determined that sound policy required him to favor the appointment of an American missionary as Superior of the Catholics in the United States, and he certainly from this time exerted all his influence to press the appointment of Rev. Mr. Carroll, to whose qualifications he could bring the testimony of personal knowledge and daily intercourse for a considerable period." ³³

Meanwhile, the project was dragging itself tediously to an end. On May 17, 1784, Doria Pamphili wrote to Antonelli (referring to his letter of April 26), stating that, on May 3, a conference was held at Versailles on the very important matter of the government of the missions in the province of the new Republic of the United States of North America, with Vergennes, Talley-

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

³³ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 216-219.

rand, and himself present. The Prime Minister read Luzerne's dispatch from Annapolis of January 31, 1784. The Nuncio gave an abstract of His Eminence's letter of September 27, 1783. The chief matter discussed at the conference was the supply of the clergy for the American missions. It was decided that the Nuncio should send two letters; one to Luzerne and the other to one of the missionaries in America (those mentioned above, May 12, 1784), asking for information on the needs of the Church in the United States. The place to educate the students for the American missions was also discussed. Paris, it was decided, would not be desirable, since only philosophy, canon and civil law, and theology were taught in the Seminaries there. The students would need a college education before beginning these studies, and for this purpose Talleyrand suggested that the Archbishop of Bordeaux, an intimate friend of the Bishop of Autun, should be asked to arrange for the reception of these students in one of the Seminaries in Bordeaux.

Since Mr. Franklin had spoken to him of the merits and good reputation of Father Carroll, the Nuncio hopes that the Holy See will be pleased to hear this, and he avers that Franklin and many members of Congress would welcome Carroll's appointment to the vicariate to be established in America.

The letter which the Nuncio inclosed in his dispatch to Luzerne, on May 12, 1784, addressed to "one of the missionaries living in America," was as follows:

The interests of religion requiring that new information be had of the missions that are established in the United States of North America, the Congregation of the Propaganda has ordered me to ask you for detailed information of the present conditions of those missions. I beg of you to let me know, at the same time, what number of missionaries would be necessary for the service of those stations, and to secure spiritual assistance to the Catholic subjects of the United States; which are the provinces where there are Catholics, and where the greatest number of Catholics are to be found, and lastly, whether there be, among the natives of that country, subjects available to receive Holy Orders and to exercise the functions of a missionary. I shall be very thankful to you, personally, for the precision and celerity with which you may be kind enough to procure and to forward this information for me.³⁴

³⁴ *Prop. Arch., Scrit. riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 261; *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, pp. 27-29.

Luzerne had probably left for France when the letter arrived, and the *Chargé d'affaires*, Marbois, informed Reyneval, Vergennes' secretary, on August 15, 1784, that he had sent the letter to Mr. Charles Carroll, asking him to give it to the oldest missionary. Shea says that this letter was addressed by the Nuncio to the Rev. John Carroll.³⁵ This is no doubt incorrect. Mr. Charles Carroll was asked by Marbois to give it to the oldest missionary and he relieved himself of responsibility in the matter by sending it to his cousin, Father Carroll. Father Carroll was not the oldest missionary, nor was he the superior of the clergy at that time, but he was known to Franklin, and his reply would probably have greater weight with that statesman in the matter under consideration. On May 31, 1784, the Nuncio informed Antonelli that he had sent to Vergennes copies of the two letters of May 12, one to Luzerne and one to the oldest missionary. On June 9, 1784, the negotiations were brought to an abrupt close by the action of the Holy See in appointing John Carroll "head of the missions in the provinces of the new Republic of the United States of North America."

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 221.

CHAPTER XIV

APPOINTMENT OF FATHER JOHN CARROLL AS PRAEFECT- APOSTOLIC

(1784-1785)

The appointment of Father John Carroll had a double effect: that of officially ending the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of London over the Catholics in the former English colonies, and that of giving to the Church in the United States its own autonomy under the jurisdiction of Propaganda. We have for this date, June 9, 1784, a letter from Antonelli to the Nuncio, which states that John Carroll had been appointed Praefect-Apostolic of the United States on that day, and refers to the fact that prior to the Nuncio's dispatch of May 17, 1784, the Congregation of Propaganda had received the Petition from the priests in America in which they requested that Father Lewis should be constituted their Superior. Antonelli enclosed copies of other letters for the Nuncio's perusal, and pointed out that Carroll's name is the last place among the nominees sent by the American missionaries. "This fact shows," he says, "that Carroll has not coöperated with the earnest solicitation of Mr. Franklin in his behalf, and, consequently, it has helped to give him the preference over Lowis [*sic*], who, moreover, being 64 years of age, as the letters in question show, would seem to deserve a rest. We are not informed of the age of Carroll [he was then 49 years old], but it may be assumed to be a much more vigorous one than that of Lowis [*sic*], since he is named last in the petition."¹

A second letter of this same date, June 9, 1784, enclosed in the one to the Nuncio and addressed to Father Carroll, which the new Superior received on November 26, 1784, announced officially to the Church in America the decision reached by the Holy See:

¹ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 244, f. 487; *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, p. 30.

*Rome, June 9, 1784.**Very Rev. Sir:*

In order to preserve and defend Catholicity in the Thirteen United States of North America, the Supreme Pontiff of the Church, Pius VI, and this Sacred Congregation have thought it extremely proper to designate a pastor who should, permanently and independently of any ecclesiastical power, except the same Sacred Congregation, attend to the spiritual necessities of the Catholic flock. In the appointment of such a pastor, the Sacred Congregation would have readily cast its eyes on the Rev. John Lewis if his advanced age and the labors he has already undergone in the vineyard of the Lord had not deterred it from imposing on him a new and very heavy burden; for he seems to require repose rather than arduous labor. As then, Rev. Sir, you have given conspicuous proofs of piety and zeal, and it is known that your appointment will please and gratify many members of that republic, and especially Mr. Franklin, the eminent individual who represents the same republic at the court of the Most Christian King, the Sacred Congregation, with the approbation of his Holiness, has appointed you Superior of the Mission in the thirteen United States of North America, and has communicated to you the faculties, which are necessary to the discharge of that office; faculties which are also communicated to the other priests of the same States, except the administration of Confirmation, which is reserved for you alone, as the enclosed documents will show.

These arrangements are meant to be only temporary. For it is the intention of his Holiness soon to charge a Vicar-Apostolic, invested with the title and character of bishop, with the care of those states, that he may attend to ordination and other episcopal functions. But, to accomplish this design, it is of great importance that we should be made acquainted with the state of the orthodox religion in those thirteen states. Therefore we request you to forward to us, as soon as possible, a correct report, stating carefully the number of Catholics in each state; what is their condition, their piety and what abuses exist; also how many missionary priests labor now in that vineyard of the Lord; what are their qualifications, their zeal, their mode of support. For though the Sacred Congregation wish not to meddle with temporal things, it is important for the establishment of laborers, that we should know what are the ecclesiastical revenues, if any there are, and it is believed there are some. In the meantime for fear the want of missionaries should deprive the Catholics of spiritual assistance, it has been resolved to invite hither two youths from the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania, to educate them at the expense of the Sacred Congregation in the Urban College; they will afterwards, on returning to their country, be substitutes in the mission. We leave to your solicitude the care of selecting and sending them. You will make choice of those who have more promising talents and a good constitution, who are not less than twelve, nor more than fifteen years of age; who by their proficiency in the sanctuary may give great hopes of themselves. You may address them to the excellent

Archbishop of Seleucia, Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, who is informed of their coming. If the young men selected are unable to defray the expenses of the voyage, the Sacred Congregation will provide for them; we even wish to be informed by you frankly and accurately of the necessary traveling expenses, to serve as a rule for the future. Such are the things I have to signify to you; and whilst I am confident you will discharge the office committed to you with all zeal, solicitude and fidelity, and more than answer the high opinion we have formed of you, I pray God that he may grant you all peace and happiness.

L. CARD. ANTONELLI,
Prefect.

STEPHEN BORGIA,
*Secretary.*²

On June 19, 1784, Cardinal Antonelli announced to the London Vicar-Apostolic, Bishop Talbot, the end of English ecclesiastical rule in the former colonies:

To his Lordship James Talbot, Bishop of BIRTHA, Vicar-Apostolic in the Kingdom of England, London:

As the Catholics inhabiting the thirteen United States of America have been forbidden by the magistrates of that Republic to have any longer as their Superiors, Vicars-Apostolic dwelling in foreign countries, and as for the preservation of religion the missionaries dwelling there have petitioned the Holy See to provide for their spiritual necessities, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda with the approbation of His Holiness Pius VI, has appointed as Superior of said Mission John Carroll, a man of approved virtue and ability, and has granted to him all necessary and proper faculties independently of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction save that of the Sacred Congregation. Furthermore, His Holiness judges it fitting to appoint and intends shortly to appoint for those provinces a Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic with episcopal title and character who shall have power to administer to the faithful all the offices of religion that require episcopal authority. I, therefore, hasten to communicate this to your Lordship, to whom the spiritual care of those Catholics was formerly entrusted; not doubting that the foresight of this Congregation in providing for the welfare of religion will be most pleasing to your Lordship also, I pray that God may prolong your life and protect you.³

Father Carroll received the news of his appointment from several sources: namely, August 20, 1784, Father Thorpe's letter of June 9, from Rome; September 17-18, 1784, Father Charles Plowden's letter of July 3, from England; November 7-8, 1784,

² SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 243-245, from *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 244, f. 492; original in *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Letter-Books*, vol. ii.

³ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 244, f. 524; cf. *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, p. 35.

Barbé de Marbois' letter of October 27, from New York; November 26, 1784, Cardinal Antonelli's letter of June 9, from Rome.

Father Thorpe's letter of June 9 announced his appointment, the nature of the faculties imparted by Propaganda, particularly the power of administering Confirmation, and stated that as soon as the necessary information of the state of the Church in America reached Propaganda, the Holy See would promote him to the dignity and character of a bishop. This letter, as we have seen, Carroll presented to his brethren at the Whitemarsh Chapter on October 11, 1784. The Chapter thereupon passed three important resolutions already referred to, which are based on the decision that a Superior *in spiritualibus* was adequate "to the present exigencies of religion in this country": (1) that a bishop was unnecessary; (2) that if one be sent (i.e., not elected by themselves), he should not be entitled to support from the clergy estates; (3) that a Committee of Three (Fathers Diderick, Matthews, and Mosley) be empowered to send a *Memorial* to Rome against the appointment of a bishop.⁴

Father Charles Plowden's letter of July 3, 1784, was answered by Carroll on September 15, 1784. (He mentions having received the news already from Father Thomas Talbot, the Procurator of the dissolved English Jesuit Province)⁵

The letter of Barbé de Marbois, French Chargé d'affaires, at New York, dated October 27, 1784, reached Carroll on November 8. "I congratulate myself," Marbois says, "in being one of the first to assure you that this choice will give general satisfaction." Accompanying this letter was the dispatch from Cardinal Antonelli to "Mr. John Carroll, Superior of the Missions in the thirteen United States of North America," authorizing him to publish the Jubilee of 1775-1776, which was especially extended to the United States. The proclamation of this Jubilee was the first official act of the new Superior.

The official documents of his election to the Superiorship sent by Cardinal Antonelli on June 9, reached Father Carroll at Rock Creek on November 26, 1784. Cardinal Antonelli's letter, as given above, emphasized the one point in the official decree of

⁴ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 633.

⁵ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 632-633.

appointment which gave Father Carroll most concern, namely, the nature and extent of his dependence on Propaganda.

Shea has summed up the effect of this letter in the following paragraph: "The action of the Holy See had given the Catholics in the United States a separate organization; but among priests and people who had just emerged from the oppressed condition so long maintained by the penal laws, the temporary tenure of the Prefect, his absolute dependence on the Propaganda, and the extremely limited powers given him, were the source of much uneasiness."⁶

No one felt more uneasy over the embarrassing situation caused by his appointment than Father Carroll himself. We have seen how decided his views were from the beginning on the question of having the American Church under what he and others called "Foreign Domination." The appointment was not at all to his liking. "He had a decided repugnance to accept any position, and especially one merely at their pleasure, from the Congregation de Propaganda Fide; to accept it hampered by restrictions and little power for good was a step from which he shrank." The action taken by the Chapter in October, 1784, left him free to decline the appointment. Our only means of following his deliberations on the question of acceptance is in his correspondence with his fellow priests, as a result of the Circular he issued about this time to the clergy announcing his appointment and asking for their guidance in the matter. This circular contained the statement: "Nothing but the present extreme necessity of some spiritual powers here could induce me to act under a commission, which may produce, if long continued, and it should become public, the most dangerous jealousy."⁷

Some of this correspondence has survived, and in a special manner, the letters of his two friends of Philadelphia, Fathers Molyneux and Farmer, are important, for they undoubtedly had a great share in his decision. Father Molyneux had been in correspondence with Carroll all through the year 1784, owing to the Wharton-Carroll controversy, and had been instrumental in securing important data from the library of James Logan for Carroll's reply to the apostate. Shortly after Father Thorpe's

⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 245-246.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 251 note.

letter had become known to the clergy, Father Molyneux wrote to Carroll, September 18, 1784, telling him of the great joy he experienced in learning that the Holy See had chosen Carroll for the post. "It is our humble opinion," he wrote, "that you should not hesitate one moment in giving your consent. *In negotio tanti momenti digitus Dei haud dubium est*. We shall henceforth esteem it our duty daily to remember you *ad altare*. May God grant us all grace to be ever thankful, and by our lives and conversations show that we are not undeserving. It has been my uniform opinion that no one was so fit for the sacred character."⁸ This sentiment he reiterates in letters dated from Philadelphia, November 18, November 25, and December 7, 1784. "A refusal on your part," he writes, "or an objection of any of our gentlemen [the ex-Jesuits] might prove fatal to their fortune and existence in this country, and perhaps so to the cause of religion." Father Farmer, to whom he showed his letters, urged Carroll to reply at once to Propaganda, accepting the post:

Philadelphia, January 19, 1785.

Plurimum Reverende Dne:

Having read the circular letter of your reverence, I thought it my duty to communicate, with due respect and submission, some objections which occurred to me, being notwithstanding, determined to be united, and to stand by your reverence's resolution. The first objection is, that the communication of the circular letter will cause a delay, in our district, of some months, we being all far separated from one another, and some deprived of the benefit of the post. This delay must be extended to a year or years, if we are to receive no supplies till the affair or subject of the letter is finished; for the court of Rome moves exceedingly slow. Another objection I cannot help making to the idea of our being a body of clergy, and no more missionaries. For I cannot conceive how we could be a body without a bishop for a head. We may have a voluntary union among ourselves, I allow; but as in worldly matters we were heretofore united by the bands of the society, yet never made a corporation or body politic, not being declared so by the government; in a similar manner, I suppose, our voluntary union *in spiritualibus* cannot constitute us a canonical body of clergy, unless declared and appointed as such, either by the supreme pastor, or rather by a bishop set over us by him. Our association, even *in temporalibus* I am afraid, will be looked upon rather as a combination. These are my thoughts; but as you are appointed

⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-K1; cf. *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. iii, pp. 378-379.

to preside over us, it is to your reverence the Giver of all gifts will bestow the gift of discernment and discretion.

Commendo me impense.

I am, very reverend sir, etc.,

Your most humble and obed't serv't,

FERDINAND FARMER.⁹

In the Baltimore Cathedral Archives (Case 9A-F1) there is the rough sketch of a Circular, dated January 12, 1785, which Carroll issued regarding the Jubilee of 1775-1776. "The commencement of this grant is to date from November 28, 1784, and it is to be in force till November 28, 1785. A commission was sent me at the same time to publish it in all the countries subject to these states." At the end of this letter is the announcement that, until "I have better opportunity of conversing with the several gentlemen to fix a general and equitable rule for keeping Lent for all the different Congregations, I request each of you to make such regulations (for this year) for those under your charge, as you shall in prudence think proper." This is the language of a Superior. Father Carroll had evidently concluded to accept the prefectship-apostolic by this time, but before doing so he decided to place the whole affair with its proper light before the authorities at Rome. A long letter, written on February 17, 1785, to his friend Father Thorpe at Rome, is a summary of the ecclesiastical situation created by the appointment. The rough draft of this *Letter*, with many erasures and corrections, is in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives. It is printed here in full; Shea has used excerpts from it:

Maryland, near Georgetown, Feb. 17, 1785.

The official information of the advices sent by you June 9th, 1784, was only received Nov. 26th. I did myself the honour of writing to you on the subject, immediately after receiving your letter, which was about the 20th of August, and of thanking you most cordially for your active and successful endeavours to render service to this country. I say successful, not because your partiality, as I presume, joined to that of my old and chearful friend Dr. Franklin suggested me to the consideration of his Holiness; but because you have obtained some form of spiritual government to be adopted for us. It is not indeed quite such as we wish; and it

⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 3-P6; cf. United States Catholic Miscellany, vol. iii, p. 800.*

cannot continue long in its present form. You well know, that in our free and jealous government, where Catholics are admitted into all public councils equally with the professors of any other Religion, it will never be suffered that their Ecclesiastical Superior (be he a Bishop or Prefect-Apostolic), receive his appointment from a foreign State, and only hold it at the discretion of a foreign tribunal or congregation. If even the present temper, or inattention of our Executive and legislative bodies were to overlook it for this and perhaps a few more instances, still ought we not to acquiesce and rest quiet in actual enjoyment; for the consequence, sooner or later, would certainly be, that some malicious or jealous-minded person would raise a spirit against us, and under pretence of rescuing the State from foreign influence and dependence, strip us perhaps of our common civil rights. For these reasons, every thinking man amongst us is convinced, that we neither must request or admit any other foreign interference than such, as being essential to our religion, is implied in the acknowledgment of the Bishop of Rome, by divine appointment, head of the universal Church; and the See of St. Peter being the centre of ecclesiastical unity.

I am well aware that these suggestions will sound ungrateful at Rome, and that the mention of them from us will be perhaps imputed by some of the officers of the propaganda to a remaining spirit of Jesuitism; but I own to you, that tho' I wish to treat with them upon terms of sincere unanimity and cordial concurrence in all matters tending to the service of Religion, yet I do not feel myself disposed to sacrifice to the fear of giving offence the permanent interests of Religion. I mean candidly and respectfully to state our present situation; the spirit of our people; and the sentiments of the R. Catholics, the principal of whom are ready and desirous to transmit to Rome their opinion on the probable consequences of such a spiritual government, as is laid down in my dispatches from yr city. Whether I shall transmit their opinion under their own signature, I am yet uncertain; I would wish to avoid giving the Congregation, or any other person the smallest reason to suspect a cabal to defeat their measures; and if plain and honest representation will not succeed with them, I should fear the effects of intemperate obstinacy.

That you may judge of these matters yourself, I must inform you, that my dispatches contained, 1st the decree of the Congn. of the Propgda., appointing me Superior of the Missions in the Thirteen U. States, *ad suum beneplacitum . . . cum auctoræ ea exercendi, quæ ad earundem Missionum regimen pertinent, ad proscriptum decretorum sacrae Congnis. et facultatum eidem [nihi] concessarum et non alias nec alio modo.* 2-ly. An order from his Holiness, empowering me to administer Confirmation. 3-ly. A letter from Cardl. Antonelli, advising that His Holiness has extended to these States the Jubilee of 1776. 4-ly. Another letter from him and one likewise from the Nuncio at Paris, desiring me to send two youths to be educated in the College of the Propgda. 5-ly. In the same letter Cardl. Antonelli wishes to know the number of our Clergy, and the amount of their incomes: for tho' the Congregation means not to

meddle in temporalibus, yet conceiving and believing there are Church possessions here, it is proper for them to know how many Clergymen can be maintained from them. 6-ly. He further informs that his Holiness means hereafter to appoint a Bishop Vicar-apostolic; but neither insinuates when or whom. 7-ly. In the faculties sent me, which with respect to matrimonial dispensations, are too much restricted, for our exigencies, I am particularly charged to grant no powers or faculties to any who may come into this country, but those quos sacra Congregatio destinaverit et approbaverit. Thus you see the outlines of our future Ecclesiastical government, as it is planned at Rome.

Our objections to it are—1st. We conceive our situation no longer as that of missionaries; and the Ecclesiastical constitution here no longer as that of a mission. By acquiring civil and religious rights in common with other Christians, we are become a national Catholic Clergy; Colleges are now erecting for giving general and liberal education; these Colleges are open, both to masters and scholars of every religious denomination; and as we have every reason to believe, that amongst the youth trained in these different Colleges, there will be frequently some inclined to the Ecclesiastical State, we Catholics propose instituting a Seminary to form them to the virtues of their future state, and to instruct them in Divinity. Thus we shall in a few years, with the blessing of providence, be able to supply this country with labourers in the Lord's vineyard, and keep up a succession, if we are indulged in a Bishop. We are not in immediate want of one, and it will be more agreeable to many of my Brethren not to have any yet appointed; but whenever the time for it comes, we conceive that it will be more advantageous to Religion and less liable to give offence that he be an ordinary Bishop, and not a Vicar-Apostolic, and be chosen and presented to his Holiness by the American Cath. Clergy. 2-ly. For two reasons we think it improper to be subject in our Ecclesiastical government to the Propaganda: the first is, that not being missionaries, we conceive ourselves, not a proper object of their institutions; and the second is, that tho' our free and tolerant forms of Government (in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania) admit us to equal civil rights with other Christians, yet the leading men in our respective States often express a jealousy of any foreign jurisdiction; and surely will be more offended about submitting to it in matters not essential to our faith. I hope they will never object to our depending on the Pope in things purely spiritual; but I am sure there are men, at least in this State, who would blow up a flame of animosity against us, if they suspected that we were to be so much under the government of any Congn. at Rome, as to receive our Superior from it, commissioned only during their good will; and that this Superior was restricted from employing any Clergyman here, but such as that Congregation should direct. I dread so much the consequences of its being known that this last direction was ever given, that I have not thought it proper to mention it to several of my Brethren.

With respect to sending two youths, I shall inform Propaganda that it

would surely be very acceptable to have children educated gratis in so religious a seminary; and very acceptable to us all to have a succession of ministers of the altar thus provided for: but, as I suppose, they will not receive any into their College, but such as shall afterwards be subject to their government; and it being yet uncertain what effect my representations may produce, I shall delay that measure till further information.

I shall in the meantime request permission to give faculties to other Clergymen, than those sent by the Propgda., of whose virtue and talents I shall have sufficient documents. For want of this power, the Catholics in the Jerseys, N. Y., the great Western Country, bordering on the lakes, and the Ohio, Wabash, and Mississippi (to say nothing of many in the N. England States and Carolinas) are entirely destitute of spiritual succours. The Catholics in some of these Settlements, have been at the expence of paying the passage of some Irish Franciscans, providing for their subsistence, and in erecting places of worship. These men have brought good testimonials; but I am precluded from giving them any spiritual powers.

I should deem it a singular happiness to have an opportunity of conferring with a person of your experience of the air of Rome, before these representations are given in. But our distance is so great, that I must act according to the best of my own and Brethren's judgment, and commit all I can to your prudent management. At a meeting of some of us last autumn, it was ordered that £ 20-0-0 should be remitted to you as a feeble acknowledgement of our sense of your services and to defray your expence of attendance, etc. Mr. Ashton, who is chosen to be our Manager general, either has or soon will transmit the necessary orders for it. Tho', since my late appointment, I do not intermeddle in our temporal concerns, yet I shall not fail to suggest the propriety of fixing on you, as our agent, a permanent salary: it will be proportioned, not to your zeal and services, but to our poor ability. At the same meeting, but after I had left it thro' indisposition, a direction was given to Messrs. Diderick, Mosely, and Matthews to write you a letter (I believe likewise a Memorial to the Pope) against the appointment of a Bishop. I hear that this has displeased many of those absent from the meeting, and that it is not certain, whether the measure is to be carried into execution. Mr. Diderick has shown me a copy of his intended letter to you, of his Memorial, and of a letter to Cardl. Borromeo. He has no other introduction to write to this worthy Cardinal than the information communicated to me by our common friend Plowden, of his great worth and friendly disposition to you. I made objections to some parts of his letters; and I cannot tell as I mentioned before whether they will be sent. It is matter of surprise to me that he was nominated to the commission of Three; he is truly a zealous, painstaking Clergyman; but not sufficiently prudent, and conversant in the world, or capable of conducting such a business with the circumspection necessary to be used by us towards our own Government, and the Congn. of the Propaganda.

My long letter must have tired you. But it has been so earnestly recommended to me to give you very minute intelligence, that I have ventured to trespass on your patience. I have two things more to request: 1st. that you would please to present us all, and myself in particular, to Cardl. Borromeo, as penetrated with a lively sense of his virtue, and earnestly suing for his good offices to the service of Religion in this Country, wherever they can be usefully employed. 2-ly. that you would let Mr. Thayer know (for I hear from Plowden that he is at Paris, and corresponds with you) that I shall be happy in being favoured with an epistolary intercourse with him: and in confidence of your introduction, I shall probably write to him before I have your answer.

The little leisure I have lately had, has been taken up in writing and publishing an answer to Wharton's pamphlet, which was held up as unanswerable by our adversaries, whom the elegance of his language, and their ignorance in Religious controversy equally contributed to deceive. I have desired Mr. Talbot to transmit you a copy by the first opportunity. I doubt, I have not made my court to a certain party at Rome by my note on the destruction of the Society. Be pleased to charge with us all postage and other expences on our acct. A credit shall be placed in England for discharging them.

With perfect esteem,

I have the honour to be, Dr Sir,

etc. etc.

Mr. Thorpe.¹⁰

The ease with which the French intrigue had progressed became clearer to Father Carroll through his correspondence with Father Plowden. On September 21, 1784, Father Plowden wrote a complete *exposé* of the whole project, and his letter contained the following important message:

Although I know you to be incapable of mistaking the right line of conduct upon this occasion, yet I think it the part of a friend to send you whatever information I can obtain. My meaning is not to advise or instruct you, but only to enlarge your prospect. I must repeat that there are certainly some oblique views, most probably directed to the property of the American mission, and to the obtaining superiority over the missionaries. The note delivered to the nuncio proves their wishes to exclude every Jesuit from trust or honor, and equally betrays the policy of the French ministry, who, by bringing forward a Frenchman, or perhaps an

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Case 9A-Fr. Copies of *Letter and Relation* (in Maréchal's handwriting?) are in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Letter-Books*, vol. i, no. 2; vol. ii, nos. 1 and 2.

Irish-Frenchman, would use religion as an instrument to increase their own influence in America. Our friend Thorpe's memorial, delivered to the Pope, along with your petition, by Cardinal Borromeo, convinced the propaganda that the introduction of an alien would overthrow the mission. I wish you may quickly be turned into an ordinary from a bishop *in partibus*, and am persuaded the pope could not refuse you the powers, &c., if your election by your own clergy were abetted by your provincial assembly. We wish you to be as free as the bishop of Quebec, or the new archbishop of Mohilow. I wish to know in what light the leading men in the states consider your appointment. If they are disposed to tolerate it, surely they would be more willing to admit a bishop only dependent on the Holy See, than one who must be subject to the prefect and secretary of a congregation. If they can be brought to relish such a prelate, it is but one step more: you want not talents or spirit to take it, and all difficulties are at once removed. The business has been hitherto treated at Paris, with uncommon secrecy by the nuncio,

Mr. Thayer, who lives in Navarre college, wrote lately thus, to our friend Thorpe:

"With respect to the views of Rome upon America, all that I can tell you is that there is a treaty on foot to establish a vicar-apostolic for the thirteen states, which treaty, I suppose, is near conclusion. I know not what the Americans will think of this plan, whether they would fear a too great dependence on Rome. This I know, that any English priests whom I have the honor to know here, think that apostolic vicars are the ruin of Catholicity in England, and that bishops properly established would be the fit instruments of building a solid edifice, both there and in America." Make your own comments, my dear friend, on this extract, substitute a less violent word to ruin, and we shall easily agree with the writer. He is noticed by the archbishop of Paris and other dignified clergymen of the greatest merit, and much commended by the superior of Navarre college, in whose house he lives gratis. He appears to be sincere, and zealous for the promotion of religion in America, and we hope he will not be misled, &c.

If your friends here were better informed of your concerns, they might occasionally yield you service. Upon the first rumor that a vicar-apostolic was to be appointed, I prevailed upon Mr. Hoskins to write to Dr. Franklin to expose to him the degree of respect and consideration due to the missionaries now in America, and to desire that no proposals might be admitted without the participation and consent of you in particular, of the other missionaries, and the principal Catholic gentry in the country. At Mr. Thorpe's desire, the same has been written to him by Messrs. N. Sewell and Mattingly, with other information relative to the origin and actual state of the American missions. Mr. Thorpe is all alive in your service; and wishes that his endeavors may be useful to the common cause, and approved by you. The Romans have got scent of your promotion, and according to their custom have strangely distorted the whole business, even your name. They bring in the French king to figure in it,

and talk of Congress and your provincial assemblies as if they were so many conseils souverains in France.¹¹

This letter probably reached Father Carroll about the time of the *Memorial* of December, 1784. To this situation abroad was added the danger of dissension at home. The "famous triumvirate," as Father Molyneux called the anti-episcopal Committee, was apparently not in favour of Carroll. No doubt other factors of which we are nowadays unaware entered into his final decision to accept the prefectship. "Since the prefecture," writes O'Gorman, "was expected to pave the way to some more satisfactory and permanent arrangement, and since, on the other hand, his refusal might result in the imposition of a foreigner as Prefect on the Catholics in America, Carroll yielded to the arguments of his fellow-priests and decided to take up the onerous office."¹²

Father Carroll's acceptance of the prefectship is contained in his *Letter* to Cardinal Antonelli, dated February 27, 1785. The rough draft of this *Letter* is in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives; an imperfect copy is among the *Shea Transcripts* at Georgetown University. The original, given here, is from a photostat copy: from the Propaganda Archives:

Eminentissime Domine

Litterae, quas ad me destinare dignata est Em^a Vestra, diebus 9^a et 16^a anni praeteriti, in manus meas non pervenerunt ante diem 26 Novembris. Varia autem documenta litteras comitabantur. 1^o Decretum Sacrae Congregationis de Propagandâ fide quâ me Superiorem missionum in tredecim Confoederatae Americae provinciis ad suum beneplacitum declaravit. 2^o Benignissima suae Sanctitatis concessio et extensio universalis Jubilaei ad omnes Fideles in tredecim Confoederatae Americae provinciis. 3^o Altera ejusdem concessio quâ mihi facultas tribuitur adminstrandî Sacramentum Confirmationis ad normam Instructionis, quam una recepi. 4^o demum, facultates a S^{smo} D.N. mihi concessae et Sociis in hac Domini vineâ laborantibus communicabiles.

Quod litteris, quibus haec ad me transmisisti documenta, Eminentissime Cardinalis, tantam erga me benevolentiam, tantum rei Catholicae in remotis hisce orbis partibus adjuvandae studium significaveris, gratias habeo et ago maximas, cujus quidem grati animi sensus certiore te prius fecissem, nisi longa imprimis a domo absentia, postea autem intempestiva navigantibus glacies scribendi occasionem denegasset. Deinde rogo te, ac humillime precor, ut Sanctitatis suae pedibus me sistere, ac devotissi-

¹¹ *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. iii, pp. 376-377.

¹² *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 267. New York, 1907.

mum erga Sedem Apostolicam obsequium testificari velis; gratiasque referre, quod tam gravi munere me indignum non existimaverit.

Hi sunt animi sensus, quibus erga Bmum Patrem, teque adeo, Cardinalis Eminentissime, affectus fui, ubi propensam utriusque in me benevolentiam, et sollicitam pro Sanctâ nostrâ Religione in his regionibus providentiam intelligerem. Fuêre tamen aliaque, quae tum initio, tum deinceps, cogitanti mihi, magnum timorem, magnam etiam moestitiam incutiebant. Videbam imprimis illud mihi munus committi, cui subeundo, ut sincere et ex intimo sensu profiteor, imparem me omnino esse sentio, nec illis animi aut corporis viribus praeditum, quibus instructum esse oportet, quicumque se ad illud fideliter administrandum accinxerit. Deinde ut Eminae Tae votis obsequeretur accuratam de rebus nostris relationem desiderantis, aliqua mihi commemoranda esse non ignorabam, quae minus grata fortasse essent futura, imo quae suspicionem commovere possent minus propensae in Sedem Apostolicam observantiae. Haec tamen omnia veritati postponam, et sinceræ rerum nostrarum expositioni. Scio enim, Em. Card.^{lis}, nihil tuto aut efficaciter circa nos agi posse, nisi quae sit nostra conditio, plane intelligatur.

Imprimis igitur, ex tredecim provinciis, quae olim Regi Magnae Britanniae parebant, duae tantum fuêre, Pensilvaniâ et Marilandiâ, in quibus permissum erat Catholicis tuto degere. In his etiam lege cautum erat, ne officio civili, militari, aut alio quovis frui possent. Excusso autem jugo Brittanico, novisque conditis legibus, in omnibus provinciis, Catholici sine molestiâ vivere et sacra peragere possunt. In plerisque tamen locis ad Reipublicae munera capessenda non admittuntur, nisi qui omnem jurisdictionem exteram, sive civilem, sive ecclesiasticam abrenuntiaverint. Ita fit, ut in plerisque his provinciis, seu Statibus, ut nunc vocant, nostri homines maneant a Republicâ exclusi: In quatuor tantum, nempe in Pensilvaniâ, Delawariâ, Marilandiâ, et Virginiâ, eodem ac coeteri cives jure utuntur. Haec autem beneficia, sive tolerantiae, sive communis, quamdiu simus habituri, non ausim pronunciare. Timent e nostris multi, in Marilandiâ praecipue, Aatholicis in animo esse, ut omnino a gerendis muneribus excludamur: ego autem cui satis semper fuit mala non animo praevenire, sed, ubi advenierint, utrumque tolerare, spe foveor tantam nobis injuriam haud esse inferendam: imo vero confido tam firma Religionis fundamenta in his Americanis Statibus jaci posse, ut florentissima Ecclesiae portio, cum magno Sedis Apostolicae solatio, hic aliquando sit futura. Hoc autem loco illa mihi commemoranda sunt, de quibus dixi superius scitu necessaria, ut recte res nostrae Ecclesiasticae possint administrari.

Viguit autem in his regionibus praecipue secta Anglicana; rerum sacram apud illos ministri penedebant omnes a Pseudo-Episcopo Londinensi: ad illum transfretabant, quotquot ordinari secundum sectae suae rationem cupiebant. Peracto autem bello, obtineri non potuit a sectae illius ministris, quamvis essent omnium frequentissimi, ut ab Episcopo Anglo, imo ab extero quovis penderent. Concessum est illis potius, ut Episcopos sibi constituerent et eligerent, quod jam ab ipsis factum est, quamvis nullum adhuc suo ritu consecratum habeant: Religionis suae administrandae sibi formam prae-

scripserunt; religionem suam dici et haberi *nationalem* cupiunt, eo quod jam nullum alibi superiorem admittant: denique ita machinantur ut ab illis timor ille incutatur, quo nostrorum nonnullus percuti dicebam.

Eminentissimus Cardinalis persuasum sibi habeat nobis gravissima omnia tolerabiliora fore, quam divinam illam Sedis Apostolicae auctoritatem abrenunciare: nec tantum Sacerdotes, qui hic sumus, sed etiam populum Catholicum in fide ita videri stabilem, ut nunquam a debitâ Summo Pontifici obedientiâ sit dimovendus. Idem tamen ille populus aliquam a B^{mo} Patre gratiam sibi concedi, imo deberi existimat, necessariam sane sive ad juris communis quo nunc utitur conservationem, sive ad propulsandum periculum, quod timetur. Ex iis quae dixi, et ex rerum publicarum, quae hic sunt, constitutione, Emin^{ae} Tuae ignotum esse non potest, quam invidiosa illis sit omnis externa jurisdictio. Hoc igitur a Catholicis desideratur, ut nulla detur ansa Religionis nostrae adversariis nos criminandi, quasi plus aequo a regimine externo pendeamus; et ut aliqua ratio ineatur quâ in posterum Superior Ecclesiasticus huic regioni destinari possit, ita ut Spiritualis Sae Sedis jurisdictio omnino servetur; et simul tollatur omnis occasio nobis objiendi, quasi aliquid admittamus patriae Independentiae inimicum. Hoc ex praecipuis Catholicis multi, communi scripto, Sanctitati suae significare cogitabant, ac ii maxime, qui vel in generali Americae Concilio (Congressum vocant) sedem obtinuerunt, vel in Pensylvaniâ ac Marilandâ conciliis legislativis cum auctoritate intersunt; a quibus tamen obtinui, ut in praesens ejusmodi scriptum differatur. Quid hâc in re statui possit, Beatissimus Pater plenius forsân intelliget, ubi animum advertet ad sextum articulum *unionis perpetuae* inter Status foederatae Americae; quo sancitur, *nemini licitum fore, qui munere quovis fungatur sub Unitis Statibus, donum aliquod, officium aut titulum cujusvis generis accipere a Rege aliquo, Principe aut domino extero*. Quae prohibitio, etsi ad illos tantum pertinere videatur, qui ad munera Reipublicae destinantur, ab adversariis tamen nostris etiam ad officia Ecclesiastica fortasse detorquebitur. Cupimus igitur, Em^{se} Cardinalis, omni modo providere, ut fidei integritas, et debita erga Sedem Apostolicam observantia, et unio semper vigeat: at simul ut Catholicis Americanis pro Ecclesiastico regimine concedatur, quidquid salvâ Religione concedi potest. Ita minui sectariorum invidiam plenam suspicionis, ita res nostras stabiliri posse confidimus.

Significasti, Em^e Card.^{lis}, Sanctitatis suae mentem esse et consilium, ut Vicarium Apostolicum Episcopali characterem et titulo insignitum pro his provinciis decernat. Ut paterna haec pro nobis sollicitudo magnâ nos laetitia affecit, ita etiam aliquem initio incussit timorem. Sciebamus enim Aatholicis Americanis olim persuaderi nunquam potuisse, ut vel suae sectae Episcopum admitterent, cum id tentaretur, dum Angliae Regi hae provinciae subessent: unde etiam timor nascebatur, ne nobis quidem id permissum iri. At jam, ab aliquot mensibus, conventionem factâ, Ministrorum Protestantium Ecclesiae Anglicanae, seu Episcopalis, ut nunc vocant, decreverunt se, quod ex legum auctoritate pleno suae Religionis exercitio gaudeant, eo ipso jus habere ad tales rerum Sacrarum Ministros sibi constituendos, quales sectae suae ratio et disciplina exigit, Episcopos scilicet,

Presbyteros et Diaconos; cui illorum decreto non repugnauerunt, qui condendis legibus, apud nos sunt designati. Cum igitur nobis eadem pro Religionis exercitio libertas concedatur, jus quoque idem, quantum ad leges nostras municipales spectat, competere necesse est.

Re autem se habente, judicabit Beatissimus Pater, tuque adeo, Em^e Card^{is}, animo perpendes, an tempus constituendo Episcopo opportunum nunc sit, qualis is esse debeat, et quomodo designandus: de quibus omnibus, non tamquam iudicium meum interpositurus, sed pleniorē relationem factur^{us} aliqua commemorabo. Imprimis de opportunitate temporis observari potest, nullam jam animorum fore commotionem, si Episcopus designetur, quod A catholici Protestantes sibi aliquem constituere cogitent: deinde ut aliquam suae sectae apud vulgus existimationem ex Episcopali dignitate conciliare sperant, ita etiam non solum similem nobis, sed etiam ingentia commoda obventura confidimus, cum hanc Ecclesiam eo modo administrari contigerit, quo Christus Dominus instituit. Ex altera tamen parte occurr^{it}, quod cum jam Sm^{us} Pater aliter Sacramento Confirmationis conferendo providere dignatus sit, non prius Episcopum nobis constituere necessitas postulet, quam idonei aliqui reperiantur ad Sacros Ordines suscipiendos, quod paucis annis futurum speramus, ut intelliget Eminens^{us}. Cardinalis ex iis, quae separatim relatione distinctâ scribere cogito. Quod tempus ubi advenierit, commodius fortasse pro decenti Episcopi sustentatione providere, quam nunc pro rerum nostrarum tenuitate poterimus.

Deinde, si Episcopum nobis assignare Sanctitati suae visum fuerit, praestabitne Vicarium Apostolicum, an Ordinarium cum propria Sede constituere? Quis rei Catholicae incremento, quis amovendae Catholicorum invidiae, terrorique illi de exterâ jurisdictione magis inserviret? quem terrorem auctum iri certissime scio, si Superiorem Ecclesiasticum ita designari noverint, ut ad arbitrium Sacrae Congregationis de propagandâ fide, aut cujusvis alterius tribunalis externi ab officio possit dimoveri: nec fas illi sit Sacerdotem quemvis ad sacras functiones admittere, quem illa Congregatio non approbaverit, et ad nos destinaverit.

De modo autem Episcopum designandi nihil aliud nunc dicam, quam implorare nos, pro Sedis Apostolicae iudicio dirigendo divinam sapientiam et misericordiam; ut, si minime concedendum videatur Sacerdotibus in hâc Domini vineâ tot annos laborantibus illum suae Sanctitati proponere, quem ipsi magis idoneum existimaverint, conveniatur tamen de aliquâ Episcopum nominandi viâ, quâ Nostratum, tam Catholicorum, quam Sectariorum offensio possit averti.

De Duobus juvenibus ad Urbanum Collegium mittendis nihil agere licuit, donec plenius de Em^{ae} tuae mente intellexero. Si itineris impensis impares fuerint, video quidem a Sacrà Congregatione de viatico provisum iri: non tamen habeo compertum, cui demandatum sit illas impensas subministrari. Navium enim magistri in navem vectores recipere non solent, nisi naulum ante navigationem solvatur, aut certo sciant, a quo repetendum sit. Deinde, ut quae dixi de Episcopo vel Superiore designando, aliquam forte mutationem suggerent circa modum res nostras Ecclesiasticas administrandi, ita quoque consilium de educandis in isto Collegio Juvenibus poterit mutari,

quod tamen minime futurum confidimus. Postremo, convenerit, ut Juvenum parentes doceantur, an Juramentum aliquod et cujusmodi ab eorum filiis exigendum sit, antequam in patriam remittantur: omnis enim cautela adhibenda est, ut, quantum fieri potest, videantur Catholici, tam populus quam ministri, in rebus tantum omnino necessariis ab exterâ potestate pendere.

Interim, dum responsum expecto, dabo operam, ut Juvenes duo summâ curâ seligantur, quales tuae litterae, Emin: Card^{lis}, exigunt: spero insuper me effecturum, ut itineris impensae, saltem hinc usque in Galliam a parentibus solvantur: sin minus id obtinuero, omnem in illis impensis moderationem adhiberi curabo. Intelligo autem pro unoquoque juvene navigationis et alios necessarios sumptus, donec portum attigerit, summam septuaginta vel octoginta aureorum circiter confecturos.

Reliqua, de quibus instrui voluisti, Em^e Card^{lis}, pro religiosâ tuâ erga nos sollicitudine, opportunius separato scripto extra formam litterarum exhiberi posse existimavi; illud tamen hic iterum atque iterum obsecro, ut eam in facultatibus mihi concessis restrictionem tolli omni modo cures, quâ aliorum Sacerdotum operâ uti prohibeor, prater illos quos sacra Congregatio destinaverit et approbaverit. Id enim nisi concedatur, brevi spatio magna Catholicorum pars omnino Sacramentorum expers erit, et Religionis ministeriis destituta. Unica enim, quae nobis superest spes supplementi cujusdam cito recipiendi pro Sociis extinctis, aut jam ad extremum senium vergentibus, posita est in illis Sacerdotibus, qui hic nati, ante bellum exortum in Europam educationis causâ profecti sunt, ibique sacros Ordines susceperunt. Audio horum aliquos in patriam reditum cogitare: quibus tamen, si advenerint, in otio erit manendum, utcumque moribus et doctrinâ comparatis ad hanc Domini vineam excolendam. Itaque, omni quidem reverentiâ, sed simul summâ fiduciâ, et ex plenâ persuasione id è Religionis fore, rogo, Emin: Cardinalis, ut tuum apud Sanctitatem suam studium interponas, illique significes, Superiori in his Foederatae Americae Statibus omnino necesse esse, ut quos Sacerdotes dignos judicaverit, hos in laborum Societatem possit ascire.

Haec habui, Em^e Card^{lis}, quae liberè fideliterque scriberem de rebus ad Religionem spectantibus, quibus veluti supplementum et ad tua quaesita responsum accedent, quae altero scripto commemorata reperies. Mihi jam sit permissum hanc gregis Dominici portionem, pastoresque, qui in illo sunt, meo ipsum singulari tuae pietati, paternaeque benevolentiae commendare; precarique ut oculos conjicias in immensas illas regiones, quae foederatae Americae finibus continentur: in diesque magis ac magis immigrantium accessionibus, et ex naturali foecunditate, incolentium numero augentur. Ubique liberè praedicari poterit vera fides, nec quidquam obstare videtur, quo minus magni ex hâc libertate fructus decerpantur, praeter operariorum defectum, mediaque illis providendi. Ad te igitur, qui singulari curâ, studio et auctoritate Religionis propagationi invigilas, recurrimus, ut quae ad hunc finem meditatur, pro tuâ sapientiâ adjuvare velis, hancque regionem veluti tuae providentiae et fidei commissam intueri. Quod ad me spectat, ego summâ fiduciâ, Eminentissime Cardinalis, in hujus Ecclesiae negotiis

tua consilia, tuam auctoritatem, pietatem tuam implorabo, precaborque Deum omnipotentem, ut pro animarum salute, divinaeque fidei extensione te salvum et incolumem diu esse velit. Ita vovet

Eminentissime Cardinalis

Eminae Tuae

Servus Obsequentissimus

Ex Marilandiâ, die 27^a

JOANNES CARROLL.

Februarii, 1785.

*Eminentissimo Cardli Antonello.*¹³

The importance of this *Letter* can hardly be exaggerated. It is the first document of its kind which passed between the Church in the United States and the Holy See, and it contains for the Church historian of the new Republic the most valuable synthesis of the state of religion in this country which we possess for the Revolutionary period. After apologizing for the delay in answering Antonelli's letter, which was received three months before, Carroll thanked the Holy See for the confidence placed in him, and expressed the doubt whether he possessed the mental and physical qualities necessary for the faithful performance of his duties as prefect-apostolic. In replying to the request of the Sacred Congregation for an accurate statement regarding the condition of the Church in the new Republic, he realized that he might have to say things which might be misinterpreted at Rome, but he thought it best to speak out frankly because otherwise the reorganization of the Church here would not be begun safely and efficiently. Maryland and Pennsylvania alone gave an adequate freedom to the faithful; but even in these States full civic liberty had not been conferred upon the Catholics. However, since the achievement of independence, Catholics were permitted to assemble for divine worship in every place in the Union.

But how long we are to enjoy the benefits of this toleration or equal rights, I would not dare to assert. Many of our people especially in Maryland fear, that we shall be absolutely excluded from holding office; for my own part, I have deemed it wiser not to anticipate evils, but to bear them when they come. I cherish the hope that so great a wrong will not be done us; nay more, I trust that the foundations of religion will be so firmly laid in the United States, that a most flourishing part of the Church will in time be developed here, to the great consolation of the Holy See. The Church of England had been the dominant body here,

¹³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 9A-F2; Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale, vol. ii, ff. 306-311.*

directed by ministers dependent on the pseudo-Bishop of London, whither those who desired to enter their ministry went for ordination, but after the war, they were not allowed to depend on an English or any other foreign bishop. They were free to appoint and elect bishops of their own, as they had in fact done, although none had yet been consecrated according to their rites. They have adopted a form of government for their church and desire it be called and to be *national*, in that it admitted no foreign Superior, that they may be freed from such fear for the future as many Catholics felt. The Most Eminent Cardinal may rest assured that the greatest evils would be borne by us rather than renounce the divine authority of the Holy See; that not only we priests who are here, but the Catholic people seem so firm in the faith that they will never withdraw from obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff. The Catholic body, however, think that some favor should be granted to them by the Holy Father, necessary for their permanent enjoyment of the civil rights which they now enjoy, and to avert the dangers which they fear. From what I have said, and from the framework of public affairs here, your Eminence must see how objectionable all foreign jurisdiction will be to them. The Catholics therefore desire that no pretext be given to the enemies of our religion to accuse us of depending unnecessarily on a foreign authority; and that some plan may be adopted for this country, in such a way as to retain absolutely the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See, and at the same time remove all ground for objecting to us, as though we held anything hostile to the national independence. Many of the leading Catholics thought of laying this before his Holiness in a general Memorial, especially those who have been either in the Continental Congress or the legislature of Pennsylvania and Maryland; but I induced them to refrain from any such step at least for the present. The Holy Father will perhaps see more clearly what is to be done in this matter, if he considers the Sixth of the Articles of Perpetual Confederation between the States, which enacts that *no one who holds any office under the United States, shall be allowed to receive any gift, office or title of any kind whatsoever from any king, prince or foreign government*, and though this prohibition seems to extend only to those who are appointed to offices in the republic, it will perhaps be wrested by our opponents to apply also to ecclesiastical offices. We desire therefore, Most Eminent Cardinal, to provide in every way, that the faith in its integrity, due obedience towards the Apostolic See and perfect union should flourish, and at the same time that whatever can with safety to religion be granted, shall be conceded to American Catholics in ecclesiastical government; in this way we hope that the distrust of Protestants now full of suspicion will be diminished, and that thus our affairs can be solidly established.

You have indicated, Most Eminent Cardinal, that it was the intention and design of His Holiness to appoint a Vicar-Apostolic for these States, invested with the episcopal character and title. While this paternal solicitude for us has filled us with great joy, it also at first inspired some fear: for we knew that heretofore American Protestants never could be induced

to allow even a Bishop of their own sect, when the attempt was made during the subjection of these provinces to the King of England: hence a fear arose that we would not be permitted to have one. But some months since in a convention of Protestant ministers of the Anglican or as it is here called the Episcopal Church, they decreed, that as by authority of law they enjoyed the full exercise of their religion, they therefore had the right of appointing for themselves, such ministers of holy things, as the system of and discipline of their sect required; namely bishops, priests, and deacons; this decision on their part was not censured by the Congress appointed to frame our laws. As the same liberty in the exercise of religion is granted to us, it necessarily follows that we enjoy the same right in regard to adopting laws for our government.

While the matter stands thus, the Holy Father will decide and you, Most Eminent Cardinal, will consider whether the time is now opportune for appointing a bishop, what his qualifications should be, and how he should be nominated. On all these points, not as if seeking to obtain my own judgment but to make this relation more simple, I shall note a few facts. First, as regards the seasonableness of the step, it may be noted, that there will be no excitement in the public mind, if a bishop be appointed, as Protestants think of appointing one for themselves: nay, they even hope to acquire some importance for their sect among the people from the episcopal dignity; so too we trust that we shall not only acquire the same, but that great advantages will follow; inasmuch as this church will then be governed in that manner which Christ our Lord instituted. On the other hand, however, it occurs that as the Most Holy Father has already deigned to provide otherwise for conferring the sacrament of confirmation, there is no actual need for the appointment of a bishop, until some candidates are found fitted to receive holy orders; this we hope will be the case in a few years, as you will understand, Most Eminent Cardinal, from a special relation which I purpose writing. When that time comes, we shall perhaps be better able to make a suitable provision for a bishop, than from our slender resources we can now do.

In the next place, if it shall seem best to his Holiness to assign a bishop to this country, will it be best to appoint a Vicar-Apostolic or an ordinary with a See of his own? Which will conduce more to the progress of Catholicity, which will contribute most to remove Protestant jealousy of foreign jurisdiction? I know with certainty that this fear will increase, if they know that an ecclesiastical superior is so appointed as to be removable from office at the pleasure of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, or any other tribunal out of the country, or that he has no power to admit any priest to exercise the sacred function, unless that Congregation has approved and sent him to us.

As to the method of nominating a bishop, I will say no more, at present, than this, that we are imploring God in his wisdom and mercy to guide the judgment of the Holy See, that if it does not seem proper to allow the priests who have laboured for so many years in this vineyard of the Lord to propose to the Holy See, the one whom they deem the most

fit, that some method will be adopted by which a bad feeling may not be excited among the people of this country, Catholic and Protestant.¹⁴

Father Carroll then took up the matter of sending two boys to Rome, to occupy the American scholarships granted by Propaganda, and pointed out, as he was well able to do from a long personal experience in Europe, that the question of the Student Oath would have to be settled in a way that would be acceptable to the American mind before they could be sent. He urged the reconsideration of the limitation placed upon his jurisdiction in the case where he might want to employ priests entering the country. Some American priests, who were then abroad, would undoubtedly return, and it would be a grave detriment to religion if the Church had to wait for Rome's permission for the exercise of their ministry. After recommending the American Church most earnestly to His Eminence, he begged him to cast his eyes on the immense territory contained within the limits of the United States, and to realize how quickly, through immigration, the population of the land would grow. He appealed, therefore, for special interest and consideration for the American Catholics and assured the Cardinal-Prefect that all were loyal and devoted children of the Church.

In several of the official letters from Propaganda a request was made for certain definite information regarding the state of the Church in the new Republic. This information was asked, as we have seen, through the Nuncio at Paris, on May 12, 1784, in a letter addressed by Cardinal Antonelli to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, French Minister Plenipotentiary, at New York. Cardinal Antonelli's letter to Father Carroll, June 9, 1784, contained the same request. This information Father Carroll obtained by correspondence with his fellow-priests between November, 1784, and March 1, 1785. He embodied this information in his *Relation of the State of Religion in the United States*. The original is here printed in full from a photostat copy from the Propaganda Archives.¹⁵ As the first *Relation* of its kind to be sent to Rome from the United States, it is among the most treasured first-hand sources for the history of the Church in our country:

¹⁴ The translation given is from Shea, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 251-256.

¹⁵ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, ff. 312-314. The rough draft is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-F1.

Relatio pro Emo. Cardinali Antonello de statu Religionis in Unitis Foederatae Americae provinciis.

1° De numero Catholicorum in Foederatae Americae Provinciis.

Sunt in *Marilandîâ* circiter 15,800. Ex his sunt novem mille homines liberi aetatis adultae, aut supra annum duodecimum; pueri minoris aetatis fere ter mille, totidemq. omnis aetatis servi (Nigros vocant a colore) ex Africâ oriundi. In *Pensilvaniâ* sunt ad minimum *septem mille*, inter quos paucissimi Africani, vivuntq. Catholici collecti magis ac sibi invicem contigui. In *Virginia* sunt non amplius ducenti, quibus quater aut quinques per annum adest Sacerdos: Dicuntur plurimi alii, tam in illâ, quam in coeteris provinciis sparsim vivere, omni Religionis ministerio destituti. In provinciâ *Novum Eboracum* dictâ, audio esse mille quingentos ad minimum, qui nuper communibus sumptibus ex *Hiberniâ* accersiverunt virum Religiosum Ordinis Si. Francisci; diciturq. optimis de moribus et doctrinâ documentis instructus esse: advenerat paulo prius, quam litteras accepissem, quibus facultates Sociis communicabiles ad me sunt delatae. Dubitavi aliquando, an jure possem hunc pro Sacramentorum administratione approbare. Et jam statui, appropinquante maxime festo Paschali, ipsum pro Socio habere, facultatesq. necessarias impertiri, quod meum consilium approbatum iri confido. Nihil certi dicere licet de numero Catholicorum, qui sunt in locis conterminis fluvio dicto Mississippi, omnique illi regioni, quae secundum illum fluvium ad Oceanum Atlanticum pertingit, et ab eodem usque ad limites Carolinae, Virginiae, et Pensilvaniae extenditur. Hic tractus continet, ut audio, multos Catholicos, olim Canadenses, qui linguâ Gallicâ utuntur, quos rerum sacrarum Ministris destitutos esse valde metuo. Transivit ad illos nuper Sacerdos quidam Germanus, sed ex Galliâ ultimo profectus, qui ex ordine Carmelitarum se esse profitetur: nullo tamen sufficiente testimonio muniebatur, missum se esse a legitimo Superiore. Quid agat, et quo statu ibi sint res Catholicae, edoctum me iri propediem expecto. Episcopi Quebecensis jurisdictio in aliquam regionis illius partem olim pertinuit: an nunc autem, cum omnes in foederatae Americae ditionem cesserint, potestatem ullam exercere velit, haud equidem scio.

2° Catholicorum conditione, pietate, abusibus, &c.

In *Marilandîâ*, paucae ex praecipuis et ditioribus familiis, a primis provinciae fundamentis, fidem Catholicam a progenitoribus huc invectam adhuc profitentur: major autem pars sunt agricolae, et in *Pensilvaniâ* fere omnes, exceptis mercatoribus et opificibus, qui Philadelphiae degunt. Quod ad pietatem spectat, sunt, ut plurimum, in Religionis exercitiis et Sacramentorum frequentatione satis assidui: sed sine illo fervore, quem solet excitare continua ad sensa pietatis exhortatio: vix enim singulis mensibus, aut etiam bimestri spatio plurimae Congregationes rem divinam, et concionem sibi fieri audiunt: ita Sacerdotum inopiâ, multoq. magis, locorum intervallo, itinerisq. incommodis opprimimur: Haec de indigenis dicta sint: alia enim longe est ratio Catholicorum, qui magno numero ex variis Europae nationibus ad nos confluunt. Cum enim ex nostratibus pauci sint, qui non saepius per annum, praecipue autem tempore paschali ad Sacramenta Poenitentiae et Eucharistiae accedant; vix reperitur inter priores illos,

qui officium hoc Religionis exercent; quorum exemplum in urbibus mercatorii maxime perniciosum fore timetur. Abusus inter Catholicos sunt illi maxime, qui ex necessariâ cum Aatholicis familiaritate, et exemplis inde collectis oriuntur; liberior nempe se tractandi ratio inter juniores personas diversi sexus, quam animi, aut forte etiam corporis integritas patiatur; nimis propensum studium ad saltationes, et id genus alia; et incredibilis aviditas (in puellis praecipue) legendi fabulas amatorias, quae magno numero ad nos advehuntur. Deinde in coeteris universim defectus diligentiae in educandis ad Religionem liberis, sed praecipue servis Africanis, totiusque illius curae ad Sacerdotes transmissio; ex quo fit, ut cum sint continuo laboribus exerciti; raroque et non nisi ad breve tempus cum Sacerdote esse possint, in fide rudes et in moribus turpissimi plerique esse soleant. Incredible est quantum animarum pastoribus molestiae et sollicitudinis facessant.

3° De numero Presbyterorum, studiis, et modo se sustendandi.

Sunt in *Marilandîa Presbyteri novemdecim*: In *Pensilvaniâ quinque*. Ex his autem duo sunt supra, tres alii proximum ad septuagesimum annum accedunt; adeoque omnino impares subeundis laboribus, sine quibus hac Domini vinea coli non potest. Inter reliquos Presbyteros, aliqui admodum infirmâ valetudine utuntur; et unus est nuper a me approbatus, ad paucos menses tantum, ut experimentum illius faciam in extrema operariorum necessitate. Aliqua enim de ipso narrabantur, quae vehementer me deterrebant ab illius opera adhibendâ. Ego quidem illi quantum possum, invigilabo; et si quid acciderit gravitate sacerdotali minus dignum, facultates concessas revocabo, quantumcunque incommodum multis Catholicis inde eventurum sit. Mihi enim persuasum est Catholicam fidem minus detrimenti passuram, si nulli Sacerdotes per breve tempus fuerint, quam si, ubi ita vivimus inter alterius Religionis homines, ad sacra ministeria assumuntur, non dicam mali, Sacerdotes, sed etiam imprudentes et incauti. Reliqui omnes Sacerdotes plenam laboris vitam agunt, quod unusquisque congregationibus longe dissitis obsequium praestet, adeoque continuis, gravissimisque equitationibus, ad aegrotos praecipue, continuo fatigetur. Presbyteri sustentantur ut plurimum ex fundorum proventibus; alibi vero liberalitate Catholicorum. Nulla hic proprie sunt bona Ecclesiastica. Privatorem enim nomine possidentur ea bona, ex quibus aluntur Presbyteri; et testamentis transferuntur ad haeredes: ita faciendum suggestit dira necessitas, dum legibus Catholica Religio hic arctaretur; neque adhuc inventum est huic incommodo remedium, quamvis a nobis anno elapso id tentaretur.

Ad procurandos in Religionis ministerio successores, quid faciendum sit, non satis intelligimus. Est jam Philadelpiae collegium, agiturque de duobus in *Marilandîa* extruendis, ad quae admitti poterunt Catholici aequae ac alii, tam Praesides, quam Professores et alumni. Fore speramus, ut hos inter aliqui vitam Ecclesiasticam velint amplecti. Cogitamus igitur de seminario instituendo, in quo valeant deinceps ad mores et doctrinam statui illi convenientes efformari.

Hâc factâ relatione, liceat nunc aliqua adjungere quae omnino necessaria iudico ad spiritualem Catholicorum administrationem. Imprimis ex quoti-

diano commercio cum A catholicis, oritur perpetuum discrimen ineundi cum illis contractus matrimonialis, ad quod periculum avertendum usus apud nos invaluerat dispensandi, quantum nobis permittebatur, inter consanguineos Catholicos. Ita non solum conservari Religionem, sed augeri ab experientiâ didicimus. Ut igitur Ssmus Pater facultates mihi benigne concessit, Sociis etiam communicabiles, *dispensandi in 3^o mixto cum 2^o*, et inferioribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis gradibus; ita humillime tam meo, quam Sociorum nomine precor, ut saltem ad Superiorem extendere velit facultates dispensandi *in 2^o simplici*, tam consanguinitatis quam affinitatis. Si autem illud generaliter concedi nequit, quod propter locorum distantiam maxime optandum esset, *Pro triginta ad minimum vicibus* precor, ut ita dispensandi mihi detur facultas. Vehementer etiam a Sociis meis desideratur, ut possit hic *dispensari in primo gradu affinitatis* ortae ex copulâ illicitâ. Hos enim impedimentum saepe subsistit inter Africanos praecipue, ante matrimonium attentatum; nec tamen nisi longum post tempus, multorumq. annorum cohabitationem Sacerdos impedimentum, fortuito plerumq. deprehendit.

Video praeterea dispensationem celebrandi missam post meridiem, *ad unam tantum horam* extendi; cum tamen aliquando confessiones expediri non possint *ante tres horas*, quod mihi certe saepe contigit a primâ aurorâ illud ministerium auspicanti; credebamq. in ejusmodi casibus legem charitatis validiorem esse, quam ut Sacramentorum expertes domum remitterentur, qui magno labore et incommodo, viginti, triginta aut amplius mille passus venerant, et saepe in his mulieres gravidae et partui proximae.

Si quae alia occurrant, de quibus intellexero gratum fore, ut ad Emum Cardinalem relatio fiat, plene scribam.

Die 1^a Martii 1785.

JOANNES CARROLL.

Shea has given us the following translation of this document, no doubt from another copy, as can be seen by the minor variations:

1. *On the Number of Catholics in the United States.*

There are in Maryland about 15,800 Catholics; of these there are about 9,000 freemen, adults or over twelve years of age; children under that age, about 3,000; and about that number of slaves of all ages of African origin, called negroes. There are in Pennsylvania about 7,000, very few of whom are negroes, and the Catholics are less scattered and live nearer to each other. There are not more than 200 in Virginia who are visited four or five times a year by a priest. Many other Catholics are said to be scattered in that and other states, who are utterly deprived of all religious ministry. In the State of New York I hear there are at least 1,500. (Would that some spiritual succor could be afforded them!) They have recently, at their own expense, sent for a Franciscan Father from Ireland, and he is said to have the best testimonials as to his learning and life; he had arrived a little before I received the letters in which

faculties were transmitted to me, communicable to my fellow-priests. I was for a time in doubt whether I could properly approve this priest for the administration of the sacraments. I have now, however, decided, especially as the feast of Easter is so near, to consider him as one of my fellow-priests, and to grant him faculties, and I trust that my decision will meet your approbation. As to the Catholics who are in the territory bordering on the river called Mississippi and in all that region which following that river extends to the Atlantic Ocean, and from it extends to the limits of Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania—this tract of country contains, I hear, many Catholics, formerly Canadians, who speak French, and I fear that they are destitute of priests. Before I received your Eminence's letters there went to them a priest, German by birth, but who came last from France; he professes to belong to the Carmelite order; he was furnished with no sufficient testimonials that he was sent by his lawful superior. What he is doing and what is the condition of the Church in those parts, I expect soon to learn. The jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec formerly extended to some part of that region; but I do not know whether he wishes to exercise any authority there, now that all these parts are subjects to the United States.

2. *On the Condition, Piety, and Defects, etc., of Catholics:*

In Maryland a few of the leading more wealthy families still profess the Catholic faith introduced at the very foundation of the province by their ancestors. The greater part of them are planters and in Pennsylvania almost all are farmers, except the merchants and mechanics living in Philadelphia. As for piety, they are for the most part sufficiently assiduous in the exercises of religion and in frequenting the sacraments, but they lack that fervor, which frequent appeals to the sentiment of piety usually produce, as many congregations hear the word of God only once a month, and sometimes only once in two months. We are reduced to this by want of priests, by the distance of congregations from each other and by difficulty of travelling. This refers to Catholics born here, for the condition of the Catholics who in great numbers are flowing in here from different countries of Europe, is very different. For while there are few of our native Catholics who do not approach the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist, at least once a year, especially in Easter time, you can scarcely find any among the newcomers who discharge this duty to religion, and there is reason to fear that the example will be very pernicious especially in commercial towns. The abuses that have grown among Catholics are chiefly those, which result from unavoidable intercourse with non-Catholics, and the examples thence derived: namely more free intercourse between young people of opposite sexes than is compatible with chastity in mind and body; too great fondness for dances and similar amusements; and an incredible eagerness, especially in girls, for reading love stories which are brought over in great quantities from Europe. Then among other things, a general lack of care in instructing their children and especially the negro slaves in their religion, as these people are kept constantly at work, so that they rarely hear any instructions

from the priest, unless they can spend a short time with one; and most of them are consequently very dull in faith and depraved in morals. It can scarcely be believed how much trouble and care they give the pastors of souls.

3. *On the number of the priests, their qualifications, character and means of support.*

There are nineteen priests in Maryland and five in Pennsylvania. Of these two are more than seventy years old, and three others very near that age: and they are consequently almost entirely unfit to undergo the hardships, without which this Vineyard of the Lord cannot be cultivated. Of the remaining priests, some are in very bad health, and there is one recently approved by me for a few months only, that in the extreme want of priests I may give him a trial; for some doings were reported of him which made me averse to employing him. I will watch him carefully, and if anything occurs unworthy of priestly gravity I will recall the faculties granted, whatever inconvenience this may bring to many Catholics: for I am convinced that the Catholic faith will suffer less harm, if for a short time there is no priest at a place, than if living as we do among fellow-citizens of another religion, we admit to the discharge of the sacred ministry, I do not say bad priests, but incautious and imprudent priests. All the other clergymen lead a life full of labour, as each one attends congregations far apart, and has to be riding constantly and with great fatigue, especially to sick calls. Priests are maintained chiefly from the proceeds of the estates; elsewhere by the liberality of the Catholics. There is properly no ecclesiastical property here: for the property by which the priests are supported, is held in the names of individuals and transferred by will to devisees. This course was rendered necessary when the Catholic religion was cramped here by laws, and no remedy has yet been found for this difficulty, although we made an earnest effort last year. There is a college in Philadelphia, and it is proposed to establish two in Maryland, in which Catholics can be admitted, as well as others, as presidents, professors and pupils. We hope that some educated there will embrace the ecclesiastical state. We think accordingly of establishing a Seminary, in which they can be trained to the life and learning suited to that state.¹⁶

The two problems which clouded his immediate horizon were the "cramping clauses" which practically robbed him of all power, as can be seen in his letter to Father Thorpe, of February 17, 1785, given above, and the question of a bishopric for the United States.¹⁷ The task before him and before the little

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 257-261. A postscript to this *Relation*, asking for some minor dispensations, shows how tightly his hands were tied.

¹⁷ An interesting side-light on the problem of the bishopric is given in a letter from the French Chargé d'affaires, Barbé de Marbois, dated Philadelphia, March 27, 1785, to the Prime Minister, the Count de Vergennes. Marbois states that the Holy

band of workers he had in the American vineyard was immense, he told his friend, Father Plowden, in a letter dated June 29, 1785, and his inability to give faculties to new arrivals in the ministry was the most unfortunate part of his embarrassing situation. The presence of other priests in the country who carried on their ministrations without recognizing him as Superior also added to the delicate position he held. Fortunately, on receiving Carroll's letter of February 17, 1785, Father Thorpe immediately acted by having the doubt settled at Rome; and on July 2, 1785, and again on August 31, 1785, he informed the prefect-apostolic that a blunder had occurred and that the "cramping clauses" against which "you had with great reason remonstrated should be struck out of the printed faculties and . . . were never meant to be where you found them, left by an oversight in the Secretary's office."¹⁸ As Carroll learned, the formula of his appointment was based on that of a Prefect-Apostolic sent from Rome with missionaries to Africa, and they quite naturally contained the clause that he was not to give faculties to any priest in his jurisdiction unless the same were sent of Propaganda. On July 23, 1785, Cardinal Antonelli wrote to Father Carroll, thanking him for the *Letter and Relation* of February-March, 1785, and approving his stand; and sending him a new formula of faculties, which allowed Carroll to receive priests into the country and to appoint them at will.¹⁹ The second of these problems, namely, the appointment of a Superior with episcopal powers as well as jurisdiction, was not

See could do nothing more gracious for the Catholics in the United States, if circumstances would permit, than to promote Father Carroll immediately to the episcopal dignity. "I am persuaded," he writes, "that nothing could give them a more general satisfaction." He pointed out that there were Catholics in the National Congress at that time, and that several influential members of the Maryland Assembly were members of the Faith. Naturally, as he suggested, care must be taken not to make it appear that the Bishop depended upon a foreign power in those matters in which the American government desired its people to be independent; and he hinted that it might be just as well if the Holy See lessened its assertive power over the spiritual side of things. The letter concludes with a statistical table of the Catholics in the various states. New England, 600; New York and the Jerseys, 1,700; Pennsylvania and Delaware, 7,700; Maryland, free, 12,000, slaves, 8,000; Southern states, about 2,500; the Illinois country, 12,000. Total, 44,500. The Italian version of this letter is in *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura Riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 316.

¹⁸ Thorpe to Carroll, Rome, August 26, 1785, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-J8.

¹⁹ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 635.

settled until November 14, 1789, when Father John Carroll was appointed Bishop of Baltimore.

There was more than the perfunctory phrases of the man raised to a unique and important post in his *Letter* to Antonelli. The task before him was a delicate one; the field of his labours was, to use his own word, immense in extent and in possibilities. His jurisdiction, meagre as it was in its amplitude, was the only bond uniting the new Republic to the Holy See. He felt himself utterly incapable of bringing all the elements of Catholic life in the United States into strict conformity with canonical rule. The number of his priests was limited; many of them were old men, worn out with the fatigues and burdens of the harsh life the missionaries were forced to lead. The distances were many times greater in those days than now. Means of communication were slow and uncertain; and the very liberty which the new Republic had proclaimed to all the earth and the inhabitants thereof opened the way to adventurers ecclesiastic as it did to adventurers lay or civil. It was indeed a task arduous enough to terrify even one who did not possess John Carroll's courage and spirit of devotion. The five years of his prefectship saw all these elements for good and for evil in the Catholic life of the Republic develop with a rapidity which soon dispelled any lingering doubts in the minds of his clergy on the necessity of a more compact canonical organization. Within twenty months the clergy had met again at Whitmarsh and petitioned the Holy See for a bishop. The administration of Church property was causing quarrels and scandals which were threatening the unity of the Church in the United States; the Revolution had not amalgamated the races that had fought side by side for liberty, and the spirit of nationalism in Church affairs was even then looming up as a potent source of antagonism. Religious toleration was not a law of the land in 1785, and did not become universally so until long after the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Dissension in the Church was apparent at the very time when the closest harmony was needed to start religious freedom on its noble way down the years of American life. The ranks of the clergy were thinning rapidly—death and disease were decimating the little band of workers, and if the Church was to live, vocations would need to be fostered, priests

would have to be invited to come to the United States from other lands, and only one endowed with all the power of the episcopate could keep that strict control on ecclesiastical life without which there could be no surety of duration. These five years of Carroll's prefectship were as critical in their own way to the Church as was the uncertainty which ruled the political life of the nation between the Treaty of Paris in 1783, and Washington's election to the Presidency in 1789. It is a singular, not to say providential, coincidence that Washington and Carroll came to their offices at the same time. Washington was inaugurated April 30, 1789; Carroll was consecrated August 15, 1790, and our political organization was fully fashioned in the very year that our church organization was perfected. It was a coincidence emblematic of the amity and concord "which have hitherto existed between the Church and the republic—amity and concord which, instead of being obliterated, are emphasized by the clear-cut distinction made in our fundamental law between the two spheres, the political and the religious."²⁰

²⁰ O'GORMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

CHAPTER XV

THE CRITICAL PERIOD IN AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORY

(1784-89)

The critical period of American Catholic history is synchronous with the five years of John Carroll's Prefectship. As Superior of the Church in the United States, his jurisdiction differed little from that exercised by the Jesuit Superiors from 1634 to 1784, with two exceptions: his power to confer the Sacrament of Confirmation, to bless the Holy Oils, to dedicate churches, etc., and his authority to confer missionary faculties upon the priests who should come to the American missions. Without a more ample jurisdiction, disorder was inevitable. To the "newcomers," as the clergy who entered the Missions were known, the presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government they found in the United States was but the shadow of the substantial episcopal rule they were accustomed to in Europe. In each centre, where the Catholics were sufficiently numerous to support a parish and a priest, it was not long before rebellion against Carroll occurred. The times were hard; there were few comforts of any kind; the Catholics were not numerous and were poor; they were just beginning to enjoy freedom after two and a half centuries of intolerance and of persecution. Freedom brought a number of evils in its train; independence made its spirit felt in every aspect of American life—in literature, in social customs, in politics, and even in religion. And to this attitude of the American Catholic mind there came the worst evil of all—unworthy priests. It was not that the private lives of these men were always morally reprehensible, for the Catholic laity could be trusted to repudiate the ministrations of the hireling. But the truth is that it was open season with ecclesiastics, many of whom left their dioceses in Europe for their dioceses' good; and turbulent men, loving more the adventure of the times and

yielding to a desire for change, found their way here, and in spite of canon law and of church authority, set up their standard in the midst of flocks whose rejoicing in their presence for eagerness to hear the Word of God and to receive the Sacraments clouded their judgment on the calibre of the shepherds who came, unasked and, in so many cases, unannounced. John Carroll had the difficult task of winning these men back to ecclesiastical discipline; he had the severer task of controlling those among the laity who were led astray by the intruders. The story is not a pleasant one, but not to outline its main features is not to know John Carroll at his best.

This and the two succeeding chapters describe the five years of his effort to reconstruct the Church in the United States.

John Carroll's first duty was to learn the condition of his vast prefecture-apostolic; and this he accomplished in 1785-86, visiting Philadelphia and New York. Boston he did not visit until after his return to Baltimore as bishop (Dec. 7, 1790). His Visitation of 1785-86 opened his eyes to the grave and crucial problems which confronted church discipline at this time.

The coincidence of Carroll's election to the See of Baltimore and of Washington's election to the Presidency ends, rather than begins, a striking parallel between the history of the thirteen original States and the history of the Catholic Church within the reconstruction years of 1783-1789. Historical parallels can be easily overdrawn, but it will heighten the picture of the Church's condition at this time if its problems be contrasted with that of the country. The ten years of inaction in the matter of church organization (1773-1783) are matched by the inability of the several States to set up anything more compact than governments of their own. The same difficult task of binding together the thirteen States faced the leaders of all parties, political and religious, not only of the Catholic Faith, but of all the denominations in the Republic. It is true that the same jealousies were not present in the ranks of the Catholic clergy and laity as were visible among the citizens of the northern, middle, and southern States; but there was the same intangible, though ever-present, fear of a strong centralized ecclesiastical jurisdiction as there was of federalization in the Republic up to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. The parallel

becomes more emphatic when we contrast the weakness of the Congress of the Confederation with that of the prefect-apostolic. The absence of a superior with episcopal power to enforce the law of the Church was to have the same paralyzing effect on Catholicism as the absence of a President endowed with power to enforce the laws of Congress throughout the United States. Congress was helpless before the rebellion of a single state; the prefectship was equally an empty title when, as we shall see, rebellion appeared within the ranks of the clergy and the laity. There was no authority in the hands of a simple archpriest, as Carroll was, to raise money for the education of the clergy, just as any attempt at creating an army of soldiers for the defence of the country was then beyond the powers of Congress. And where the disunity of the United States was most felt, namely, in the matter of arranging interstate and international commerce, so also was Carroll to be constantly perplexed with the problem of exercising direction and power over the appointment of priests in the different parts of his vast prefecture, and with the still more anxious problem of making the spiritual union with the Holy See acceptable not only to his own flock but to those who looked upon that flock as part of the citizenship of a free and independent nation. The provisional arrangement under the Congress of the Confederation caused discontent of a kind quite similar, though necessarily upon a much larger scale, to that caused by the temporary arrangement decided upon by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide among the pioneers of Catholic unity in the land. The same strong nationalistic spirit at home which kept demanding a powerful central government in order to win the respect of foreign powers was not unexperienced by Carroll and by other farsighted churchmen, such as Molyneux and Farmer, who lived within a stone's throw of the Congress in Philadelphia. The same resentment expressed by those who saw paternalism in the attitude of France during the peace negotiations found a counterpart in the attitude of Carroll, who stated quite clearly in his correspondence that the Church in the United States must be free of all foreign tutelage. Neither Carroll nor any of the others wavered for a moment in their loyal adherence to the Holy See as the centre and the source of all Catholic government; but

that there was wavering over their subjection to a foreign official ministry, such as Propaganda was, there can be little doubt, if the documents at our disposal are to be trusted in their entirety. Both Church and State passed through perilous days during the "Critical Period," as John Fiske calls those six years from 1783 to 1789;¹ but the leaders in both spheres were soon able to rally around them the strongest men of the day, and it is significant that about the very time the Catholic clergy was decided to petition the Holy See for a bishop, the delegates of the several states were in session in Philadelphia, drafting the Constitution of the United States which was to give unity to the republic, stability to its government, and an acknowledged leader in George Washington, its first President.

The United States, as decreed by the Treaty of Peace of Paris, September 3, 1783, meant practically the entire country east of the Mississippi, with the exception of East and West Florida, which had been ceded to Spain.² These geographical limits are identical with Carroll's jurisdiction (1784-1789) as Prefect-Apostolic of the Church in the United States. Fortunately, as a body the Catholic Church in the rebelling colonies had become closely identified with the spirit and with the purpose of the Revolution, especially after the support of a great Catholic country like France had been cast into the balance in favour of American independence. Carroll had no Tory or Loyalist problem to solve as had the leaders of some of the non-Catholic religious bodies; and this fact, added to the small number of his people and the fewness of his clergy, would have rendered his work of unification somewhat easy, had it not been that at the crucial moment, his power as Superior was not only uncertain in its extent but embarrassingly vague in its meaning. The Catholic laity and clergy had grown so accustomed to secrecy, to aliases, to verbal subterfuges, to persecution and to death, during the post-Reformation period, wherever the English flag floated in signal of Protestant supremacy, that it is hardly remarkable to find them still timorous even after the adoption of the Constitution

¹ FISKE, *Critical Period of American History (1783-1789)*. Boston, 1888.

² McLAUGHLIN, *The Confederation and the Constitution (1783-1789)*, pp. 8-9. New York, 1905.

(1787-1788) with its religious equality clause,³ and more especially after the Ordinance of 1787 with its declaration of freedom of worship. The presence, however, of two leading Catholic Americans, Thomas Fitzsimons, of Philadelphia, and Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, the brother of the prefect-apostolic, at the Constitutional Convention in 1787, gave courage to the little groups of Catholics in the several States.⁴

The Catholic Church in the United States was truly a *pusillus grex*, when Father Carroll accepted the onerous task of prefect-apostolic, on February 27, 1785. In a population of almost three millions, the Catholics numbered between twenty-five and thirty thousand souls. The churches and "congregations," or "stations," were scattered, but the localities where groups of Catholics gathered to hear Mass and to receive the Sacraments were known to all the priests then in the American Mission.

The chief problems of church administration during the five years of Carroll's prefectship were all apparent at the time of his acceptance. These were: 1. *The supply of the clergy*. There had been but few accessions during the Revolution, and the natural increase of the Catholic population, together with the growing number of immigrants from Catholic Ireland and from the Catholic parts of Germany and Austria, demanded more spiritual shepherds than were under Carroll's direction. Many of the little band of priests were already old in the service and had become incapacitated by 1785, and the few who had been chaplains in the French forces and who remained were not to be counted upon in the difficult task of creating a compact Catholic organization in the land. 2. *Catholic education*. We have already reviewed the scanty records that tell the story of Catholic effort

³ The dates of adoption are as follows: Delaware (December 6, 1787), Pennsylvania (December 12, 1787), New Jersey (December 18, 1787), Georgia (January 2, 1788), Connecticut (January 9, 1788), Massachusetts (February 6, 1788), Maryland (April 28, 1788), South Carolina (May 23, 1788), New Hampshire (June 21, 1788), Virginia (June 25, 1788), New York (June 26, 1788), North Carolina (November 21, 1789), and Rhode Island (May 29, 1790).

⁴ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 345. Charles Carroll of Carrollton was the only Catholic Signer of the Declaration of Independence (1776). Thomas FitzSimons and Daniel Carroll were the only two Catholic Signers of the Constitution of the United States (1787). Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Daniel Carroll, Dominick Lynch, Thomas FitzSimons, and Bishop Carroll were the Signers of the Catholic Address to Washington (1789). These names are very frequently confused, as, for example, in O'GORMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

in Colonial days to erect Catholic schools and academies for the children. The need of a Catholic college was evident, and on no one point will Carroll be more firm during these early years of reconstruction than in his determination to erect a school of higher studies in the United States for Catholic boys. Many will be the difficulties to overcome before Georgetown College is finally started, but John Carroll will become its founder in 1789.

3. *A Seminary for the education of priests.* This will prove to be the hardest task of all, but again his dominant personality will overcome every obstacle, and St. Mary's Seminary will be begun simultaneously with Georgetown College.

4. *Relations of clergy and laity.* It will take most of the thirty years of his leadership in the Church of the United States to bring harmony between the people and the priests, but his firm-handedness will never slacken and his determination to keep the laws of the Church free from compromises that have been the bane of Catholic life in other lands will be steady until the end.

5. *Jurisdiction.* Around this topic most of the correspondence of these early years centres. It is the most difficult of all problems Carroll will have to meet, and he will find it necessary to win over both priests and people to the necessity of a stronger juridic power in Church administrative affairs than that possessed by a mere prefect-apostolic.

His Visitation of the Church in the new Republic in the summer and the late autumn of 1785, resulted in accentuating his realization of these problems; and although little that is authentic has come down to us regarding his journey to all the Catholic centres of his prefecture, the Visitation of 1785 vindicated his estimate of Catholicism in the United States, an estimate which he had summarized for Propaganda in his *Letter and Relation* to Cardinal Antonelli in February-March of that same year. We have a glimpse of Carroll's problems in a letter to Father Charles Plowden, written about the time he started out on the Visitation, June 29, 1785:

The prospect before us is immense, but the want of cultivators to enter the field and improve it is a dreadful and discouraging circumstance. I receive applications from every part of the United States, North, South, and West, for clergymen, and considerable property is offered for their maintenance; but it is impossible and cruel to abandon the congregations already formed to go in quest of people who wish to be established into

new ones. I have written in a pressing manner to all whom I conceive likely to come to our assistance, and I hope you will urge the return hither of Charles and Francis Neale, Leonard Brooke, and Thompson, if his health will allow. . . . Encourage all you can meet with, Europeans or Americans, to come among us. We hope soon to have a sum of money lodged in London, to pay the passage of six at least. . . . I find it very difficult where I now live [Rock Creek] to attend to the duties of my present station. It is inconvenient to some to apply to me here; and, however painful it will be to my dear Mother and myself, I apprehend that it will be necessary for me to remove to Baltimore, as a more central situation.⁵

The general situation of the Church in the Republic is also discussed in Carroll's letter to the Nuncio at Paris, Doria Pamphili. The Nuncio wrote to Carroll on July 9, 1784, to congratulate him on his appointment as Superior. This letter was received by the prefect-apostolic on November 26, 1784, and on the same day, the official documents constituting him the juridic head of the Church in this country came from New York, sent on by M. de Marbois. Carroll's reply touches upon the situation between Church and State at the time:

Your Excellency will understand the delicacy of my position, by recalling the jealousy of our government towards all jurisdiction of a foreign kind, a jealousy which heretofore has led to the exclusion of Catholics from any share in the civil administration of several of our States. Catholics are indeed tolerated everywhere to-day, but so far, it is only in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, that they enjoy equal advantages with their fellow-citizens. The Revolution from which we have just emerged has procured us this advantage, but the circumspection we are obliged to use is extreme, so that no pretext for interfering with our rights be given to those who hate us. This is especially necessary now, because the prejudice entertained for so long a time is deep-rooted. The opinion above all which many have formed that our faith exacted a subjection to His Holiness incompatible with the independence of a sovereign state, entirely false though it be, gives us continual worry. To dissipate this prejudice time will be our best aid, as also will Divine Providence, and the experience of our fellow-citizens in our devotion to our country and to its independence. The wisdom of the Holy See will not fail us in this difficult matter. Your Excellency can rest assured that the Apostolic Chair does not possess in the world children more devoted to its doctrines and more penetrated with respect for all its decisions.

⁵ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 638-639.

Carroll then asks the Nuncio to use his "powerful protection" in favour of "a feeble portion of the Church, so far distant from the edifying examples which animate the faith and piety of Catholic countries, and so exposed to the contagion of heretical doctrines."⁶

But, before all else it was essential to the welfare of the nascent Church in the Republic not only that the Superior should possess power and jurisdiction in meet proportion to the extent of the problems within his prefecture, but also that whatever power should be conferred by the Holy See be given in such a way that there could be no misunderstanding its exclusively spiritual nature. If Father John Carroll delayed for almost a half-year before accepting the prefectship, it was precisely for the reason that the jurisdiction he received from Propaganda seemed to fall short of the one and to assert the opposite of the other. When he learned from his Roman correspondent, Father John Thorpe, who wrote on August 31, 1785, that a mistake had been made in the Brief of June 9, 1784; and when later, about March 26, 1786, he received Antonelli's letter of July 23, 1785, granting him ampler faculties and a wider jurisdiction, he began to feel easier in mind. But the interval was one of keen embarrassment to a man as sensitive as Carroll on matters of jurisdiction, and there is frequently present in his letters a restraint he felt with an official corporation which had once blundered in so important a matter. Carroll cannot be considered worthy of blame for his earlier attitude of distrust and even of suspicion of Antonelli. The Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda, Leonardo Antonelli, was a man of the highest virtue and learning, and from sources that are extant it can be shown that he wished the Church in the United States every possible success, even though it was manned by ex-Jesuits. The difficulty with the correspondence of this period is to explain Antonelli's negotiations with the notorious Talleyrand over the Bordeaux project of an American (i.e., pro-French) Seminary. Propaganda's attitude towards the members of the suppressed Society in 1773 could hardly win the confi-

⁶ The draft of this letter, written in rather imperfect French, and with so many corrections and erasures that it is difficult to decipher, is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-Fr. SHEA (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 261) probably lost patience over it, since he merely refers to its contents. I failed to find the original in Paris or in Rome (*Vatican Archives, Nunziatura di Francia*).

dence of those who were then suffering an injustice caused by their loyalty to the Holy See; if Carroll knew at the time, and there is reason to believe that he did, the details of Antonelli's intrigue with Doria Pamphili, the Bishop of Autun, and Benjamin Franklin, he was unquestionably right in presuming that the Roman officials were acting independently.⁷ Antonelli is emphatic in his correspondence with Carroll that the prefectship was but a temporary arrangement, and that as soon as the Holy See received all the necessary information and was certain of his ability and capacity, he would be promoted to the dignity of vicar-apostolic, with episcopal character. This is confirmed in Antonelli's letter to the Papal Nuncio at Paris, dated June 30, 1784; and in Doria Pamphili's reply (July 5, 1784) we learn that the matter had been discussed with Franklin. Franklin had assured the Nuncio that he preferred to see Carroll appointed a bishop at once, and also that the American Congress would be pleased to see the Catholic Church in the United States properly organized under its own episcopal authority. "The American Congress," so runs the letter, "will be most pleased with such a consummation, and will not oppose Mr. Carroll's going to Canada for his consecration by the Monseigneur, the Bishop of Quebec, the nearest place, and not so inconvenient or expensive as it would be to come to France, or to go to the Island of San Domingo."⁸ Propaganda's hesitation in Carroll's promotion to the episcopal dignity was caused by the rather practical reason of financial support. The Sacred Congregation could not see its way clear to allowing Carroll a subsidy, and so the officials desired to know more about the temporalities of the American Missions before nominating the prefect-apostolic to the higher post. Again, on July 31, 1784, the Cardinal Prefect tells the Nuncio to say to Mr. Franklin that "in what depends upon us,

⁷ For example, on the same day that Antonelli wrote to Carroll announcing to him his appointment as prefect-apostolic (June 9, 1784), he wrote also to the Nuncio at Paris commending him for his zeal and announcing that "it has been decided to treat . . . directly with the American missionaries, and for the present with Mr. Carrol [*sic*], who has been constituted their head, *except in what concerns the young men who, it is hoped, will be received in the Seminary of Bordeaux*, for which Your Excellency may continue to negotiate with Monseigneur d'Autun [Talleyrand], or with whoever can help to the desired end." (Cf. *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, p. 32.)

⁸ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 272; cf. *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, p. 37.

it will be sought to invest Mr. Carroll with episcopal character as soon as he has informed us of the status of the Catholic religion in those provinces and of the system to be adopted.”⁹

Direct correspondence between Propaganda and the American Church definitely ended the intrigue which, it seems, must be attributed originally to Barbé de Marbois, who was anxious to have a French ecclesiastic appointed bishop over the American Catholics. The Bordeaux scheme, superficially at least, has the appearance of an intrigue to allow French ecclesiastics to control the American Church, and can only be fully understood when placed in relation with the results of the peace negotiations of the former year. France, to tell the truth, felt that the Americans had shown little gratitude in the matter of the peace treaty;¹⁰ and a reaction of this feeling is found in the Nuncio's words to Antonelli, on August 23, 1784: “It is not certain,” he writes, “that, as time goes on, the American Republic will continue to be grateful for the signal favours and services of France, and that revolutions will not occur, similar to that of Canada.” The Cardinal-Prefect, therefore, was not surprised to learn that the Bordeaux project did not move forward more quickly. In fact, it was evident to the Nuncio that the Government was unwilling to endow the scheme, and wished merely to start it and to support it for a year or so. In Antonelli's next letter, dated September 25, 1784, the Nuncio is asked to inform Franklin “of our disposition for the investiture of Mr. Carroll with the episcopacy.”¹¹

The fact has already been mentioned that Father Carroll became fully aware of all these secret negotiations through Plowden's letter of September 21, 1784. He himself had written to Father Plowden on September 18 of that year in answer to Plowden's letter of July 3, 1784, and it is clear that the whole matter had become distasteful to him. He was determined, if his fellow-priests would consent, to refuse even the prefectship. He wanted no vicariate-apostolic, and that because it involved not only a foreign title but dependence upon a foreign tribunal, the

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁰ McLAUGHLIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22. Cf. MERLANT-COLEMAN, *Soldiers and Sailors of France in the American War of Independence (1776-1783)*, p. 204. New York, 1920.

¹¹ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 244, f. 781; cf. *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, p. 42.

Congregation of Propaganda Fide. It was absurd, to his way of viewing it, to consider the United States a Mission, and he instinctively felt the slight Antonelli had given the American clergy by carrying on negotiations with Franklin. Carroll interpreted the whole intrigue as done in an anti-Jesuit spirit, and he says quite appositely that had Antonelli communicated with him on the bishopric question the answer of the American Congress "would have been even more satisfactory to us than the one which was sent." His brother's triennium in Congress had just expired, and Mr. Fitzsimons, the only Catholic member besides, had just resigned. "These were unfortunate circumstances."¹²

On the other hand, it is unfair to judge Propaganda's action harshly. We have an advantage of a hundred and forty years of a retrospect from which to make such a judgment, although there is a natural feeling of impatience that the officials in Rome did not visualize the Church's condition here more accurately. But with few exceptions it has been the rule of Propaganda to begin ecclesiastical jurisdiction in a new country with prefects-apostolic, followed by vicars-apostolic, and then bishops. Allowance must also be made for the long intervals between letters, and for the fact that the communications with Rome were infrequent and unsatisfactory. So many elements enter into the situation that Antonelli might be excused. There was the querulous method of Challoner to rid himself of the Colonies; the intrigue of which no one seems to be the author, but which arose spontaneously among the little group in Paris to control the American Church; there was the fact that the recognized clergy in America were all ex-Jesuits, and smarting under the injustice of the Suppression; the fact that Carroll's attitude was decidedly nationalistic and that it was embarrassing to him to be appointed over his fellow-clergy without their consent, in fact at variance with their wish expressed to the Holy See; the difficulty of harmonizing what apparently was a foreign and quasi-temporal jurisdiction over a group of American citizens who had just been emancipated from all foreign entanglements; the "cramping clause" of his first year of prefectship, which neutralized his

¹² Carroll to Plowden, Rock Creek, September 15, 1784, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-J5; cf. *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. iii, pp. 377-378.

power for direction, when that direction was most needed; and lastly, there was the official opinion of the American clergy in 1784 that it would be inopportune to appoint a bishop. Carroll himself had succumbed to this last influence, and in his letter to Antonelli in February, 1785, had stated that there was no actual need for a bishop, until some candidates were found fitted to receive Holy Orders. It was inevitable, therefore, that the project of creating the United States into a vicariate-apostolic or a bishopric would be deferred. This, perhaps, was the more prudent course of action to take; but if Carroll and Propaganda were both waiting to ascertain whether conditions in the Church here necessitated a stronger and firmer hand of authority than the archiprésbyterate, which had failed so miserably in England, they were not long in learning the same. Carroll's Visitation was to reveal the forces of disunion and even of decay at work within the nascent Church, and also to bring to maturity the episcopal administrative system the country should have had as early as 1685, when the London Vicariate was accepted by the English Government.

With his mother's home at Rock Creek as a centre, Father John Carroll began his Visitation of his prefecture in the summer of 1785. The actual date of the first stage of his journey is not known, though it is probable that he laid the cornerstone of the new church at St. Inigoes on July 13 of that year. His first visits were to the different "stations," "congregations," "residences," and "houses" in Maryland. Attending to the spiritual needs of the flock in the State were nineteen priests, all of whom had fixed residences. Father Carroll administered the Sacrament of Confirmation wherever he stopped.¹⁸ There was nothing of an especial nature in the Church in Maryland that needed the exercise of his jurisdiction, except matrimonial cases. After Maryland came the scattered "congregations" of Virginia with its 200 Catholics, living mostly in the northern counties of that State along the Potomac. Up to the time of Carroll's Visitation, they had been visited four or five times a year by the

¹⁸ SHEA, (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 273), says that Carroll procured Holy Chrism for this purpose, but it is not certain where he obtained it; probably from the nearest diocese, Santiago de Cuba, where Father Campo sent for the necessary Holy Oils for his Minorcan colony in Florida.

priests from Maryland.¹⁴ Virginia had been more perturbed than any of the Southern colonies over the danger of Catholicism during the French and Indian War, but the annoying Act of 1756 "for Disarming Papists" and forbidding them to keep a horse "above the value of £5" was abrogated in 1776 by the adoption of the famous Bill of Rights, drawn up by George Mason, to which Patrick Henry contributed the religious equality clause. To no less a personage than Cardinal Robert Bellarmine can be given the credit for the theory of government enshrined in the Bill, as well as in its subsequent imitation, the Declaration of Independence.¹⁵

The summer of 1785 was one of intense heat, and in August, Father Carroll returned to Rock Creek to await the cooler days of early autumn before starting north. There remained to be visited—Pennsylvania with New Jersey, and New York. New England had never shown a spirit of hospitality to Catholics or to things Catholic. There had been a partial Catholic immigration in 1755, when a group of the exiled Acadians attempted to find a refuge in Massachusetts, but the Faith did not survive among their children, placed as they were in the midst of a population that was determined to destroy their solidarity as a people. Private prayers were not illegal, but the services of a priest were refused these "lost Gabriels of the Great Expulsion." The French Alliance was of considerable commercial value to the New Englanders, and by degrees during the War of Independence, the old spirit of bigotry lost the thin edge it had held for nearly two hundred years. There was likewise an Irish Catholic immigration into New England, which began about 1717¹⁶ and continued up to the Revolution; but there is no record of any attempt at a permanent Church. In 1779, Father Henry de la Motte, an Augustinian chaplain of the French fleet, who was imprisoned in New York for saying Mass, was exchanged, and came to Boston. He was sent by the Colonial Government as an envoy to the Catholic Indians of Maine.¹⁷ In 1781, Father Lacy, an Irish

¹⁴ MAGRI, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 38. Richmond, 1906.

¹⁵ Cf. GAILLARD HUNT, *The Virginia Declaration of Rights and Cardinal Bellarmine in the Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iii, pp. 276-289.

¹⁶ Cf. O'BRIEN, *Hidden Phase, etc.*, pp. 241-285.

¹⁷ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xvi, p. 111.

priest, is said to have visited Boston, and we know from the Abbé Robin's *Travels* that the witty French priest visited the city, though nothing is said in his volume of the presence of Catholics in Boston. There was, therefore, no cause for Father Carroll to visit this part of the Republic, and indeed, the first authentic page in the history of the Church in New England was not written until 1788, when the notorious French priest, Claudius Florent Bouchard de la Poterie was authorized by Carroll to minister to the Catholics of Boston.

In Pennsylvania, at the time of Carroll's appointment, there were five priests with definite parishes to attend. Philadelphia possessed two churches, St. Joseph's and St. Mary's, both under the same pastors, Fathers Molyneux and Farmer. At Conewago, Father James Pellentz had erected a church, and in Lancaster, Father Luke Geissler was ministering to the scattered Catholics in that vicinity. Father John B. de Ritter was at Goshenhoppen, with a large territory under his care. St. Joseph's Church, in Philadelphia, the oldest church in the English colonies, erected in 1733, by Father Joseph Greateon, who had been visiting the city regularly from the year 1722, was the centre of the Pennsylvania missions. The agreement between the heirs of Lord Baltimore and William Penn in 1732, regarding the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, had removed the obstacle to the erection of a place of worship for the Catholics of Philadelphia, and the following year saw this first public Catholic chapel in the Colonies opened for Divine service. The number of Catholics in the old national Capital at this time is not known. Kirlin quotes one source as computing the number to be ten or twelve; another source estimates the "congregation" as about forty souls. Smyth's *Present State of the Catholic Missions conducted by the Ex-Jesuits in North America* states that at the opening of St. Joseph's there were thirty-seven Catholics—twenty-two Irish and fifteen Germans. On March 21, 1741, Father Greateon was joined by Father Henry Neale, who died seven years later, and the following year (1749) Father Greateon retired to Bohemia Manor and was succeeded in Philadelphia by Father Harding. The census of 1757, compiled by Father Harding, gives the Catholic population of Pennsylvania as consisting of 692 men and 673 women, making a total of 1,365 Catholics. At the close of the

French and Indian War, a second church, that of St. Mary's, was opened in Philadelphia. "The Sunday services," say Kirlin, "with the exception of an early Mass at St. Joseph's, were held in St. Mary's, and the older church was used as a chapel where the week-day Masses were said."¹⁸ In 1758, Father Farmer was appointed assistant to Father Harding, and after the latter's death, September 1, 1772, Father Farmer was in charge until June, 1773, when Father Robert Molyneux was sent as his co-pastor. Both these priests were in Philadelphia when Father Carroll visited the city in October, 1785, though Father Farmer did not survive very long after Carroll's visit, dying August 17, 1786. The statistics given by Carroll in his *Relation* (March 1, 1785) were gathered from letters sent to him by these two pioneer Catholic clergymen, both of whom were highly instrumental in persuading Carroll to accept the prefectship.¹⁹ The parishes outside Philadelphia were fairly numerous at this time. From Conewago, where Father Wapeler had founded the Church of the Sacred Heart, shortly after his arrival in that mission (1741), Father Pellentz reported to Carroll that there were 1,000 communicants in the parish. Father Schneider, who had begun the mission at Goshenhoppen in 1745, passed away on July 10, 1764, and was succeeded by Father John B. de Ritter, who estimated 500 communicants in his charge at the time of Carroll's Visitation. Father Luke Geissler, then pastor of the Catholics around Lancaster, had about 700 souls in his care. Besides Fathers Molyneux and Farmer, there were also at the time in Philadelphia, Father William O'Brien, O.P., Father Huet de la Valinière, who attended the French Catholics, and Father Hassett, who officiated for the Spanish residents.²⁰ There was also at this time at Lancaster the Rev. John B. Causse, a Recollect Father, known also by his name in religion, Father Fidentianus. These are meagre details of the condition of the Church in Pennsylvania, but they furnish us with a fair example of Father Carroll's knowledge of this part of his Prefecture.

¹⁸ KIRLIN, *Catholicity in Philadelphia*, p. 94. Philadelphia, 1907.

¹⁹ This interesting correspondence, quoted elsewhere in this volume, can be read in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. iv, pp. 255-259; it will be found in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-P 4-14, and Q1-10, Case 5-K and L.

²⁰ Molyneux to Carroll, March 28, 1785, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5K-1; cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 275, note 4.

The prefect-apostolic began his northern Visitation on September 22, 1785. He administered Confirmation in Philadelphia in the early part of October, 1785.²¹ Whether he visited the other Catholic congregations is not known with certainty, for there is nothing in the correspondence we possess to show that he extended his Visitation beyond the two cities of Philadelphia and New York. From Philadelphia, his journey northwards took him through New Jersey. The early history of the Church in the Jerseys is obscure. It is known that Father Harding paid occasional visits to that province, but the pioneer missionary of the State was Father Farmer. The Baptismal Register of St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, gives us the names of all the "Stations" in Jersey visited by this valiant soldier of the Cross, around whom tradition has woven some of the best-loved of all early American Catholic historical legends. Macopin, about fifteen miles north of Paterson, would seem to be the centre of these New Jersey missions, which stretched from Ringwood to Salem. The little town had been settled by a colony of Germans from the Rhineland, who came to take positions in the iron works there.²² It is quite possible from what we know of the stage routes of that day that Father Carroll visited some of these "congregations," but no details are extant of his Visitation in New Jersey.

It was in New York City that Father Carroll met with the first difficult problem of his five years as prefect-apostolic. The province of New Amsterdam and later of New York had had a long period of Catholic history before the coming of Carroll in the autumn of 1785. It was known throughout the Catholic world as the scene of some of the most heroic episodes in the missionary history of the Jesuits, and Father Jogues' martyrdom gave it a prominence in European eyes which Pennsylvania and Maryland never attained. The short Catholic governorship of Thomas Dongan (1683-1688) witnessed an attempt by Father Thomas Harvey, S.J., to establish a Latin school in the city,²³

²¹ GRIFFIN in the *Researches* (vol. xiii, p. 173) is uncertain whether the date is October second or ninth. It was during this visit that Carroll met Wharton at the house of FitzSimons.

²² Cf. *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. vi, p. 434. Father Farmer's *List of Baptisms*, registered at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, will be found in the *Records*, vol. i, pp. 246-350. A list of the various "stations" will be found, *ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

²³ There is little doubt that James II, the Duke of York, sought to make his Province a refuge for the oppressed Catholics of England; it is a matter worthy of

but with the Orange Revolution under Leisler, Catholic life in the city came to an end. In 1696, the Mayor of the city gave a list of nine Catholics to Governor Fletcher; the passage of the Act of 1700 meant perpetual imprisonment for any Catholic priest found in the province. No man dared avow himself a Catholic, and the general effect of the intolerant spirit was to keep Catholics from settling in the future metropolis. The Negro Plot of 1741, with the hanging of John Ury, who was supposed to be a Catholic priest, reawakened a "holy horror of Popery," which prevailed down to the Revolution.²⁴ "The first priests who officiated in the city in any way in a public manner, were the chaplains of the French troops who had been sent to aid the colonies in their struggle. I find a manuscript note amongst the late Bishop Bruté's papers, in which he speaks of hearing 'Mother Seton say that it was a great object of curiosity amongst the New Yorkers to attend the celebration of Mass by the chaplains of the French troops at the time of the war.'"²⁵ New York was slow to change its attitude of open hostility to the Catholic Faith, even after the establishment of its own Legislature, and the State Constitution of 1777 excluded Catholics from the rights of citizenship. In 1784, the Act of 1700 regarding "Popish Priests and Jesuits" was repealed by the New York Legislature, but it was not until 1806 that the Oath of Allegiance, which no loyal Catholic could conscientiously take, was abrogated.²⁶ After the evacuation of the city by the British troops in 1783, Father Farmer assembled the Catholics of the city for Divine worship. Archbishop Bayley reports a tradition that Mass was celebrated in 1781-82 in a loft over a carpenter's shop near Barclay Street, then in the suburbs, and that services were held also in the house

record in the history of religious liberty in America that the New York Assembly of 1683, the first held in Dongan's term, adopted a Charter of Liberties granting freedom of worship to all Christians. Cf. Dongan's Report on the State of the Province, in O'CALLAGHAN, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. iii. p. 410. Albany, 1887. Only a few Catholics were known to be in the Province at that time.

²⁴ Cf. *The Trial of John Ury*, in the *Researches*, vol. xvi, pp. 2-58.

²⁵ This is evidently an error, since the city of New York was in the possession of the British during the Revolution. Probably, Mother Seton refers to the arrest of Father De la Motte for celebrating Mass in the city. Cf. BAYLEY, *History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York*, pp. 47-48. New York, 1870.

²⁶ For a copy of these Oaths against Transubstantiation cf. DEVEREUX, *A Memorial of the Penal Times in New York* in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. vi, pp. 394-395.

of the Spanish Consul, Don Thomas Stoughton. The home of Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister, seems also to have been the rendezvous of the Catholics of New York in 1785. The actual beginning of Catholic church organization can be traced to the coming in October, 1784, of Father Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin, who had served as chaplain in De Grasse's fleet, and who apparently was so touched by the destitute spiritual condition of the Catholics of New York City that he decided to remain among them. Shea says that Father Whelan may have acted at first merely as private chaplain to the Portuguese Catholic, José Ruiz Silva; and this seems likely because he began his ministry without waiting for faculties from the Prefect-Apostolic. John Talbot Smith writes:

His arrival occurred at a happy moment for him and his congregation. The government of the United States held its seat in New York; the foreign ministers resided there. At the meetings of Congress Catholic members came to live in town, and Catholic merchants from France and Spain and their American possessions were establishing offices. The great social lights of official life were the ministers of France and of Spain. They had their embassy chapels and chaplains, and their high rank and influence gave standing to the Catholics. Father Whelan did not seem to meet with success in organizing his parish after his arrival, and reported to the Superior that the congregation was in a poor way, buried in difficulties and displeased with the pastor.²⁷

Father Carroll was informed by Father Farmer in a letter, dated Philadelphia, November 8, 1784, of Father Whelan's arrival in New York:

A Capuchin friar arrived a few weeks ago in New York. The congregation has received him for a time and allows him, consequently, a sustenance. I warned some of the principal members of not trusting themselves to him without your approbation. He has a variety of very good credentials, which I have inspected.²⁸ I found no fault but his too great presumption to act as if he had legal [i. e. juridic] powers. I checked him for it. He had no other but the lame excuse that your reverence had not yet received your powers. . . . If in your discretion your reverence thinks

²⁷ SMITH, *The Catholic Church in New York*, vol. i, pp. 27-28. New York, 1903. The Italian traveller, Luigi Castiglione, mentions hearing Mass in a *camera poco decente* in his *Viaggio negli Stati Uniti*, part i, p. 177.

²⁸ BAYLEY (*op. cit.*, p. 56 note) states that he was informed that Father Whelan had been strongly recommended by Lafayette before the latter's return to France.

proper to give Mr. Whelan faculties for a time . . . , please to let me know it as soon as convenient.²⁹

Father Farmer was acting in this regard in his capacity of vicar-general to the prefect-apostolic, a post which he had occupied also under the last Jesuit Superior, Father Lewis. "It was a sign of coming difficulties," says Shea, "that Father Whelan officiated without waiting for faculties."³⁰ Father Farmer advised him to apply at once to the Nuncio in Paris for faculties, since it was not certain whether the prefect-apostolic would have the power to do so. This is the first example of the difficulty caused by the "cramping clause" in Carroll's appointment. On January 11, 1785, Father Farmer wrote to Whelan telling him that the matter of his faculties would be attended to at once. The letter is as follows:

Your favour of the second instant came to hand yesterday. A few weeks ago I wrote a letter to Mr. MacReady, in which I mentioned what concerned your Reverence, without writing a particular letter; in which I must acknowledge my fault. I am also afeard, that my letter did not come to Mr. MacReady's hand. After I last [visited] New York we had no small difficulty to find out the letters from Rome to Mr. Carrol. For those I received at New York were no more than a power to give out in these states next year a jubilee; the cause of which is, as I suppose, our having been deprived of it in 1776, when the principal letters from Rome and Paris were at last found out; we also found that, the Rd. J. Carrol was appointed by the Congr. de Propaganda. . . . This limitation puts us to no small inconveniences, and also the people. I have many times thought of y. last Christmass and of your congregation, being sorry, faculties necessary could not be given you. The best advice I can give is to write immediately to the Nuncio at Paris to give or procure y. the approbation of the propaganda; which being obtained, there shall be no more difficulty on that side of y. settlement in New York. In the letters from Rome it was signified to Mr. Carrol, to let them know the number of R. Catholicks in this country; for w. reason Mr. Carrol desired me to request of y. w. number of them there is in N. York. He would undoubtedly have wrote to you; but relyed on my doing it for him.

May it please the Divine goodness to protect and preserve you. I beg to be remembered in your h. prayers and am *Rev. dear Sir*

Your most hble servant

FERDINAND FARMER.⁸¹

²⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-P4; cf. *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. vi, p. 103.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 265.

⁸¹ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 300.

Accordingly, on January 28, 1785, Father Whelan sent the following communication to the Papal Nuncio, Doria Pamphili, at Paris, together with a letter of recommendation from Hector St. John de Cr veco ur, then Consul-General of France in New York City:

May it please your Eminence,

As it pleased Almighty God, of his infinite goodness, to call me, (tho' an unworthy subject) to the state of priest, I therefore endeavoured always by his divine grace to perform the duties of my state; which so far pleased my superiors that they judged it convenient, to elect me Father master of the novices; likewise Vicar of the Convent of Barsur-aube in Champagne, also secretary to the Provincial of the Irish Capucins residing in the same convent. Which places I always retained until his most Christian Majesty Louis the XVI was pleased to call for chaplains to our Community for the sea-service, in obedience to my superiors, and with the inclosed obedience I undertook this mission. After passing without hurt out of fourteen engagements at sea, was at length taken prisoner with Mr. Village, Knight of Malta, in the ship called the Jason, and was brought prisoner to Jamaica together with about seven thousand French-men; fifteen hundred of which being wounded, after having exhorted all the other chaplains being six in number, four French and two Spaniards, to visit at least their respective sick and wounded, they all made answer "they were no longer bound to attend them being exempt of that duty by being prisoners of war." But I judging it contrary to christianity to abandon so many distressed persons, great numbers of them dying daily, by the flux and yellow fever: besides their wounds, I undertook the whole work myself, and by divine assistance let none die without the rites of the Church, tho all the five prisons which were at that time in Jamaica were changed into hospitals, the number of sick being so great in that warm climate, in a word I administered three thousand five hundred and sixty-two French-men; eight hundred Spaniards, and thirty-five Americans, without any gratification. This is a fact that all can give testimony of that were carried in with Count de Grace, during thirteen months, I remained in that island without any other occasion than to assist the dying prisoners.

But passing through the province of New York where toleration being granted of exercising our religion publicly without restraint, where heretofore a priest would be condemned to die for only celebrating Mass or administering any of the Sacraments: which is the reason I find so many here even married without being baptized or any way instructed in their religion. The Catholics here are exceeding poor but very zealous as the major part of them are Irish being not able to build a chapel nor even to pay for a place to say Mass in; had not a Portuguese gentleman made us a present of part of his house for that purpose. I hope Providence will provide for us some other place next May as that gentle-

man can afford it to us only until that time, but I hope God will do what is necessary as poverty is no fault with him, neither do I think it a fault as money is not the object of my labours, but the glory of God and the salvation of the souls. The French Consul Mr St John is a strenuous good friend to religion and advances our cause as much as possible, and introduced me to the Marquis de la Fayette, who zealously recommended me to the Governour and Magistrates, and also engaged their protection in my behalf.

His Excellency Monsieur de Marbois is arrived here which will be additional support to our cause. I applied to Rev. Mr. Carrol who is appointed Prefect Apostolick, by the Court of Rome in those parts for faculties necessary for my mission his Vicar the Rev Mr Ferdinand Farmer, examined my credentials and soon after sent me the letter herein inclosed: which is the cause I trouble your Eminence hoping you will be kind enough to spare me the pains of writing to Rome as work presses and Easter is coming on which is the harvest of the Lord to assemble the stray-sheep lost from the flock these many years past. I have brought over to our Faith (*Deo adiuvante*) a great many of every denomination since I am here. I was surprized to find how easy it is to convince them of their error in this country. I would have wrote to you in latin had I not been persuaded you were acquainted with all the languages of Europe.

Here it is necessary for a clergyman to understand at least Irish, English, French and Dutch as our Congregation is composed of those nations, likewise Portuguese and Spaniards. Submitting these matters to the wise judgment of Your Eminence, your compliance and answer will enable me to perform the duties of my state with more alacrity and bind him under the strictest obligations who has the honour to be with the most profound respect,

Your Eminence's most humble and most obedient servant

BR. MAURICE WHELAN, *Cap.*

The letter of recommendation was as follows:

Monseigneur,

Votre Excellence ne trouvera pas mauvais, j'ose m'en flatter, qu'un étranger non seulement s'adresse à elle, mais mesme se soit chargée de luy faire passer la lettre d'un autre personne également étrangère. Le Rév. Père Maurice Whelan arrive ici depuis six mois, pour y recouvrer sa santé qu'il avoit perdue à la Jamaïque où Mr. le Comte de Grassi l'avoit envoyé pour administrer les malades de la flotte, a été cordialement invité d'y rester par un petit troupeau de Romains Catholiques qui s'y trouve. Sa conduite édifiante, ses mœurs pacifiques et doux ont beaucoup plu aux membres de ce petit troupeau, ils luy ont offert un salaire honnête.

Dix sept sectes possèdent en ce pays autant d'églises décentes dans cette ville, le culte Rom. Cath. étoit le seul qui en fuste proscript avant cette

révolution, aujourd'hui les membres de cette persuasion désiroient aussi en fonder une. Comme Consul de France et comme François j'ay parlé au Gouverneur, au Maire de la ville; on est très disposé à leur concéder un terrain, ainsy que les membres des autres sectes à contribuer, suivant l'usage et la construction de ce nouveau temple. Tel est Monseigneur l'état des choses, le bon prestre Irlandois m'a prié de faire passer à V. E. la lettre et les papiers. Je M'en suis chargé, quoique avec diffidence.

Peutestre j'ay peché par quelques formes, mais Votre Eminence voudra bien me pardonner, en considération du grand nombres d'années que j'ay passé dans ce pays où on les ignore.³²

Father Whelan's statistics, computing the number of Catholics in New York as about two hundred, found their place in Carroll's *Relation* of March 1, 1785, and Father Whelan himself receives particular mention in the same document:

In the State of New York, I hear there are at least 1500 [Catholics]. They have recently, at their own expense, sent for a Franciscan priest from Ireland, and he is said to have the best testimonials as to his learning and life; he arrived a little while before I received the letters in which faculties were transmitted to me, communicable to my fellow-priests. I was for a time in doubt whether I could properly approve this priest for the administration of the Sacraments. I have now, however, decided, especially as the feast of Easter is so near, to consider him as one of my fellow-priests, and to grant him faculties, and I trust that my decision will meet your approval.³³

About this time Father Farmer sent the following report (May 21, 1785) on the New York situation to Father Carroll:

The Rev. Mr. Whelan, from New York writeth to me, that he counts about *two hundred*. I have advised him to write to the nuncio at Paris for a propaganda approbation, which letter of mine, the French consul has sent to the nuncio. But I have learned since, from a friend of mine in New York, that some of our people are scandalized at the gentleman's taking upon him to hear confessions, as I, when there, had told them that he had no powers. He did so, when I was there, that is, he heard the confession of a couple he was to marry. I gently checked him for it, for fear of making him think I slighted him on account of his order. But I see now, I should not have spared him; for an absolution that is null could not have put the couple in a state of grace. I intend, as soon as I get leisure, to write to him, and to endeavour to draw him

³² *Ibid.*, l. c., vol. ii, f. 302-304.

³³ Farmer to Carroll, February 21, 1785, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-P5, cited by BAYLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

out of his ignorance and presumption. *Si Domino placuerit*, I purpose on my return from the iron works of Jersey, to go again to New York, the latter end of April, when as my friend, a merchant of that place, writeth, the Catholics will meet and receive my instructions. I intend to set out from Philadelphia April the 10th, which I thought necessary to signify to your reverence, that your answer containing necessary instructions for me may arrive in good time.⁸⁴

Before setting out for New York, Father Farmer communicated again with the prefect-apostolic (March 13, 1785):

About three weeks ago, I wrote a letter to your reverence concerning Mr. Whelan in New York; but doubting whether the post delivered it to Mr. Sewal, to whom I had sent it inclosed; I found it necessary to inform your reverence shortly, that the above mentioned gentleman takes upon him to hear confessions. I lately wrote to him to make him sensible of the illegality of such proceedings, and their utter invalidity *quoad materiam necessariam confessionis*.

Moreover, I am informed that he says two masses every Sunday, and I suppose also holy days. And he did the same on All Souls while I was at the place, as far as I remember. I intend, towards the end of April, to be in that city; be pleased to send me necessary instructions concerning him, and also a letter to him if thought proper. When I was there last fall, I informed several friends of his want of power to hear confessions; I also wrote the 2d of December last, a letter to one of my acquaintances there with information that no clergyman arriving in that city could exercise such functions unless under the direction or appointment of the apostolic prefect.⁸⁵

Father Farmer's proposed visit occurred before the end of April, 1785, and on his return he wrote to the prefect-apostolic a detailed account of the state of the Church in that city:

What regards Mr. Whelan's conduct, I attribute it to an ignorance of the canon law, through which he persuaded himself, that what he could do in Ireland, he also could do here, and where he saw the necessity of confessing, he imagined to have jurisdiction, though I believe even of that term he was ignorant before I wrote him upon that subject a little before your grant of faculties arrived. His answers are always submissive, and I believe his behavior too; for after I wrote to him he had no faculty to say two masses, he ceased directly. I suppose what made him before take that liberty was the common practice of Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland, where, as I am informed, every priest says two

⁸⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-P6; cf. *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. vi, p. 104.

⁸⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-P7; cf. *ibid.*, p. 104.

masses on Sunday. This is what I can say to excuse him, yet I shall send your letter to him that he may have some opportunity of disculpating himself. His moral conduct is not scandalous. But a number of his countrymen, my old acquaintances, and others do not like him; he is not very prudent, nor eloquent when speaking in public, nor has he the gift of ingratiating himself. Whilst in New York, I several times exhorted him to make himself beloved of the people. He is now going about begging subscriptions (for building a chapel) among Protestants. He is fit for that purpose, and gets numbers of subscriptions. But in choosing the ground for it, he did not consult the abler part of his congregation, but suffers himself to be swayed by a Portuguese gentleman, a great benefactor of his. The congregation seems to me to be yet in a poor situation and under many difficulties. He had since getting faculties only twenty odd communicants, and I had eighteen, three of whom were Germans. When I left New York they were entirely out of place for keeping church, which may partly be ascribed to his want of his taking notice of his countrymen, and of his adhering to the opinion of the Portuguese gentleman. The above reverend gentleman informed me that a Canadian gentleman, an agent from the Illinois to congress, having been there six months, made him a proposal of the revenues of a parish or parishes in those parts which he said would come to one thousand pound sterling per annum. The reverend father showed me even a pass thither from the president of congress, and the Canadian gentleman offered to defray all his expenses. But he declined going at present, being intent, as he told me, to make first an establishment at New York. Another reason might have been, what he heard last fall of me, to wit, that the Carmelite friar, his old friend and acquaintance, was gone thither; another, again, that he having brought with him two brothers and families to New York, he could not well have taken them with him so far. The Irish having written to Father Jones, to Cork, I could not well help to inform them, that he must first have his approbation from the propaganda. An old correspondent of mine, in Dublin, writeth, that though he hath zeal, his education is but little polished. Mr. Whelan thinks that he will not come over, as he is better off, where he is, than he would be in New York. I am sorry I gave Mr. Whelan the advice to write to the nuncio, at Paris; for he even sent my own letter to him along with his papers. He is much backed and swayed by the French consul in New York. . . . Scarce was I arrived there, when an Irish merchant paid me a visit, and asked me if Mr. Whelan was settled over them. My answer, as far as I can remember, was, he had only power to perform parochial duties; but if the congregation did not like him, and could better themselves, they were not obliged to keep him. Some days after, another, seeing Mr. Whelan's endeavours to settle himself there, as it were, in spite of them, declared to me, he had a mind to apply to the legislature for a law, that no clergyman should be forced upon them: which he thought he could easily obtain. I endeavoured to reconcile them, by telling Mr. Whelan to make himself agreeable to his

countrymen, and by telling these, to be contented with what they have at present, for fear of worse.³⁶

Meanwhile (April 16, 1785), Father Carroll had given faculties to the Irish Capuchin,³⁷ and Father Whelan's letter to the Nuncio had been forwarded to Rome. On June 4, 1785, Cardinal Antonelli wrote to Father Carroll, granting faculties to Father Whelan, and advising the Prefect that the *Relatio* of the state of the missions in America had not yet reached Rome. He requests Carroll to send this information as soon as possible, and also to state his own opinion regarding the proposed creation of a vicariate for the United States.³⁸ On the same day, the Cardinal-Prefect answered de Crèvecoeur, saying that the Congregation preferred Father Whelan to receive his faculties from Father Carroll, who had been empowered with this jurisdiction in the United States. The letter to Carroll was sent enclosed in this one to de Crèvecoeur.³⁹ Father Whelan had gained the good will

³⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-P7, cf. *ibid.*, p. 144.

³⁷ Letter dated February 21, 1785, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-F2; cf. *ibid.*, p. 104.

³⁸ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 246, f. 307:

R. D. Carroll Superiori Missionum in Philadelphia. 4 Junii 1785.

Ex litteris R. Ferdinandi Farmer, vicarii tui, datis die II Januarii huius anni ad P. Mauritium Whelan Ordinis Cappuccinorum, intelleximus nihil aliud obstande quominus eidem facultates administrandi sacramenta tribuas, nisi defectum approbationis huius S. Congregationis de Propaganda fide. Per has ergo litteras sciat Dominatio Tua, plenarie ab eadem Sacra Congregatione remissum esse arbitrio tuo, immo etiam commendatum, ut solitas in istis regionibus facultates missionarii, quoad valueris, et quatenus dignus reperiatur, eidem P. Mauritio Whelan concedas, ad quem effectum approbationem suam eadem haec S. Congregatio praemittit.

Hic vero addimus, desiderari adhuc a nobis responsum tuum ad nostras litteras, quas anno praeterito scripsimus, ut de omni statu istarum missionum plenam nobis faceres relationem, simulque iudicium tuum de vicariatu apostolico isthic erigendo patefaceres. Cures igitur, ut satisfacias quantocius poteris his votis nostris; interea vero omnem a Deo tibi felicitatem precamur.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, l.c., f. 346:

D. Saint Jean Consuli.—New York. 4 Junii 1785.

Redditae mihi fuerunt ab Eminmo. Cardinali Doria litterae, quas Dominatio Tua eidem scripserat sub die 15 Januarii proxime elapsi, ut ab hac S. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide impetraret facultates missionarii pro R. P. Mauritio Whelan Ordinis Cappuccinorum. Libenter vero commendationi Dominationis Tuae adhaerendum censuit eadem Sacra Congregatio, sed quia deputatus ab ipsa missionum Superior in istis regionibus adest Dominus Caroll cum facultatibus necessariis et opportunis, idcirco ad hunc remittenda fuit petitio Patris Whelan quod etiam sufficere ex ipsius litteris demonstratur. Hic igitur adnexam Dominationi Tuae transmitto epistolam pro ipso superiore D. Caroll, ex qua desiderio, et commendationi Tuae satisfactum iri confidimus. Interim vero Deum precor, ut Dominationem Tuam diu sospitem, atque incolumem servet.

of de Crèvecoeur who, though not a fervent Catholic, seems to have been accepted as the leader of the little congregation. In their name, on June 10, 1785, together with José Ruiz Silva, James Stewart, and Henry Duffin, the Roman Catholic "Trustees in the City of New York" were incorporated, and during the summer, a plot of ground for a church was purchased on Barclay Street. Progress had thus been made before Carroll's arrival in October-November, 1785, and the cornerstone was laid on November 4, 1785. We have so few details of Carroll's Visitation in New York City that, as Shea says, we might almost doubt whether he actually set out for New York, were it not that Father Farmer in a letter, dated March 30, 1786, makes mention of the Whelan-Nugent difficulty which arose "after your departure."⁴⁰

The remaining portion of his prefecture was that large and almost unknown territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River. Father Carroll seems to have made no attempt to visit the Catholics in this territory. In his *Letter* of February 27, 1785, he makes mention of the fact that "there went to them a priest, German by birth, but who came last from France, who professes to belong to the Carmelites, and who is furnished with sufficient testimonials from his lawful superior. What he is doing and what is the condition of the Church in those parts I expect soon to learn." This is the earliest official testimony we have concerning Father Paul de St. Pierre, the courageous German missionary of the Mississippi Valley. Father Farmer had written to Carroll about the Carmelite friar on July 19, 1783, telling Father Carroll that Father Paul de St. Pierre had arrived in Virginia with the French troops and had written to him, asking to be located permanently in the American mission. Father Farmer replied that it would be best for Paul de St. Pierre to remain with the "French Consul in Virginia." A year later, we find the Carmelite in Philadelphia, where he was furnished by Father Farmer with a letter of introduction to the Prefect-Apostolic, dated October 9, 1784.⁴¹ Father de St. Pierre went to

⁴⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-P9; cf. *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. vi, p. 147; SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 274, note 2.

⁴¹ Cf. ROTHENSTEINER, *Paul de St. Pierre, the First German-American Priest of the West*, in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. v, pp. 195-222), has given us a detailed account of the Carmelite's life.

the Illinois country at the end of the year 1789, and his missionary activities from that time until his death in 1826 have given him an enviable place in the American Catholic history of the Valley.⁴²

Father Carroll returned to Rock Creek in December, 1785, and the results of his Visitation, incomplete and haphazard as his journey seems to us today with our perfected system of church administration, were definite enough on several points. There were more Catholics in the United States than he had believed when he wrote to Antonelli, in February-March, 1785. The necessity of priests was greater than the Select Body of the Clergy realized. Educational needs were imperative. Schools for the education of the children, academies and colleges for higher studies, and a seminary for the training of young Americans to the priesthood, were all badly wanted at the time. There was the system of lay trustee management, which might at any time, as he wisely foresaw, prove a danger to church harmony.

There was above all the necessity for episcopal authority in the land.

The territory covered in the Visitation was not geographically a large one. New England was not visited; the situation of the Church there being too unimportant to warrant the long journey from New York. Nothing remained for him after his return to Rock Creek but to regulate as best he could through the vicars-general of the districts the ordinary routine of church discipline and to await the trend of events. That the chief thought in his mind was the necessity of a more compact canonical rule in the country is certain. His correspondence with Fathers Plowden and Thorpe are proof of this. Father Thorpe's letters from Rome during this period are filled with the question of the appointment of Carroll as bishop of the Church in the United States. In his letter of December 2, 1786, Thorpe says:

⁴² He was at Pittsburgh at the end of the year 1784; at Louisville in February, 1785, and from there wrote to Father Carroll that he intended remaining in Kentucky. In March, 1785, he went to the Illinois country, his name being found in the Vincennes Register, March 30, 1785. Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 272. There are two letters to Carroll from Paul de St. Pierre, dated April, 1797, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8B-C3-4, in which the valiant and interesting missionary says that he is leaving for the French Dominions across the Mississippi. His last entry in the Baptismal Register of St. Genevieve is dated February 27, 1797.

. . . I have often expressed my desire and again repeated it of having an ordinary established in North America; because I apprehend that difficulties will with time increase in that business. You are the best judge of the present humour of the States in that respect, but according to their system of government as it has been here represented, the objections against the character of a bishop are more than against the character of a priest. The difference in the jurisdiction of a bishop in Ordinary and of an Apostolic Vic. bishop *in partibus*, is of such a nature as to be inconsiderable in the eyes of any heterodox government and also perhaps invisible to it. If the jurisdiction with which you are already invested be not obnoxious, its being decorated with episcopal character cannot surely cause it to be offensive while neither the insignia of it are publicly carried, nor publick Tribunals opposed, as I suppose them not to be at present.

If the foreign appointment of priests might necessarily be tolerated until a bishop be established in the country, the foreign appointment of one or two bishops can give less umbrage to the most jealous spirit of independence than a continual foreign appointment of many priests. I did not apprehend the difficulties against fixing a Bishop in the country, to originate from any contradiction of the government, because I suppose that all the Catholic subjects by having bishops of their own would be now closely consolidated in the whole body of the Republick. My concern chiefly arose from the humour of Rome, or rather from the spirit of the Propaganda Congregation which does not easily acquiesce to have bishops in Ordinary established in new countries, unless it be influenced by some powerful court. Without such interest and also well supported, it will be in vain to attempt the obtaining of an Ordinary for North America. If the States would not directly employ their authority in this business they might perhaps suffer its being promoted by the French Ministry, and if circumstances should to you, who reside in the country, show the superseding of each proposal to be prudential, why could not the character of bishop be quietly added to your present jurisdiction; it would undoubtedly be a much desired consolation to all. What I once said of your coming to Rome, was only in supposition of the proposal of an Ordinary being well supported and with security of the support effectually continuing with you here: otherwise labour and expense would be lost. The character of Bishop can be received with much less inconvenience and I much wish to accept of it. . . .⁴³

Father Carroll had also the advantage of Charles Plowden's interpretation of the attitude of Rome towards the problem of completing hierarchical jurisdiction in the American Republic. In a letter from London, April 4, 1784, Plowden remarks that the:

⁴³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-H6, printed in the *Researches*, vol. xvii, pp. 5-7.

missioners in North America constitute the Catholic clergy of your country, and they are acknowledged, protected by the Government. No concordat by the Roman Court concerning the nomination of Bishop exists there, for the Catholic Clergy without allowance of a civil power could choose a Bishop among those agreeable of the ancient canons. I am persuaded that the Pope would not dare to refuse ordinary powers to such a Bishop-elect. All he would require would be a settling of a small revenue upon him. The example of Mohilow is quite in point. The Pope agreed to his nomination in spite of Spain, Propaganda, and the whole party.⁴⁴

These words are an echo of a hint thrown out in a former letter (February 2, 1784) to the effect that Carroll's nomination as prefect-apostolic was hastened by Antonelli for fear the American Clergy would exercise their "right" and elect a bishop "over whom they [the Propaganda] would have no control." Plowden was persuaded that "the Pope could not refuse you the power if you were elected by your own colleagues."⁴⁵ Later, the same year (October 2, 1784), Plowden expressed the opinion of his friends in London that Carroll was to be elected a bishop at once, and he invited him to come to England to be consecrated.⁴⁶ When he learned that Carroll was averse to accepting a vicariate-apostolic, as existing in England, on account of the dependency on Propaganda, Plowden wrote on February 28, 1785:

Do, my dear friend, suffer yourself to be invested with the jurisdiction now offered. Be consecrated Bishop, establish the rising Church of America, fixing a regular and permanent system for its administration, regulate at least the beginnings of the Seminary for the Education of the Clergy and youth of America, and if you cannot in the meantime obtain the erection of an Episcopal See, at least you may then choose the proper coadjutor, who will be readily granted at Rome to so distant a country. Though your age should not require it, you may then retire if you please from the hurry of business.⁴⁷

Charles Plowden was something of a gossip in his own way, but his rumours are valuable today as showing us the various aspects of these critical years in American Catholic life. Carroll

⁴⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-J1.

⁴⁵ *L.c.*, Case 6-J1.

⁴⁶ *L.c.*, Case 6-J5.

⁴⁷ *L.c.*, Case 6-J6.

knew from Thorpe's letter that Antonelli had been very much upset over a diatribe against the American clergy written by Father Smyth and how difficult it was for Thorpe to dissuade the old cardinal from the belief that the American ex-Jesuits were contemplating a restoration of the Society in spite of Rome. Thorpe told Plowden in 1787 that a plot was on foot to send an Irish Dominican to America as a sort of legate from Propaganda. "The Irish friars of Rome," he writes, "are very sure to obtain this post, and the Dominicans are in favour with Antonelli and Borgia."⁴⁸ Father Thorpe is anxious for Carroll to accept anything in order to prevent this intrusion into the American Church, and Plowden writes (July 29, 1787), "perhaps his best reason is that several Irish friars for whom Ireland has not mitres enough are actually trying to obtain from Propaganda episcopal authority and dignity in North America."⁴⁹ Among those he suspects was the Prior of San Clemente, Dr. Concanen. But Plowden wisely adds that this suspicion on Thorpe's part is groundless, because with so many countries eager for an alliance with the new Republic, Propaganda would not run the risk of offending the American Congress by such an appointment. "I ought to have mentioned," he says, "that Thayer, who is now in Holy Orders at Paris, is represented by his French friends as the man to be most proper of all others to be sent as Bishop into America."⁵⁰

The two obstacles to the establishment of the hierarchy—Antonelli's fears of a restoration of the Society and the fears of the ex-Jesuit American clergy that such an establishment would injure the chances of a restoration, were gradually overcome, and the way was made free for Carroll's election. Meanwhile, as we shall see in the next chapter, Father John Carroll needed supreme courage during these critical years (1784-1789) for the task imposed upon him by the Holy See. The facilities of communication were meagre, and correspondence was slow and unsatisfactory. Problems requiring the guidance of superiors were changed beyond recognition when, after months of delay, the official direction from Rome reached the prefect-apostolic

⁴⁸ *L.c.*, Case 6-K2.

⁴⁹ *L.c.*, Case 6-K3.

⁵⁰ *L.c.*, Case 6-K3.

in Baltimore. The Church in this country was made up of small groups, disassociated and of varying characteristics. Ecclesiastical discipline, so vital to church progress, was considerably handicapped by the presbyterian form of government provided by Propaganda, and with hardly any exception the newcomers among the missionaries chafed and rebelled even under the light yoke the prefectship placed upon them. The Church ran the same risk as the Government—the tragedy of self-determined groups unwilling to combine under one head. What was paramount was the necessity of a bishop, and it is in this light that these critical years and, in consequence, Carroll's noble efforts at union must be viewed. The prefect-apostolic was much cheered by Father Thorpe's letter of December 2, 1786, which assured him that the Holy See would soon bestow upon the American Church the more thorough system of an established hierarchy. It was for this reason that Father Thorpe had advised Carroll to come at once to Rome to lay the whole question in person before the Pope.

Meanwhile, as was inevitable in a religious society so rigidly organized as the Catholic Church, the absence of episcopal power, dignity, and jurisdiction gave rise to disorders in practically every group of the faithful in the new Republic. It was about this time, the beginning of the year 1787, that Father Carroll left his mother's home in Rock Creek and came to Baltimore to reside at St. Peter's Rectory. There, from every part of the country, letters came to him by courier and by travelling merchants, as well as through the imperfect postal system, telling him of the growing disorders within his jurisdiction.

CHAPTER XVI
RECONSTRUCTION AND CHURCH DISCIPLINE
(1785-1790)

In an historical sketch of the difficulties which faced Carroll on the morrow of his Visitation, in the handwriting of Archbishop Maréchal, we are told that "the grand misfortune of the Catholic Church in the United States is that there is no fixed Plan of Discipline for the administration of the Temporal belonging to each Congregation."¹ Practically speaking, all the difficulties of these critical years centre around the problem of the lay trustee system, and in practically all cases at the heart of the evil was an unruly cleric.

The first public act of disobedience to Father Carroll's authority occurred in New York City after his return to Rock Creek, in December, 1785. Soon after Father Whelan had been given temporary faculties by the prefect-apostolic, another priest of the same order, and a fellow-countryman, the Rev. Andrew Nugent, arrived. Owing to the indefiniteness in the matter of his jurisdiction, Carroll would not at first permit Father Nugent to exercise any parochial rights; when he learnt, however, from Father Thorpe, that there was no restriction upon his powers, he gave Father Nugent permission to act as assistant pastor of the New York congregation.² Harmony existed but a short time; within a month Father Nugent had created a faction in his own favour among the trustees, with the result that Father Whelan was requested by them to resign and to leave the city. Father Farmer had hinted at the reason to Carroll, in his letter of November 8, 1784, in which he tells the Prefect that the Catholics in New York were expecting another priest, "who is said to be a great preacher (which, alas! is all that some want

¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case II-Q3.

² BAYLEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

who never frequent the Holy Sacraments). He is a confrere to Mr. Whelan."³ Father Carroll's opinion of Whelan appears to have been a favourable one. In a letter to Plowden, December 15, 1785, he speaks of him as a zealous, pious and humble man: "He is not indeed so learned or so good a preacher as I could wish, which mortifies his congregation, as at New York, and most other places in America, the different sectaries have scarce any other test to judge of a clergyman than his talents for preaching, and our Irish congregations, such as New York, follow the same rule."⁴ Father Nugent satisfied his Irish congregation in this regard, but, unfortunately, his talents in that line, as has so often proved to be the case in clerical history, were linked with a spirit of egoism and insubordination. It may well be, though no evidence is at hand to prove it, that Father Whelan, sensitive over his own deficiency in preaching ability, had written to his Capuchin superiors in Ireland suggesting that some one with such powers be sent to New York. Before the middle of December, 1785, those who remained loyal to Father Whelan were in open conflict with the Nugent faction. On December 18, two adherents of Nugent, with his connivance, seized the collection taken up at Mass; and with money as the cause, the first schism in the American Church became a reality.

Father Farmer, as vicar of the prefect-apostolic, had allowed Father Valinière, then in New York, to attend to the French and Canadian Catholics, and the former "rebel" sent him occasional information on the Capuchins' quarrel. Father Farmer writes on December 20, 1785, to Carroll, saying that Father Whelan had disgusted a good many by his imprudence and self-interestedness. "I am afraid," he adds, "nothing else brought those Fathers [Whelan and Nugent] over here, when nobody sent for them: and otherwise their education in such small convents was not calculated for the American missions."⁵ With this letter was enclosed one from Whelan to Father Carroll, filled with complaints against his fellow Capuchin. The antipathy between the two priests was soon known to the public, and the disagree-

³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-K1; cf. *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. vi, p. 103.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

able contest threatened to disrupt the little congregation completely. The trustees now determined to ignore Father Whelan altogether, and thus force Father Farmer or the prefect to remove him. They even threatened to have recourse to legal means to rid themselves of him.⁶ From Christmas, 1785, they refused to pay him any salary. In January, Father Carroll sent three letters to the participants in the schism. To Nugent he wrote on January 17, 1786, urging him to make peace with his brother-priest. The same message he sent to Father Whelan on January 18th. The following week, on January 25th, Carroll wrote a strong protest to the trustees against their assumption of authority in the Church:

R. C. [Rock Creek] near Georgetown, Jan. 25, 1786.

Gentlemen:

I was honoured yesterday at the same time with your letters of Dec. 22, 1785, and January 11, 1786. You did me justice in supposing that the former was delayed on its way or had miscarried; for certainly I should not have failed in my duty of immediately answering so respectable a part of the congregation. You will however readily conceive that this is not an easy nor, allow me to say, a very agreeable office in the present instance. One circumstance indeed gives me comfort: you profess to have no other views than for the service and credit of religion; and as I make it my endeavour to be influenced solely by the same motive, I trust that proposing to ourselves the same end we shall likewise agree in the means of obtaining it.

The first advices of any disturbances among you, were transmitted to me in letters from Messrs. Whelan and Nugent which I answered on the 17th and 18th inst. Both these gentlemen represented the steps taken as extreme and improper. I spoke to them therefore in the same manner in my answers, and the more freely as neither of them mentioned the name of one single person concerned. Having now received a communication of your sentiments, I shall likewise deliver mine with the respect due to your representations, and with the freedom and plainness becoming the responsible and burdensome office, of which I feel myself every day more unworthy, in proportion as the duties and the weight of it grow upon me.

But I must first state to you the previous information I had received: 1st. that the trustees denied having agreed to the articles, of which I left a copy with Mr. Whelan; and which to my best apprehension had been adopted at the meeting I had the honour of having with those gentlemen. 2d, that an opinion was formed and propagated of the congregation having a right not only to choose such a parish priest as is agreeable to

⁶ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 276.

them, but discharging him at pleasure, and that after such election, the bishop or other ecclesiastical superior cannot hinder him from exercising the usual function. 3dly, that two of the congregation (by whose orders I am not informed) on Sunday, December 18th, after Divine Service and in the face of all present in the chapel, seized in a tumultuary manner and kept possession of the collection then made. The first part of this intelligence shocked me very much both because it reflected on my veracity which in this instance I will steadily assert and because I considered the matters then agreed on as right in point of justice as the renewal of confidence, and foundation of future union. The next point of intelligence was still more important. *If ever the principles then laid down should become predominant, the unity and catholicity of our Church would be at an end*; and it would be formed into distinct and independent societies, nearly in the same manner as the congregational Presbyterians of our neighboring New England States. A zealous clergyman performing his duty courageously and without respect of persons would be always liable to be the victim of his earnest endeavours to stop the progress of vice and evil example, and others more complying with the passions of some principal persons of the congregation would be substituted in his room; and if the ecclesiastical superior has no control in these instances, I will refer to your own judgment what the consequence may be. The great source of misconception in this matter is that an idea appears to be taken both by you and Mr. Whelan that the officiating clergyman at New York is a parish priest, whereas there is yet no such office in the United States. The hierarchy of our American Church not being yet constituted; no parishes are formed, and the clergy coming to the assistance of the faithful, are but voluntary labourers in the vineyard of Christ, not vested with ordinary jurisdiction annexed to their office, but receiving it as a delegated and extra-hierarchical commission. Wherever parishes are established no doubt, a proper regard (and such as is suitable [?] to our governments) will be had to rights of the congregation in the mode of election and representation; and even now I shall ever pay to their wishes every deference consistent with the general welfare of religion: of which I hope to give you proof in the sequel of this letter, for I could not but fear, that a step so violent, at such a time and place, and probably in the presence of other religionists would breed disunion among yourselves and make a very disadvantageous impression, to the prejudice of our Catholic cause, soon after the first introduction of public worship into your city.

I now return to the contents of your letters, and observe that after stating some censurable instances of Mr. Whelan's conduct, you desire me to remove him, and imply a desire that Mr. Nugent, as being very acceptable, may succeed to his office. I can assure you, Gentlemen, that I have a very advantageous opinion of Mr. Nugent's abilities, and he showed me very good testimonials of his zeal and virtue. I repeatedly told him as I did to many of yourselves, that nothing but my own want of sufficient authority prevented me from giving him every power requi-

site for the exercise of his ministry. I hoped before this to have the restriction of my authority removed, but as it is not, it remains still out of my power to employ him agreeably to your and my desires. If I am ever able to do it, I will certainly remember my assurances to him. But in the mean time what can I do? Can I revoke Mr. Whelan's faculties and leave so great a congregation without assistance? Can I deprive him, when neither his morals, his orthodoxy, or his assiduity have been impeached? especially while I am uncertain whether his removal be desired by a majority of the congregation? For I have received assurance very much to the contrary. But even if a considerable part are still attached to him, would the great object of unanimity be obtained by his removal? Would not his adherents consider Mr. Nugent as coming in upon the ruins of his predecessor and consequently would they not keep alive the spirit of discord? Upon these considerations I have taken a resolution, which will I hope meet your wishes, as well as every part of the congregation. As soon as I am at liberty to grant them, Mr. Nugent shall have powers from me to act as your joint-chaplain; for the idea of parish-priest is not admissible. He has repeatedly assured me he never will accept of an appointment to the exclusion of his brother: in his letter he says, a sufficient maintenance of both may be maintained. In the mean time he has full authority to announce the word of God, and I promise myself he will do it with effect, especially by including the great duty of charity and unanimity. He and Mr. Whelan will concur in recommending this characteristic virtue of christianity, by their examples as well as advice. Educated in the same school of religion, and connected by special ties to the same order, they will assist each other in the work of the ministry and every part of the congregation will have it in their power to apply to him of the two, in whom they have the greatest confidence. I must not omit taking notice of Mr. Whelan's address to the congregation inclosed in your last. I greatly disapprove it, and shall so inform him. When I wrote the letter to which he refers, I had heard nothing from New York concerning your uneasiness. I lamented that my hands being still tied, I was prevented from giving full employment to Mr. Nugent's zeal; and I must add, for Mr. La Valinière's credit, that when I declined granting him leave to administer the Sacraments to the Canadian refugees, it was for the same reason, because I had no power to do it. Otherwise I have such a conviction of his many qualities, that I should gladly have indulged the wishes of those good people who solicited [this power] and of this I beg to inform him.

[At the close?] of your last letter you make some mention of eventually having recourse to legal means to rid yourselves of Mr. Whelan. This insinuation makes me very unhappy. I cannot tell what assistance the laws might give you; but allow me to say that you can take no step so fatal to that respectability, in which as a religious Society you wish to stand, or more prejudicial to the Catholic cause. I must therefore entreat you to decline a design so pernicious to all your prospects; and protesting against measures so extreme, I explicitly declare, that no

clergyman, be he who he may, shall receive any spiritual powers from me who shall advise or countenance so unnecessary. . . .⁷

The prefect warned the trustees that there were no valid reasons for withdrawing faculties from Father Whelan and that if the Capuchin left the city, they would be without a pastor, since Propaganda had not yet replied officially to Carroll regarding the extent of his jurisdiction;⁸ moreover, he would not appoint Nugent in Father Whelan's place. As to their threat of having recourse to the law, Father Carroll left them under no misapprehension of his action in case they should take a step so fatal to that respectability on which as a religious society they wished to stand and so prejudicial to Catholic interests. An insight into the temper of the trustees is to be seen, in Father Farmer's letter of January 29, 1786, to Carroll. It would seem that Dennis McReady, one of the trustees, had constituted himself the leader of the Nugent faction, and that Father Farmer had corresponded with him in an effort to bring peace to the distracted congregation. The contest had become so bitter that the trustees who sided with Nugent threatened to close the church. Father Farmer warned McReady that the prefect had not the power to constitute Father Nugent pastor of the parish, but the rebellious priest had so far won the confidence of the administrators of the church that Father Whelan saw there was nothing left for him to do but to leave the city. He wrote to Father Farmer at the end of January that he was tired of the contest and that he was anxious to leave New York, if the prefect would provide another place for him, with competent maintenance.⁹ Without waiting for an answer, Father Whelan departed from the city on February 12, and went to join his brother, a physician, who had a farm about forty-five miles beyond Albany. He intended to stay away until Easter. Father Farmer then gave temporary parochial powers to Father La Valinière. The great-

⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-M4; printed in the *Researches*, vol. xvii, pp. 1-4; cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 276.

⁸ HUGHES (*op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 636) states that Carroll received Antonelli's letter of July 23, 1785, granting him ampler faculties and defining the limits of his powers, in December, 1785. Carroll says in his letter of August 18, 1786, that he received Antonelli's letter on March 27, 1786.

⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-M5; cf. *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. vi, p. 147.

est difficulty in giving approval to Nugent, Father Farmer says in his letter of March 6, 1786, to the prefect, "is the arbitrary and ungenerous manner with which they forced poor Father Whelan to depart, who, though he was not very learned, yet was ready to ask and take advice, which, I believe, is not the quality of the former [Nugent]." ¹⁰ A quarrel such as this may seem at this distance of too paltry a domestic nature to find a place in the Life of Carroll; but there was an important juridic principle at stake, and to have allowed the trustees the slightest ground for the belief that they could choose for themselves whatever pastor was pleasing to them, whether or not approved by Carroll or by his vicar, Father Farmer, would have had fatal consequences in the American Church. The trustee evil in the non-German congregations, which was to haunt the Church in the United States down to the time of Archbishop Hughes, and of which the New York schism is the first evidence, has sometimes been excused or palliated on the score that it was the European system of ecclesiastical administration. This explanation sees erroneously a similarity between the system of *marguilliers*, so common in French parishes, and the trustees. What was at the bottom of the evil was the delay on the part of the officials of Propaganda in establishing an authority which all priests and people would have been ready to accept.

Father La Valinière decided also to resume his wanderings, and so the situation, from the ecclesiastical standpoint had gone from bad to worse. Nugent's exercise of parochial rights entailed *ipso facto* suspension, and in the loosely-constructed system of church government under the archipresbyterate of Carroll, the trustees might easily have succeeded in their design of setting up an independent Church if a break had not occurred between themselves and the recalcitrants.

Father Farmer reported to Carroll on April 13, 1786, that dissension had arisen on the matter of Nugent's salary, and that the trustees had given him the alternative of accepting the amount they offered, or of leaving the city. By this time Nugent's insubordination had brought him within the danger of excommunication. Father Carroll probably foresaw this eventuality,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-148.

for on March 13, 1786, he gave a full description of the schism to the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda, leaving it to Antonelli's judgment whether Whelan was to be given faculties and entrusted with the congregation in New York City. In the course of this he says:

I had already done so, and I explained my reasons for doing so, in my letter of February 27, 1785. He was invited by the Catholics there to stay with them, and I hoped for great fruits from his zeal; indeed he spared no pains to make such fruits possible. About the end of autumn, however, another priest of his order and race, Father Andrew Nugent, came to New York from Ireland, and little by little, alienated the hearts of the Catholics from Father Maurice. The latter thought it best to leave the city and to labour elsewhere than in the metropolis of the United States. Father Nugent, however, although a better man for the post (*quamvis videatur illi stationi opportunior*), did not have the approbation of the Sacred Congregation. Hence, either the faithful would be bereft of all spiritual care, or I would be compelled to run the risk of exceeding the limits of my authority. In these circumstances, having read over the theologians on the question, I finally decided that the mind of the Church was to provide for the care of souls and that my authority was valueless, if I could not act in such a danger. Hence I gave faculties to Father Nugent, for preaching the Word of God, administering the sacraments of baptism and matrimony, and the rest, whenever it was necessary. I acted thus, until I should receive an answer from Your Eminence to the questions I put in my letter [February 27, 1785]; and as if the faculties granted me had already been amplified.¹¹

Two weeks later the turning point in Carroll's administration came, for on March 27, 1786, he received Antonelli's letter of July 23, 1785, granting him an ampler set of faculties and expressing regret that any misunderstanding on the extent of his jurisdiction had arisen. This important document has never been published before, and it is here given in full:

July 23, 1785.

To the Reverend John Carroll,
Maryland,

What your Lordship well set forth concerning the condition of the orthodox religion in the thirteen United States of America in letters

¹¹ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite*, vol. 876, no. 13. It is to be noted, however, that this letter remained unsent until the following August, when Carroll adds a page or two (August 18, 1786), advising Antonelli that he had received the important letter of July 23, 1785, on March 27, 1786.

dated the 27th of February and 1st of March has been very pleasing to our Holy Father and this Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. We were indeed glad to learn that the faithful there, although some abuses have crept in among them, which can be easily eradicated by the care of pastors, are notwithstanding this, steadfast and firm in the faith, and that the foundations of religion can be laid so firmly in those American states that the hope arises that some day it will be a most flourishing portion of the vineyard of the Lord. That information was also very pleasing, to the effect that Catholics enjoy the free exercise of their religion, especially in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, where they enjoy the same rights as other citizens. Therefore while we offer the highest thanks to God, the Father of Mercies, we do not neglect to express our great good will towards your Lordship, who has applied all zeal and effort to the spiritual profit of the same faithful; in the hope that under your guidance things Catholic will increase continually, more and more. The Sacred Congregation also decided, as we have told you in previous letters, to appoint meanwhile in those thirteen United States of America a vicar apostolic with the title and character of bishop, and to confer this dignity first upon your Lordship. But if you think that it is expedient, and that it will be more in accordance with the constitution of that Republic for the missionaries themselves, at least at first, to recommend some one to the Sacred Congregation, who might be elevated to the office of vicar apostolic, the Sacred Congregation will not cease to perform what you decide to be the more suitable. Of course, for the future, in order that an appointment of this kind may result favourably, it will be no embarrassment to the Sacred Congregation if those missionaries recommend to the Sacred Congregation two or three of the more worthy ones, from whom it will not decline to select him who shall seem to excel most in virtue and worth. In the meantime, however, Your Lordship will continue to fill the office of superior, for since you yourself have shown that we ought not to appoint a vicar apostolic, before provision is made for proper ministers of the sanctuary, and for the fitting maintenance of a bishop, and since it has been made known from another source that it is well to postpone this matter a little, we will reserve the appointment of a vicar apostolic for a suitable time regarding which we expect to be informed by you. But in order that, while you are superior, every risk of displeasure may be removed from the fact that the superior of those missions can appoint no workers except whom this Sacred Congregation has approved, I have seen to it that a new copy of faculties be enclosed for you, in which this usual clause has been removed, and the power has been granted you of selecting workers, whom you shall judge suitable in the Lord.

As regards the sending of young men to the college of this city, the task of furnishing the money necessary for their voyage has been assigned to the Apostolic Nuncio at Paris. It is my wish therefore that you prepare the two young men whom you promise, of preëminent mind and

strong constitution, in order that finally they may become beneficial workers for that Catholic flock, and, if you can not arrange at least for their coming to the shores of France at their own expense, funds will be supplied by the same Apostolic Nuncio out of the treasury of the Sacred Congregation. Now, you will learn from the enclosed copy what the form of the oath is which is customarily taken by our students, and you will see that the most important part of the oath rests on this, that every student return to his own country to attend to the apostolic service, and that they inform the Sacred Congregation about that situation. If, however, you find anything which in the present state of things could cause displeasure, we are not unwilling to adjust the same formula of the oath for the benefit of the students of those regions, according as shall seem to be the more expedient. On this matter, it shall be your duty to inform us in due time.

Coming now to the faculties which you requested, our Holy Father has graciously granted your Lordship the faculty of dispensing in the case of Henry Spalding and Mary Spalding, in the second degree of consanguinity, and also in the impediment of spiritual affinity, and of revalidating their marriage, after the conditions have been kept which are set forth in the adjoined document. Furthermore, that you may look out for other needs of the flock committed to your care, His Holiness has granted you another faculty, of dispensing in the second degree of consanguinity and affinity for thirty cases, provided it in no way concerns the first degree, and likewise of dispensing from the unlawful bond for the same number of cases in the first degree of affinity, whether by the direct or collateral line, in such a way as you will observe from the enclosed documents, all the clauses and conditions of which it shall be your duty to keep strictly. Another faculty is adjoined to these, namely of celebrating Mass for three hours after mid-day, whenever as you have explained the spiritual need of that people required it. From this you will well understand how great is the solicitude of His Holiness and of this Sacred Congregation for the increase of that mission, and, trusting that your Lordship will abundantly fulfil our expectation, I pray God that He grant you all prosperity and peace.¹²

¹² *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 246, ff. 437-438. SHEA mentions this letter (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 273), and HUGHES, (*op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 635) gives a paragraph, incorrectly transcribed, from its pages. The original is as follows: D. Joanni Carroll.—Marilandiam.

23 Julii 1785.

Quae de statu orthodoxae religionis in tredecim Confederatae Americanae provinciis Dominatio Tua luculenter exposuit per literas datas de 27 Februarii, et 1 Martii pr. el., ea Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, et Sacrae huic Congregationi de Propaganda Fide pergrata acciderunt. Lubenter quidem accepimus fideles istos, licet aliqui inter eos abusus irreperint, qui pastorum sollicitudine facile divelli poterunt, stabiles tamen esse, atque constantes in fide, ac tam firma religionis fundamenta in Americanis istis provinciis jaci posse, ut spes affulgeat florentissimam vineae Domini partem aliquando futuram. Illud etiam accessit perjucundum, scilicet catholicos ipsos libero frui religionis exercitio, potissimum vero in Pensilvania, Delawaria, Marilandia et Virginia,

The status of the New York congregation was not changed by this letter, and Nugent was permitted to continue as temporary pastor of the parish; but the schism was far from being ended. From May until August, 1786, Father Carroll made a second Visitation of his prefecture, and on August 18, 1786, he completed his letter of March 13, telling Antonelli that the delay in his reply was due to the fact that he had been journeying continuously for four months (*quod Emin. Tuae literis tam tarde rescripserim, in causa fuit continua per quatuor menses itinerum et occupationum molestia*). He administered the Sacrament of Confirmation wherever he went and the number of the faithful who came to receive the Sacrament had much encouraged him. It was during this second Visitation that Father Carroll realized the number of Catholics to be even far greater than he had mentioned in his earlier letters (*Hac occasione video multo maiorem esse Catholicorum numerum, quam prioribus litteris memora-*

ubi eodem, ac ceteri cives, jure utuntur. Quare dum Deo Patri Misericordiarum plurimas agimus gratias, Dominationi tuae quae omne studium atque operam contulit ad spirituales eorumdem fidelium utilitatem, pergratam nostram voluntatem testari non desumus, fore sperantes, ut res catholica sub tuo regimine magis magisque deinceps capiat incrementum. Statuit etiam Sacra Congregatio, ut in praecedentibus litteris tibi declaravimus, vicarium apostolicum cum titulo et characterē episcopali in tredecim istis Confederatae Americae provinciis interim praeficere, eamque dignitatem Dominationi Tuae primum conferre. Si vero magis expedire et istius reipublicae constitutioni acceptius fore putaveris, ut missionarii ipsi aliquem vel prima vice S. Congregationi commendent, qui ad vicarii apostolici munus provehatur, Sacra Congregatio id praestare non desinet, quod opportunius fore judicaveris. Certe in posterum, ut accepta evadat huiusmodi designatio, nulla erit Sacrae Congregationi difficultas, ut missionarii isti duos vel tres ex iis digniores Sacrae Congregationi commendent, ex quibus illum decernere non recusabit, qui virtute ac meritis magis excellere videbitur. Interim vero Dominatio Tua superioris munus exercere perget, nam cum ipse declaraveris, non prius oportere vicarium apostolicum constituere, quam de idoneis sanctuarii ministris, et de decenti episcopi sustentatione provideatur, et aliunde significatum fuerit, id esse opportunum, ut negotium istud paulo adhuc protrahatur, nos vicarii apostolici designationem congruo tempore reservabimus, de quo etiam abs Te certiores fieri expectamus. Ut autem Te superiore, omne avertatur offensionis periculum ex eo, quod superior istarum missionum nullos possit designare operarios, nisi quos Sacra haec Congregatio adprobarit, novum tibi inserendum curavi facultatum exemplar, in quo sublata est consueta haec clausula, tibi quae potestas facta eligendi operarios, quos idoneos in Domino judicaveris.

Quod vero attinet ad juvenes ad collegium hoc Urbanum mittendos, demandatum est Nuntio Apostolico Parisiensi munus suppeditandae pecuniae, quae opus erit pro illorum itinere. Expedias igitur cupio juvenes duos, quos polliceris, praestantis ingenii, firmaeque valetudinis, ut proficui aliquando evadant catholico isti gregi operarii, et si illud assequi non poteris, ut viam suis sumptibus aggrediantur saltem ad Galliae littora, supplebitur per eundem D. Nuntium ex aerario Sacrae Congregationis. Quae autem sit formula jura-

veram).¹³ Shea says that the troubled state of the Church in New York was described by Carroll before the deputies of the Second General Chapter in November, 1786; but there is no mention of the matter in the proceedings as published by Hughes.¹⁴ There is no doubt, however, that the scandalous action of Nugent was known to all the clergy, and that it had an effect in retarding the growing opposition to the proposed bishopric. The petition for a bishop makes mention of the necessity for an authority which could effectually control "any men of indocile mind" among the clergy, who might be "chafing under ecclesiastical discipline"; and there is more than a hint in the reference to the fact that wherever this rebellious spirit was in evidence, it was caused by the inability of some to understand that they could be bound to obey the authority of a simple priest.

Before the opening of the Second General Chapter of the Clergy on November 13, 1786, a scene of unusual brilliance in church affairs had taken place in New York City, and from the records which are extant, there were many aspects of the dedication of St. Peter's Church, on November 4, 1786, which tended

menti, quod a nostris alumni praestari solet, ex inserto exemplo noveris, atque propicias, potissimam juramenti partem in eo versari, ut in suam quique provinciam alumni revertantur apostolico ministerio operam daturi, et S. Congregationem de statu suo certiore faciant. Si quid tamen invenies, quod in praesentibus rerum circumstantiis displicere possit, eandem juramenti formulam pro alumni istarum regionum accommodare non recusamus, prout magis expedire videbitur, de quo tuum erit nos opportune commonefacere.

Veniens nunc ad facultates quas postulasti, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Dominationi Tuae benigne concessit facultatem dispensandi cum Henrico Spalding, et Maria Spalding in secundo consanguinitatis gradu, ac super impedimento compaternitatis; eorumque matrimonium, servatis conditionibus, quae in adnexo documento expressae sunt, revalidandi. Insuper, ut aliis gregis tibi commissi necessitatibus propicias, Sanctitas Sua aliam tibi communicavit facultatem dispensandi in secundo consanguinitatis et affinitatis gradu, dummodo nullo modo attingat primum, pro casibus triginta, ac pariter dispensandi pro totidem vicibus in primo gradu affinitatis ex copula illicita, sive per lineam rectam, sive per collateralem, prout ex insertis documentis perspicies, quorum tuum erit omnes clausulas et conditiones accurate servare. Alia his adnectitur celebrandi scilicet per tres horas post meridiem, quando quidem id exigere spirituale istius populi necessitatem exposuisti. Ex hoc probe intelliges, quanta sit Sanctitatis Suae et Sacrae huius Congregationis sollicitudo pro istius missionis incremento, ac fore confidens, ut Dominatione Tua expectationi nostrae cumulate respondeat, Deum precor, ut eidem fausta ac pacata omnia concedat.

¹³ As in note 11. About this time (January 2, 1786) de Marbois, the French Chargé d'affaires, wrote to Vergennes describing the state of the Church in the city, and told the Prime Minister that he had opposed La Valinière's purchase of a disused Protestant church there (SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 283).

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 326.

to soften the harsh impression the schism had created. The chief benefactor to the first Catholic Church in New York City was King Charles III of Spain, who gave one thousand dollars (*pesos*) to the project. The Spanish Minister at New York, Diego de Gardoqui, had written to the Prime Minister, Floridablanca, on September 3, 1785, supplementing a letter from the trustees to the King, and the King's grant is acknowledged in Gardoqui's letter of June 18, 1786. On June 20, 1786, the trustees sent the following letter of acknowledgment and of thanks to Gardoqui:

The attention and friendship with which Your Excellency has had the kindness to manifest the interest which you take in protecting our congregation since your arrival in this State imposes on us the deep obligation of offering to Your Excellency our most sincere and cordial thanks, and reminding you once more how hopeful we are that Your Excellency continue those favours. Your Excellency will kindly allow us to beg you to inform His Catholic Majesty how deeply obliged we feel to him and how great a stimulus it will be to our faith, since His Majesty has so graciously seen fit to grant us his Royal protection, and the precious help which his well-known liberality has had the kindness to send us, our only means of erecting the Church of St. Peter in this city, in which, when finished, we will take the liberty of erecting a tribune in the most distinguished place and of reserving it for His Majesty's use.

The infancy of our congregation is indispensably the reason why its funds are so reduced, and the meagreness of our means the cause of our being obliged to have recourse to the liberality of the powerful and well disposed servants of His Majesty, in order to complete the erection of our church, to which purpose we have devised a plan (which we hope will merit the approval and consent of Your Excellency) of appointing a priest to go through Vera Cruz and Mexico City and return *via* Havana. [In order to take up collections there.]

Our confidence in this measure is very great for we judge it to be the only means of enabling us to continue our enterprise of promoting and adding respect and credit to our faith and Republic.

Therefore we beseech Your Excellency to deign to favour this enterprise with your consent and protection, because with them we are sure of success, and in all gratitude we will pray to God that the life of His Majesty and that of Your Excellency be prolonged for many years to come.¹⁵

¹⁵ *Archives of Simancas, Archivo General, Estado*, leg. 3886, no. 17. A copy of this and of the other letters given in the text is in the *Georgetown College Archives, Shea Collection*, no. 38, envelope 13. The letters were printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 71-77. Cf. *An Early Page in the Catholic History of New York*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 68ss.

On October 26, 1786, the trustees again wrote to the Spanish Minister, telling him that the Church was nearly completed and that arrangements had been made to celebrate the first Mass in the church, on the King's feast day, the Feast of St. Charles Borromeo, November fourth. Gardoqui's letter to Floridablanca, dated New York, November 7, 1786, describes the ceremonies which took place. Solemn High Mass was celebrated by Father Nugent, assisted by the chaplains of the French and Spanish embassies, and Gardoqui sat in a special tribune within the sanctuary. A banquet followed the religious ceremonies, and appropriate toasts were given as we read in his letter of November 7, 1786:

The Roman Catholic Congregation of this city, wishing to give to His Catholic Majesty the most evident proof of gratitude for the great protection and generous help with which the piety of His Majesty has seen fit to honour it, for the erection of its new church, has resolved to adorn it in the most fitting manner and also that the first Mass be celebrated the fourth of this month, which is the "Saint's Day" of His Majesty and of the Prince of Asturias.

For this end it besought the *Chargé d'affaires*, Don Diego de Gardoqui, to attend this ceremony with all his family, and although the church has not been finished, by means of doubling the work of construction the ceremony was performed, and the first Mass was said by the parish priest, Mr. Nugent, assisted by the chaplains of the House of Spain and France, at which was present the said *Chargé d'affaires* with all his family. The Congregation assigned him a place of distinction, which we are assured will be reserved for the Ministers or Representatives of His Majesty in this city.

Great was the joy of the faithful on this occasion, and the parish priest made good use of it, because when the Mass was ended he gave a very Christian exhortation, reminding them of their obligation of giving thanks to the Almighty and of praying for the health and happiness of the Catholic King and the Royal Family. When the ceremony was over, Señor Gardoqui went back to his home to celebrate that memorable day and gave a splendid banquet in honor of the President, the members and secretaries of the Congress, the Governor of the State, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, of War, of Domestic Affairs, the Ministers and Foreign Consuls, and other persons of distinction.

After the banquet the *Chargé d'affaires* gave the following toasts arranged according to the circumstances and customs of the country:

1. To the King of Spain and the Royal Family.
2. To the Sovereigns of the House of Bourbon.
3. To the United States of America.

4. To the Secretaries of His Catholic Majesty.
 5. To General Washington.
 6. To the Viceroy, Count of Galvez.
 7. To the Count of Rochambeau.
 8. To a lasting and close friendship between His Catholic Majesty and the United States of America.
 9. To the army now honorably returning to the plow, that it may enjoy in peace and abundance the fruits of the earth.
 10. That the subjects always recognize the worth of their good Sovereigns and love them.
 11. That the virtues and crown of His Catholic Majesty be continued to all his descendants.
 12. For the fidelity of good government in all nations.
 13. For the prosperity, health, and long life of the August Catholic King and that of the invited guests.
- The guests showed the greatest satisfaction and joy and all ended with the best cheer.

Father John Carroll whom Gardoqui styles "Obispo Católico de este continente," had been invited to attend, but the letter reached him too late to make the journey. Carroll's reply, dated November 14, 1786, is as follows:

Sir:

The munificence of His Catholic Majesty and the noble favours which he has seen fit to grant to the church of New York, united with my gratitude and natural attachment, cause me to take the honor of offering to Your Excellency (as representative of that great Prince) the due tribute of my gratefulness; and if it is not too daring a presumption I would go so far as to beg Your Excellency to convey the sincerest expression of gratitude and respectful veneration which dominates them; and, to tell the truth, the gift of His Catholic Majesty not only will live in posterity by the exercise of our religion, but will be the foundation for other establishments of the same nature.

I hope from the constant prayers of those who enjoy the benefit of the bounty of his Majesty that this great act will merit that Heaven pour down its benedictions on His Catholic Majesty, his posterity and his kingdom; and if to these sentiments of most profound gratitude towards the generous kindness of His Majesty be united the vivid remembrance of the person through whom the effect of the same has been received, then I humbly beg Your Excellency to be sure that I shall never forget how much our faith owes to Your Excellency's active and potent recommendation.

The untoward event which has prevented me from receiving in time the invitation with which I was honoured by the Congregation for St. Charles' Day was deeply regretted by me because it deprived me of the

opportunity of expressing to Your Excellency the great respect and esteem with which I have the honor of being the most obedient and humble servant of Your Excellency,

J. CARROLL

Father Carroll feared at the time that there might be some "malevolent people, eager to misrepresent every action of an ex-Jesuit," and he would not be surprised "to hear that my non-attendance was the effect of disrespect to his Catholic majesty."¹⁶

The death of Father Farmer on August 17, 1786, deprived the prefect-apostolic of a firm vice-gerent in controlling the New York situation, and when the last phase of the schism developed in the following year, Father Carroll had no alternative but to set out in person for the American metropolis. Carroll reported to Antonelli on July 2, 1787, that religious affairs in New York were prospering,¹⁷ and Antonelli, in replying on August 8, 1787, to Carroll's letters of March 13-August 18, 1786, and January 12, 1787, expressed his consolation on hearing that the church in New York city had been opened for services. He gave Carroll the faculty of blessing the new church with solemn benediction, and even of sub-delegating another priest to do so. The faculty of consecrating churches was given rarely, he adds, to priests, but when the time came, the Holy See might confer that faculty on him.¹⁸ The quarrel between the trustees and Nugent had broken out anew towards the end of the summer of 1787, and in October, Father Carroll journeyed to New York to listen to the charges made against the Irish Capuchin. Shea writes:

The trustees learned none too soon that their action in regard to Rev. Charles Whelan had deprived the congregation of a worthy priest and left it to the mercy of a wolf in sheep's clothing. They now besought the Very Rev. Prefect to deliver them from the very priest whom they had forced upon him. They presented such serious charges against the Rev. Father Andrew Nugent, that Dr. Carroll, informed from Dublin of his previous suspension there, withdrew the faculties which he had cautiously granted him only during his own pleasure. He appointed as pastor of St. Peter's congregation, New York, a worthy Dominican, the

¹⁶ Carroll to Plowden, November 13, 1786, *Stonyhurst Transcripts*, printed in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. vi, p. 183.

¹⁷ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. 878, no.3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 250, f. 443.

Rev. William O'Brien, who had already done parochial work in Philadelphia and New Jersey, and was highly recommended by the Archbishop of Dublin, in whose Diocese he had labored worthily for sixteen years.¹⁹

The schismatics now assumed a threatening attitude. Father Nugent refused to yield to Carroll's authority, and an unfortunate scene occurred in St. Peter's Church on Sunday morning, when Father Carroll was about to begin Mass. Nugent began a tirade against Carroll to the people, and the prefect announced to the people Nugent's suspension, cautioning them not to attend any Mass the schismatic might dare to celebrate. Father Carroll then withdrew, followed by the more sensible members of the congregation, and proceeded to Gardoqui's house, where he celebrated Mass. Father Nugent said Mass at St. Peter's in defiance of the prefect. Dr. Carroll then published an address to the Catholics of New York explaining the nature of his spiritual authority and of church discipline. Lay intrusion into the sanctuary he called a fatal dagger plunged into the heart of religion, and disobedience to legitimate authority in the Church would have but one result to the schismatics—excommunication and spiritual death:

Dear Christians, and most beloved Brethern in Jesus Christ:

Before we proceed any further in the service of this day, I esteem it necessary, for causes well known to you all, to address you with all the fervour of charity, with all the concern for your eternal happiness, and all the interest for the honour of our holy religion, which my duty—superintendence over the welfare of this congregation—requires from me. If the ministers of Christ must always feel a solicitude for the interests of their heavenly Master, how greatly must this solicitude increase when his holy religion is in danger of being dishonored by dissensions, by indocility, or the mischievous operation of any other passion; and, especially, if this should happen on its first introduction into a country where,

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 323-324. The letters on Father Whelan's later life are in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9; some of them have been printed in the *Researches*, vol. xxix, pp. 267-268. Father Whelan went first to Crawford, Orange Co., New York; he then returned to the metropolis for Holy Week; in 1790, he was located at Johnstown, N. Y. The same year, he was sent by Carroll to Kentucky, but shortly afterwards he left that mission without the permission of the Prefect-Apostolic. His spirit seems to have been broken by the ingratitude of the New York Catholics. In 1799, he was stationed in Wilmington, Del. He attended the Catholics at Ivy Mills, Pa., and in January, 1800, we find him at Mill Creek, Del. In February, 1803, he was at Coffee Run, Del., and from this last "station," he went to Bohemia, where he died on March 21, 1806, at the age of sixty-five. Cf. *Records*, vol. xvi, pp. 363ss.

before, it was only seen through the false coloring of prejudice and misrepresentation. It is then, dear Christian brethern, under the impression which these considerations have made on me, that I appear before you this day; and that I beseech you to recall to your remembrance the principles of your holy faith, and the maxims of church government, by an adhesion to which nations have been brought out of the darkness of paganism into the light of the Gospel;—and your forefathers, in particular, preserved in their own country, and to the present day, the purity of the faith delivered down to them from the first apostles of Christianity;—they preserved it under every temporal discouragement, and against the influence of every worldly interest.

And how did they obtain this great effect? Was it by intruding themselves into the sanctuary? Did they, did you before you crossed over into this country, assume to yourselves the rights of your first pastors? Did you name those clergymen who were charged with the immediate care of your souls? Did you invest them with their authority? Did you confer on them those powers, without which their ministry must be of no avail? No, dear Christians; neither your forefathers nor you assumed to yourselves those prerogatives: you never plunged that fatal dagger into the vitals of true religion. Too deeply was it impressed on your minds, that the ministry of the word, and the administration of the sacraments, cannot be given in charge but by His divine authority whose doctrine is to be preached, and who has enriched his sacraments with the treasures of grace and salvation. You cannot but remember that, when Jesus was on the point of ascending up into heaven, and to leave his Church under the visible government of his apostles and their successors, he communicated to them that spiritual and sublime jurisdiction which the world cannot give, and which extends itself not over the bodies but over the souls of men—a jurisdiction which can be derived but from God; which cannot be acquired merely under the sanction or by the sole authority of any human laws. To fill our minds with a due sense of the sublimity of this sacred jurisdiction, Christ, before he bequeathed it as his last legacy to his apostles, addressed to them these awful and solemn words, recorded by St. Matthew, chap. 28, and spoke to them saying, *All power is given to me in heaven and in earth.* Having thus brought to their recollection the heavenly ministry which he himself had dispensed on earth; that he had received it not from man, but from his Father who is in heaven; and that power was given to him to transmit it to others for the salvation of the world—as *my Father sent me so do I send you;* John, chap. 22. He thus continued his discourse: *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you; and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.* The apostles having received this commission from their heavenly Master, proceeded in the work of the ministry; they dispensed the sacraments, they announced the good tidings of salvation, and they appointed pastors to the congre-

gations which were gathered together. To these pastors so appointed others succeeded, and so down to the present day, deriving their powers of exercising the sacred functions of religion not from men, but from the same sacred source as the apostles themselves. That the Catholic church possesses a spiritual jurisdiction so transmitted, through every age, is her distinguishing and glorious prerogative; and if it were possible for her to lose this prerogative, she would cease to hold any spiritual authority.

Sometimes she has had cause to deplore the indocility of some of her children, who have attributed powers to themselves which God alone could bestow; and whenever these undutiful children have obstinately resisted the charitable admonitions of their first pastors, and have not soon returned to an acknowledgment of spiritual subordination, they rapidly advanced in the track of disobedience, and completed the course of their iniquity by bidding defiance to the church herself.

I shall not here mention any examples to establish the truth of what I have said: they are known to you, and you had them undoubtedly in your mind, when, on a very late occasion, you publicly acknowledged the just right and power of him who now speaks to you to constitute and appoint clergymen to the care of souls, within the extent of his jurisdiction, and, namely, in this very church. In making this acknowledgement, you did not consider my imperfections or personal unworthiness; but you considered the source from which my authority is derived; and you knew that it could be traced up to Christ himself, the Author and Fountain Head of all spiritual jurisdiction. With this firm persuasion on your minds, you admitted the lawfulness of my delegation and my right to appoint the clergymen to have charge of your souls. You admitted this in a manner the most explicit, and with a zeal for which my thanks are not worthy of being offered you, since you receive those of religion herself.

In the exercise, therefore, of a power so well established, both by our present discipline, (which is protected by the laws of this state,) and by your own admission and acknowledgement, I proceed to give you public notice, that, having heretofore granted to the Rev. Andrew Nugent, during my pleasure, powers for preaching, and administering the sacraments of baptism, penance, eucharist to sick persons, extreme unction and matrimony. I hereby recall those powers; and my duty demanding of me at the same time to provide a pastor for the care of your souls, I have invested with all necessary and requisite powers for that purpose the Rev. Mr. William O'Brien, of whose zeal, virtue and talents for the work of the ministry, I have received the most ample testimony and assurances, and whom I recommend to your benevolence and regard. This is not the time for enlarging on the motives which brought me to my present determination; but I entreat you to believe that it was formed without passion or unfavourable prejudices; and that, if I had not conceived it my duty to act in the manner I have done, my authority should never have been exerted to the purposes of which you were just now informed.

And now, dear Christians, allow me to entreat you to join with united

hearts in presenting at the throne of grace the Sacred Victim who is going to be offered on this altar: and earnestly to beseech Almighty God, the bestower of every good gift, to behold with complacency the living body and blood of his blessed Son, held up and presented by us all to him, as a propitiation for our crimes; and that it may draw down on this congregation every heavenly blessing, and, above all, perfect charity, well grounded hope, and unshaken and active faith; may these virtues rest with you for ever, and bring you to eternal life.²⁰

The trustees received this admonition in a loyal spirit and they placed a new lock on the door of the church to prevent the Nugent schismatics from entering. The following Sunday, the rebels broke down the door and filled the church with the crowd of non-Catholics who had gathered to witness the scene. Father Carroll, who was present with the trustees, attempted to speak, but was prevented, and a second time went to the Spanish Embassy, where Mass was said. He saw now that the schism had gone beyond his control, and he left New York for Baltimore. Before leaving the city, he wrote to Father John Thorpe, on November 7, 1787, giving him a complete account of the trouble. He felt the chagrin of the whole affair very deeply, because Congress was then in session in New York, and thus the story of the schism might easily be spread over the whole country. Nugent had threatened to carry his case to the Holy See, and Carroll asked Father Thorpe to bring his message to Propaganda. The outstanding factor of the Nugent case, apart from its effect on discipline was the slender hope Carroll could entertain in the future that the "volunteer clergymen emigrants to America" would be men of virtue and piety; there was danger in the future in trusting to their credentials, no matter from what ecclesiastical authority abroad. Priests were needed so badly that he could not refuse all who came, and the sad thing was that he was at the mercy not only of unworthy ministers of the altar who left their dioceses under a cloud but even of opportunist bishops across the Atlantic who foisted on the infant Church of the United States clergymen who were causing trouble or giving scandal in their dioceses.²¹

²⁰ This Charge (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9) is printed in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. vi, pp. 184-186.

²¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-M6. Father Thorpe's rendition of the affair is in the *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 353.

The trustees now took the case to court, eventually regaining possession of the church, and with Father William O'Brien in charge of the parish, the schism came to an end. John Talbot Smith says: "They awed the pugnacious Father Nugent into perfect quiet, for he is not heard of again in the parish history until his friends got up a subscription to send him back to Europe in the bark *Telemaque*, some date in 1790."²² The Nugent Schism, as Carroll expressed it in one of his letters to Antonelli, had produced a good effect: it had given the necessary stimulus to the clergy to apply to the Holy See for episcopal government.

Closely allied to the scandal in New York was the trouble which arose in Boston about the same time. In the autumn of 1788 the little group of Catholics in and around Boston was overjoyed at the arrival of a French secular priest, from the Diocese of Angers, the Rev. Claude Florent Bouchard de la

²² JOHN TALBOT SMITH, *The Catholic Church in New York*, vol. i, p. 31. Father Nugent, however, appears after Father O'Brien's appointment, in the documents in our possession. On February 23, 1788, Antonelli wrote to Carroll (*Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 252, f. 732), acknowledging the information given to the Roman officials by Father Thorpe. There was no fear in Rome that Carroll would not be able to control the situation judiciously and prudently.—"Sed cum satis nobis de tua prudentia ac dexteritate persuasum sit, minime dubitamus quin ea quae gessisti jure cauteque, feceris, illudque in hujusmodi negotio consilium capias, quod et ad coercendam hominis imprudentiam et ad consulendam catholici gregis securitati accommodatum videtur." Carroll tells Plowden on March 1, 1788 that he now suspects Nugent's testimonials of being forged—"for Nugent has been detected to be a most infamous fellow, and there is no excess of which he does not seem capable." Again, in a letter to Antonelli, dated March 18-April 19, 1788, the Prefect-Apostolic gives a detailed account of Nugent's escapades, and emphasizes the point made by the recalcitrant priest's followers, that of being a simple priest, acting under the authority of a foreign power (asserere non dubitabant jurisdictionem meam, tanquam a Sede Apostolica profectam, extraneam esse adeoque legibus contrariam). Carroll adds that Nugent has asserted he will acknowledge no authority but that of Christ and of the civil authorities of New York. The necessity of episcopal authority in America becomes more evident every day, and he urges Antonelli to consider the matter seriously. He knows that such a demand may throw suspicion on himself of being ambitious, but the danger of disrupting the bonds of ecclesiastical life is so pressing that silence is impossible. He feels the situation so keenly that he is almost constrained to resign the burden the Sacred Congregation has placed upon him (*Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 363). In the Clergy Petition for the establishment of a bishop (March 12, 1788), the New York Schism is mentioned as one of the aggravating causes of Church disunity in America. On April 17, 1788, Carroll sent a letter to the trustees of St. Peter's commending them for their support of Father O'Brien, who was then setting out for Mexico to collect funds for the completion of the Church (SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 332; cf. *Researches*, vol. xvii, pp. 7-8). Occasional references are made to the Nugent affair in the correspondence between Carroll and Antonelli down to the time of his election as Bishop of Baltimore, and it is evident that the schism had strongly influenced the Holy See in establishing episcopal government in the United States.

Poterie, who had been a chaplain in the French army forces under Rochambeau.²³ On December 24, 1788, Father Carroll gave him faculties, and the new "Curate" announced his appointment in a flamboyant "*Pastoral Letter*,—Given at Boston, in North America, under our hand, and the seal of our arms, the 22nd of February, Quinquagesima Sunday, anno salutis 1789—*signed*, La Poterie, Vice-Prefect and Apostolick Missionary, Curate of the Holy Cross at Boston." This astounding document reveals characteristics which were not common to the Boston "Prothonotary" alone. The initial paragraphs are as follows:

CLAUDIUS FLORENT BOUCHARD de la POTERIE, Doctor of Divinity, Prothonotary of the holy Church and of the holy See of Rome, apostolic Vice-Prefect and Missionary, Curate of the Catholick Church of the Holy Cross at Boston, in North America—to all faithful Christians entrusted to our care and of our spiritual jurisdiction, salvation and blessing in Jesus Christ, the shepherd and bishop of our souls.

We make known to you, our dearly beloved brethren, the wonderful designs of Divine Providence towards us, which, by a course of unheard-of events, has brought us to this city, here to open the first publick exercise, and here to lay the foundation, perhaps even here to erect the edifice of our holy religion. Since the American Revolution, this Divine Providence has brought about a revolution still more extraordinary in the method of grace; and being designated to be one of its instruments in the hand of God, with what sentiments of profound gratitude to the Father of mercies ought we not to be penetrated? But, at the same time we look with awe upon the immensity of the duties to which our office subjects us. The entire knowledge of their extent, and of our own insufficiency, the more powerfully engages us, and ought to incline you also, by the interest you have in the success of the ministry, to implore for us assistance from Him, with whom we can do all things, as without him we can do nothing.

My Lord CAROL, the ecclesiastic Superior of the Roman Hierarchy in the United States of America, did on the 24th of December last, communicate to me very ample powers, for which we have requested, in quality of French missionary, to be registered in the French Consul's Chancery-Office at Boston, to spend our time in this city, here to exercise our cares and vigilance, and to give you all the spiritual assistance in our power. It is for this reason we esteem ourselves, in the truest sense, the servant of you all, since we are indebted to you for our appoint-

²³ GRIFFIN, *Catholics in the American Revolution*, vol. iii, pp. 289-299. It is not certain when Poterie came to Boston; some authorities say that it was in 1784, but that seems improbable, for the Abbé could hardly have kept silent for so long a period.

ment to carry you to God, by our exhortations, by our counsels, by our examples, by our life itself, if it is necessary, to save you all. We do not place our happiness in commanding you with authority, but in serving you with charity; being full of candour and mildness towards every one, to gain your hearts to the grace of Jesus Christ, we ought to be to all a model of works, having always before our eyes the account we are to give to God for you. We beseech you, our very dear brethren, to bring down upon us, by your fervent prayers, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of meekness and resolution, in order that this double spirit, presiding over all our steps, over all our actions, may support us against our weakness, may defend us against all kinds of danger, and be an abundant supply to our own impotency.²⁴

Mass was said for the first time on November 2, 1788, and a brick church which had belonged to some French Huguenots was purchased and opened under the title of the Church of the Holy Cross. The congregation was composed of the French and Irish Catholic citizens of Boston, in number about one hundred and twenty.²⁵ Whatever welcome the Abbé received was hardly spontaneous. Most of the Catholics seem to have held

²⁴ From a copy in my possession. On Poterie's career, cf. *Memoirs du P. de Sales Laterrière*, p. 165. Quebec, 1873; *Gazette de Quebec*, October 22, 1789; CAREY, *American Museum*, vol. v, pp. 414ss. In a broadside, printed sometime after February 4, 1789, in reply to the "false and scandalous aspersions thrown upon him," Poterie's list of his "Credentials," the originals of which are to be seen in the Vestry of the Catholic Church, School Street, Boston," are as follows: "I. His Patent of Sacerdotal Ordination; II. Certificate of his Studies, and Patents of the University of Angers; III. A Certificate of his Morals, by his Bishop, the original deposited in Rome, in the Secretary's Office of the Tribunal of his Eminence the Cardinal Vicar Prince Colonna; and a renewal of the same Certificate confirmed by his Successor, which is deposited in Paris, in the office of the Ecclesiastick Notaries, and the signatures certified by the proper Officer; IV. A Letter and Diploma of His Holiness, in form of a Brief, directed to the same; and of his Oath, in the hands of the Patriarch of Jerusalem; V. A Diploma of his admission to the number of Protonotaries of His Holiness, by virtue of the same Brief; VI. A Patent of Count Palatine, which His Holiness grants as Sovereign in his Dominions, to those he thinks worthy of that dignity; VII. A Patent of admission and reception of Member of two learned Academies in Rome; VIII. Sundry Powers, Permits, and Privileges Apostolick, granted to the same in his abode at Rome; IX. A Commendatory Pass of the Municipal Officers of his native town: Also, another Pass, by his Majesty in Versailles, at the time of his passage to the West-Indies; X. A Patent and Diploma of Knight of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem; XI. Ample Powers and Spiritual Jurisdiction in the United States of America; XII. A Great number of Powers and satisfactory Certificates of several Bishops and Arch-Bishops, and those of the Arch-Bishops of Paris, and Palermo in Sicily; XIII. Authentick Declaration of the realty of the Relicts, exposed in the Church of the Holy Cross."

²⁵ Father Carroll gave faculties to Poterie, on December 24, 1788 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-G3); cf. *Historical Sketch of the First Public Mass in Boston*, in the *Researches*, vol. vi, pp. 19-20; cf. *Researches*, vol. iii, pp. 12-15. A full account of the ceremony appeared in the *Independent Chronicle* for November 6, 1788.

aloof from him, and it was six months before he baptized a child. There were rumours about his former ecclesiastical standing, and Poterie was kept busy replying to these "false and scandalous aspersions thrown upon him." His broadsides are comical; one of them contains a list of "credentials" among them being patents of his election as a count of the Holy Roman Empire and of his admission into two learned academies in Rome. He was evidently an early believer in the value of advertising.²⁶ He came to Boston unprovided with vestments and church utensils, and an appeal was sent through the French Consul to the Archbishop of Paris, with a request for sacred vessels and vestments. The Archbishop of Paris generously sent the necessary objects, but at the same time warned the French Catholics of Boston that Poterie had been suspended in Paris, owing to conduct unbecoming a Catholic priest. News of the man's extraordinary behaviour reached Carroll, who wrote to Plowden on May 8, 1789: "I have been grossly deceived by one from whom I expected much and who opened his ministry in Boston. He is a Frenchman, calling himself La Poterie and procured indisputable recommendations, but has turned out a sad rascal."²⁷ In a subsequent letter to Plowden, dated July 12, 1789, he again refers to his deception in the man. Father Carroll asked the Rev. William O'Brien to go to Boston to examine into the state of affairs of the little congregation, with the result that on May 20, 1789, Poterie was suspended, and a committee of the parish assumed the debts he had contracted. Poterie's mind no doubt was unbalanced. After his departure from Boston on July 8, 1789, he went to Quebec, but returned in December of that year. There is a letter from Poterie to his creditors in the *Columbian Centinel* of Boston, dated December 16, 1789, which states that he will endeavour to pay all the debts he had made. B. A. Campbell says that he lived in Boston as a private individual until January 19, 1790, when he left for the West Indies. Before he left, however, he published a violent attack upon Father Carroll and the priests of the Church in the United States

²⁶ Cf. *Belknap Papers* in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Series v, vol. ii, pp. 110-125; LEAHY, *Archdiocese of Boston*, in the *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, vol. i, pp. 188s. Boston, 1899.

²⁷ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*; cf. *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. viii, p. 102.

under the title: *The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci; or a True and Exact History of the Jesuits*. This vicious work was dedicated: *To the new Laurent Ricci in America, the Rev. Fr. John Carroll, Superior of the Jesuits in the United States, also to the friar-inquisitor, William O'Brien*.²⁸ There was at this time in Boston, another French priest, Rev. Louis Rousselet, who had also led an unfortunate life before coming to America, to whom Carroll had given faculties. It is a sad commentary on the ecclesiastical methods of the day that both Poterie and Rousselet came to Father Carroll with recommendations and credentials.²⁹ Again, the little congregation in Boston had a scandalous situation on its hands, and Father Carroll suspended Rousselet, who is said to have gone to the Island of Guadeloupe in June, 1791, and while there fell a victim to the French Revolutionists. Campbell relates that while in prison he informed the other prisoners that he was a suspended priest, but that in their case, with the guillotine awaiting them on the morrow, church law gave him the right to prepare them for death. He heard the confessions of many and gave them absolution; his only regret being that he had to go into eternity "without having the efficacious graces of the Sacraments applied to my poor soul."³⁰

Carroll's letters to Plowden show how difficult his position had become at this time. In a letter, dated July 12, 1789, he says:

Some time ago I was much pleased with the letters (which were written in the language of an apostle) of a French priest, who had wandered to Boston. I received several letters of strong recommendation, testimonials, &c., all which joined to his own sentiments of submission, induced me to grant him faculties for a short term. He proceeded with great rapidity to open divine service, introduced music, celebrated all the ceremonies of a cathedral, &c., and he proceeded to make some publications which soon convinced me of his imprudence. He soon after discovered himself to be an infamous character, his faculties are revoked, and he now proceeds to every abuse against me, as a Jesuit, aiming at

²⁸ Published at Philadelphia in 1789. Father Lorenzo Ricci was the last General of the Society of Jesus (1758-1775) before the Suppression. Cf. FINOTTI, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, pp. 224-225. Boston, 1872.

²⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-G4; cf. *Researches*, vol. vi, pp. 16-20, 134-135; vol. xxiii, p. 130.

³⁰ An interesting letter from Rousselet to Bishop Hubert, of Quebec (January 2, 1790) requesting information on Poterie's character is in the *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, États-Unis, Miscellaneous*. Cf. *Records*, vol. xviii, p. 46.

nothing in my manœuvrings, but to re-establish the order here, under the title of American clergy. It is singular enough that some of our own friends are blaming me for being too irresolute or indifferent, for not adopting their most intemperate counsels with respect to restoring the Society, whilst on the other hand Smyth, the Abbé, and others, are accusing me of sacrificing to this intention the good of religion. The Abbé has been at Rome, and pretends an acquaintance with Cardinal York, and other consequential characters there; he is exceeding insinuating, and as great a hypocrite in his letters as I ever knew. If he be only slightly known, he may impose, but I am sure that he has resided no where long, without betraying his infamy. I think he has lately discovered such knavery, that I should not wonder at his using the most iniquitous means of pursuing his resentment. Before his faculties were recalled, I directed him not to use, as he had done, public prayers for the king of France in the Sunday service, as is done for our own ruling powers, because a government jealous of its independence might construe it into an undue attachment of American Roman Catholics for a foreign prince. He at first acquiesced in the propriety of my direction, but he now says I forbade prayers for the king of France because the French expelled the Jesuits; and I think him capable of writing such falsehood to Europe, even to his ministry. His name is La Poterie. Luckily the French corps diplomatique here are well acquainted with his character. Mr. Thayer will have much to do to repair the scandals committed by this man."³¹

On April 14, 1789, a few weeks after Poterie's suspension, Father Carroll sent a statement of the case to Cardinal Antonelli, telling him how eagerly he was awaiting the arrival of Father John Thayer, the convert Congregationalist minister (who had been ordained in Paris, in 1787), in order to place the church in Boston under his charge. He mentions the presence of Rousselet in Boston, but already his suspicions were aroused regarding the character of Poterie's successor.³² Carroll's letters to Thorpe reveal the delinquencies of the first two pastors of the Boston congregation, and it is well that the prefect sent this information to Rome, for he had not yet heard the last of Poterie's defection. On January 6, 1790, Poterie wrote from Boston to Cardinal Antonelli to the effect that within a short time the five northern States would secede from the others, where the ex-Jesuits were in charge, and hence the only superior he

³¹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*; this letter is printed in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. viii, pp. 102-103; cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 688.

³² *Propaganda Archives, Scritture originali*, vol. 883, no. 3.

would be able to recognize would be the Cardinal-Prefect.³³ He assails the ex-Jesuits as guilty of intrigue with the Empress of all the Russias in their endeavour to resurrect their Society. It was very necessary, therefore, that ecclesiastically, the United States be divided. "How can a single man," he writes, "who never goes outside Maryland keep control of the 80,000 Catholic souls scattered far and wide in this vast country." He had met a great number of Catholics who never heard of John Carroll. He celebrated Holy Mass on August 15, 1789, in Rhode Island and then journeyed through Connecticut and New Hampshire. The Jesuits, he says, are so hated and derided in the country that the very mention of the restoration of the Society is enough to provoke serious difficulty in the New World. "This turbulent and ambitious group," he continues, "has established a college and novitiate at Georgetown, in Maryland, where the novelty of their instructions and their doctrines is a serious menace to the nascent Church of Jesus Christ in this part of the world." There is one way to prevent "ces orages les plus terribles et les plus inévitables," and that is for the Cardinal-Prefect to appoint Poterie prefect or vicar-apostolic. Poterie then calls Antonelli's attention to the brochure of Smyth. He places charges of irregular conduct against Carroll in Canada and elsewhere. "A New York ce même père a commis des scandales que deux cents ans de pénitence ne sçauraient faire oublier." In Philadelphia, he asserts Carroll was the direct cause of a schism among the Germans. Poterie then asks that Antonelli choose some one from the English, Irish, or Scottish Colleges at Rome to aid him as coadjutor in his vast work. Again he asks to be made a vicar-apostolic with episcopal powers, and urges the appointment of other vicars, who are not infected with "Jésuitisme." The back of the document contains the terse statement: "Fu risposto a di 14 Agosto, 1790, e la lettera fu mandata all'istesso Vescovo di Baltimore."³⁴ Another document of this date in Italian, contains the same general statement, and emphasizes the fervour

³³ Poterie's difficulties led him as early as October 6, 1788, to write to Bishop Hubert asking to be accepted into the Diocese of Quebec; on January 29, 1789, he wrote requesting Holy Oils; again on May 16, 1789, he sent to Hubert a printed leaflet on his school project in Boston (*Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, Etats-Unis, Miscellaneous*).

³⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 376.

of Poterie "che aveva sacrificato i suoi beni e tutto il suo zelo per le cerimonie venerande di quella santa religione."³⁵ Propaganda should realize, the statement adds, that religion in the United States will never make any advance under the direction of the ex-Jesuits. It is this fact which induced Poterie to publish his *Resurrection of Laurent Ricci*.³⁶

From New York and Boston the evil of insubordination on the part of clergy and people spread to the chief centre of Catholic life at that time, Philadelphia. The Colonial epoch of Catholicism in Pennsylvania may be considered to have ended with the death of Father Ferdinand Farmer on August 17, 1786. Father Farmer was one of the most gifted men in the American Mission; in 1779, he was appointed a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. With the coming of Father Molyneux to Philadelphia in 1773, the Church in Philadelphia began its long career of splendour. Father Molyneux saw the assembling of the First Continental Congress, for he lived but a short distance from Carpenter's Hall. He was among the first to read the Declaration of Independence in July, 1776, and though we have no means now of ascertaining his attitude on the question of independence, his silence can be taken as indicative of his feelings; for, from September 27, 1777, until June 18, 1778, when the British troops under Howe were in possession of the city, he sedulously kept apart, Englishman though he was, from all the brilliant festivities and entertainments which stand out so pathetically as England's last and futile attempt to win the confidence of her colonists. Father Farmer, also, was in the city much of the time, and no doubt the two priests found spiritual work in abundance among the Catholic English, Irish and German troops of Howe's army. The participation of Congress in the services at St. Mary's especially at the first public celebration of Independence Day, in the little church on July 4, 1779, must have made a profound impression on the two priests. Father Molyneux reported to Carroll, as we have already seen, that the city contained (1784) about one thousand Catholics, and their civil status was no doubt better in Philadelphia than elsewhere. Father Farmer's name heads the signers of the

³⁵ *Propaganda Archives*, l. c., f. 378.

³⁶ From a copy in the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.

address given to Washington in Philadelphia, on December 13, 1783,³⁷ and his funeral on August 18, 1786, was the occasion of a notable gathering of the social and intellectual leaders of the city.³⁸ All the Protestant clergy attended, and there were present also the members of the American Philosophical Society, the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, and many non-Catholics, who had learned to reverence the quiet, dignified and thoroughly apostolic priest. Father Molyneux preached the funeral sermon over his devoted friend, taking as his text the words of the Psalm: "The just shall be in everlasting remembrance." Among these, he said, was his venerable brother and amiable friend:

Your pious and zealous pastor, who has now paid the debt we all owe to nature, has left us, to go, we hope, to enjoy the reward of his long and faithful labours: he is gone too soon for us, who still wanted his fatherly counsels and wholesome instructions, but not too soon for himself, who had no other desire on earth than to serve his heavenly Master, under whose banners, he had enlisted: and no other hope in leaving it than that of resting in His embrace for all eternity. Thither then, we hope, his noble and immortal soul, delivered from the dark prison of flesh, has taken its happy flight and amid consolation of finding the end of all his views and wishes unchangeably accomplished.

He began his mission at Lancaster, where he resided six years in all the poverty and humility of an apostle. From there he was called to Philadelphia, where he has lived ever since in the same humble and active style, esteemed by all ranks: and particularly revered and beloved by his flock, who had nearer opportunities of knowing his singular worth and merit. His learning and other commendable qualifications soon drew the public notice. Hence, without seeking the honour, he was admitted, by the suffrages of learned acquaintances, a member of the Philosophical Society. To his correspondence with Father Myers, late astronomer to the elector Palatine, now Duke of Bavaria, that society is indebted for some curious pieces of that mathematician in the transit of Venus dedicated to the Empress of Russia. He has since been appointed to the Board of Trustees of the University of this city, but his multiplied immediate functions of another nature prevented him from giving that punctual attendance to the duties of these appointments and from being of that general utility for which inclination, as well as abilities, would have otherwise rendered him well qualified. Such has been the man whose remains are before us; while, therefore, we are assembled to pay our last tribute of our regard and affection to his memory and drop the

³⁷ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xvii, p. 46.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. xxvii, p. 239.

mourning tear on his funeral tomb, let us not indulge ourselves in unreasonable grief nor be sorrowful, like those who are without hope. He is gone but a little while before us and points, by edifying examples and faithful instructions, to the way we must follow. . . . Many will long remember with what unwearied solicitude he acted the part of a tender and vigilant shepherd, sparing no pains or labour to seek out and reclaim any of the flock under his charge that had unhappily strayed out of the sweet pastures of virtue and righteousness, in which he strove to feed and preserve them from every infection of vice and danger of perversion. His fatiguing and extensive excursions through a neighbouring State and various parts of this, in search of little flocks scattered in the wilderness, will be long retained in their minds and preserved in their breasts as grateful monuments of his unwearied zeal and unbounded charity, and as perennial proofs of the faithful performance of the duties of his ministry.

It remains with us, whom he has left behind, carefully to follow in the steps of virtue which he has traced out for us by his bright and edifying example. If we closely adhere to these, you who have been the constant objects of his pastoral care and whom he has always cherished as his "joy and crown, entreating and comforting you as a father doth his children," will reap the fruits of his past labours to your own present consolation and further happiness, and to his joy and glory in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming; and you and your children after you will be blessed in his successors with pious and zealous pastors, who continuing in the steps of so worthy a predecessor, will, it is to be hoped, by labouring with a like zeal and fidelity in this little vineyard of our Lord, bring to perfection what he has so happily begun."

Sometime before 1786, Father Farmer had written to the Rev. Laurence Graessl, a young Bavarian priest, asking him to come to America to assist in the work of ministering to the German Catholics of Pennsylvania. Father Graessl, who was then in London, set out immediately, arriving in Philadelphia in October, 1787.

That same month, there came unsolicited to Philadelphia two other German priests, brothers and members of the Capuchin Order—John Charles and Peter Heilbron.³⁹ Without waiting for faculties from the prefect-apostolic, these two German priests began their ministry. Both were men above average intelligence, and they soon made an impression on the German

³⁹ A certain Paul Millar, of Conewago, sent a letter to a friend in Germany, which was published in the *Mainzer Monatschrift*, in 1785, in which he appealed for German priests for the Pennsylvania missions. The two Heilbron brothers accepted the layman's invitation and came to Philadelphia.

Catholics of Philadelphia and the vicinity. The members of St. Mary's parish desired that one of the brothers be appointed as their pastor, but Father Carroll had already appointed Father Graessl.⁴⁰ A faction arose, and Father Graessl seems to have left the city for a time, the parish being conducted by Fathers Molyneux and Beeston, the latter having been sent by Carroll to assist Molyneux, who was then in ill-health.⁴¹ In March, 1788, Father Graessl returned and Father Molyneux retired to Bohemia, while Father Beeston became pastor of St. Mary's. The feeling was abroad in the city that the German Catholics ought to form a congregation of their own, wherein "the language and customs of the Fatherland would obtain, and their children be instructed in the tongue of their people."⁴² Adam Premir was elected chairman of a German Catholic committee for this purpose, and on February 21, 1788, a lot at Sixth and Spruce Streets, where Holy Trinity Church now stands, was bought. The place at that time was outside the city limits. Premir announced this purchase to Father Carroll on February 23, 1788, and asked his approval for the proposed church.⁴³ On March 3, 1788, Father Carroll replied that the plan, as far as it was conducive to the betterment of their religious life, received his hearty approbation. He was hesitant, however, because he was uncertain whether the new church could be maintained, and also because there might be danger of causing a division between the Catholics of the city. Father Farmer had opposed the separation of his countrymen on racial lines, and no doubt the new church was delayed by his wise and prudent management. After his death, the project was revived. Father Molyneux had warned the prefect-apostolic that "there is and always has been in the Germans a kind of jealousy on account of a pretended preference or sympathy in the Irish in the management of pews, etc." Carroll, who was suspicious that the separatists were resentful

⁴⁰ Carroll to Plowden, March 1-13, 1788, *Stonyhurst Transcripts*; cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 687-688.

⁴¹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 616.

⁴² KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁴³ GRIFFIN has used the most important documents from the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives* on this episode in his *Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia*, in the *Records*, vol. xxi, p. 245. Cf. [Hertkorn], *A Retrospect of Holy Trinity Parish: a Souvenir of the 125th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Church*. Philadelphia, 1914.

of his refusal to appoint one of the Heilbrons to the pastorate, warned Premir that his decision in that regard was final. "Above all things," he added, "be mindful of charity and brotherly love, avoid contentions, never assuming the exercise of that power, which can only be communicated to the minister of Christ: let the election of the pastor of your new church be so settled that every danger of a tumultuous appointment be avoided as much as possible. In any country this would be hurtful to religion; in this, it would totally destroy it. . . . As you undertake to raise your church at your own charge and with your own industry, it is possible you may have it in view to reserve to yourselves the appointment of its clergymen, even without the concurrence of the ecclesiastical superior. On this matter I request to hear again from you as I conceive it may involve consequences to religion of the most serious nature." ⁴⁴ Premir and the committee interpreted this letter as an approval of their project, and the building of the church commenced at once.

Father Beeston opposed the division of his parish and highly resented Carroll's letter to the German trustees. No copy of Beeston's letter is extant, but its general tenor can be seen in Father Carroll's answer:

Baltimore, March 22nd, 1788.

Rev'd. Dr. Sir:—

Since Mr. Bussy's departure, I have reconsidered with all the attention, which I could command, the subject of your letter, and all the events, which have passed, relatively to the German Seceders (if they may be called such) as far as I have been concerned in these transactions; and I must still think, notwithstanding your complaint against me, that when a number of people, disclaiming all pretence to independence of spiritual jurisdiction, request my approbation to build a church, I cannot refuse a qualified approbation of a work, which may terminate in the honour of God. That this idea arose from their disappointment in not gaining Mr. Heilbron, I believe; and that this motive may be uppermost in the minds of some of the most active persons, I likewise believe; but I cannot help entertaining a hope that some of the party have better principles of conduct; and, whether in this I am deceived or not, I can console myself, and I know, that you will, with St. Paul—Phil. 1.17—*Some out of contention preach Christ, not sincerely: supposing that they raise affliction to us; but what then? so that every way, whether by occasion, or by truth, Christ be preached; in this also we rejoice, yea,*

⁴⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 9-N1, 2, 3, 4.*

and will rejoice. Read the following verses, in which you will find encouragement, and the true principles, by which the Society always governed herself, and finally merited superior esteem have followed her in her dissolution, and even increased, if possible. I consider farther, that it is very uncertain, how long the spirit of the Society will be kept alive, at least in this country. I am afraid, not much longer, than they live, who have been trained under its discipline; and into what hands will our religious establishments and possessions fall hereafter, if our proposed school and seminary should fail of success, which certainly is not beyond the bounds of probability? The expense of a Liège education at the advanced price of 40 p. ann. for young Ecclesiastics, renders it impracticable for many Americans to profit by that excellent institution; and even that (without a restoration of the Society) is liable to degeneracy. In case therefore of our own school failing, our houses and foundations will probably fall into the hands of such missionary adventurers, as we have lately seen. Supposing this the case of your house and church at Philadelphia, will it not be a comfort to good Xtians to have another church there; in one of which at least there may be some zeal, some regard for public edification; and this I meant to insinuate in my letter to the German petitioners, when I mentioned, that exertions might be the greater where there was mutual example, etc. Read all Ecclesiastical history; and you will find the best Bishops, a St. Ch. Borromeo, and a St. Francis de Sales, etc., solicitous to multiply Religious establishments. I know very well, that the circumstances were somewhat different, and that, generally speaking, those undertakings were conducted with harmony; but even the history of the Society, and the passage of St. Paul above recited, furnish contrary examples. In opposition to these considerations, you may observe—1st. that I encourage a spirit of revolt and defiance of pastoral authority, 2nd. that I foster a schism, or at least, an uncharitable division amongst the Congregation of Philadelphia.

To the first, I answer, that I have letters from Mr. Molyneux, which I supposed, he had communicated to you, wherein he describes the German petitioners as avowing entire deference to spiritual jurisdiction, and as having taken occasion indeed from my rejection of their application for Heilbron, not to originate, but to renew an idea, some of them had formerly entertained of building themselves a Church. He requested me to answer their petition, if any should be sent, agreeably to his own communication with them, that their plan appeared to be founded on resentment; that they would do well to consult Mr. Pellentz; that the attempt would probably end in ruining themselves and their children. He added, that Mr. Farmer used sometimes to wish they had a Church on the North of the town. In their petition to me, they say, the ground alone in that part of Philadelphia would have made a difference to them of £2000. With all this information, I never conceived, that you could be hurt at my giving so guarded an approbation, as is contained in my letter. You should have been more explicit and expressly marked your entire disapprobation, not only of the motives of the attempt, but of the thing itself.

When their petition came to hand, I consulted my good companion, and Mr. Ashton, who happened to be here; they both said, they did not see, how I could refuse people leave to build a church, provided they did not arrogate their right of making the Pastor.

If hereby I gave them a pretence for triumph over you, it was certainly from not being informed that you had ever manifested any public opposition. Consider my situation: I knew indeed that some of the most respected Germans disliked the attempt; but that a majority of that body opposed it, was unknown to me, till I heard it from you. Could I avoid supposing that advantage would be taken of my refusal (if I had seen cause to give a refusal) to spread the flames of discontent; and to raise a clamour that the Jesuits were determined that no churches should be erected, but by their agency and direction? So far I have spoken in opposition to your charges. I now add—1st. that if you will communicate any particular, well ascertained, and notorious fact of Oellers or others, of a *schismatical* nature (i. e. tending to a rupture of communion with the Cath. Church) or of evidently pernicious example, I will reconsider the sentiments of my short letter by Mr. Bussy, written in great hurry and confusion, as he can inform you of circumstances. If it should be necessary to proceed to the censures of the Church, every matter must be conducted with regularity, and the previous monitions must be given. 2nd. that I shall write to the Germans, as per copy; that their conduct in the affair of Incorporation betrays a spirit very dissonant from the expressions of their petition, etc.; and that if I can make any certain discovery of their being abetted by Messrs. Heilbron, I shall immediately take some vigorous steps with them. 3rd. that if you are quite assured that so considerable a majority as you represent of the Germans, are opposed to them, you ought to lose no time in getting their names to some instrument of writing (memorial or petition) expressive of their sentiments.⁴⁵

The conflict which arose between the German trustees and the pastor of St. Mary's Church and between Holy Trinity Church and Dr. Carroll was to last almost down to the year of Bishop Egan's election to the See of Philadelphia (1808). Holy Trinity is the first national or racial Church in the history of Catholicism in this country, and during Carroll's episcopate it was the centre of a movement which has often disturbed the harmony of the Church down to the present time.

Out beyond the Alleghanies, in the old Illinois Country, where Father Gibault remained alone to care for the French garrisons, difficulties of another sort had arisen. Father Gibault, as Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec, would not relinquish his author-

⁴⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-E1.

ity without the consent of his Ordinary. Consequently, when Father Carroll sent Father Pierre Huet de la Valinière to that district with the powers of a vicar-general, the two jurisdictions, those of Quebec and of Baltimore, came into conflict. When Father Carroll realized the situation, he wrote to Bishop Hubert, on May 5, 1788, asking for information on the subject:

My Lord:

I find myself compelled to ask Your Lordship for some light upon a rather delicate matter, and this necessity at the same time gives me an opportunity to assure you of the esteem I entertained for your character and episcopal virtues.

Encouraged by the favorable recommendations with which M. Huet de la Valinière was supplied by his ecclesiastical superiors in Canada, I gladly accepted his offer to go to the Illinois, and have appointed him my vicar general there. Since he left, I have received letters written at Post Vincent [Vincennes] by another priest named Gibault, who tells me that for nineteen years he himself has been the vicar general in that section of the bishops of Canada. It is about this matter, my Lord, that I wish to be informed, and upon which I presume to ask you to throw some light; especially since reports have reached me concerning M. Gibeau's [Gibault's] conduct which are very unfavourable to him.

I learnt some time ago that your Lordship was dissatisfied with me because I meddled in the ecclesiastical government of the Illinois country. I did so because I thought it was included in my jurisdiction, and I had no idea that your Lordship extended your pastoral care to that region. No motive of ambition actuated me; and if you propose to provide for the spiritual needs there, you will save me from great embarrassment and relieve my conscience of a burden which weighs very heavily upon it. In such an event, my only anxiety would be that probably the United States will not allow the exercise of power, even of a spiritual nature, to a subject of Great Britain.

I have the honour to be, with most respectful devotion your Lordship's humble and obedient servant.

J. CARROLL,

*Ecclesiastical Superior of the United States.*⁴⁶

Michigan was still under the British flag at this time and the two ecclesiastical superiors, Carroll and Hubert, settled the question of jurisdiction in this way: Detroit was to remain directly under Quebec, and all official acts of Father Carroll or of his

⁴⁶ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, États-Unis, Miscellaneous*; printed in the *Records*, vol. xviii, pp. 155-156; cf. *Illinois' First Citizen: Pierre Gibault*, by J. J. THOMPSON, in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 79-94, 239-248, 484-494.

vicar-general in the rest of the old Illinois Country would be confirmed by Quebec, until Rome had sent a decision in the matter.

Bishop Hubert, who had in the meantime been warned by Gibault of the presence of the American Vicar-General, wrote to Propaganda asking direction. On October 6, 1788, he replied to Carroll as follows:

Quebec, October 6, 1788

Mr. J. Carroll,

Prefect Apostolic, at Baltimore,

Sir: Your letter of May 5 having only lately been handed to me, I make it my duty to reply to it and to satisfy you about the subjects of which it treats.

His Eminence Cardinal Antonelli, having learnt that Mr. De La Valinière and the Abbé St. Pierre had been sent to the Illinois with faculties from you, wrote to Mr. de Villars, Vicar-General at Paris of the Bishop of Quebec, to ask him for information thereon, saying that the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda was utterly in the dark in relation to this fact. Upon the report of Mr. De Villars, Bishop D'Esglis, my deceased predecessor, wrote last year in these terms: "By the treaty of peace of 1783, the country situated at the south of the St. Lawrence river from the 45th degree of latitude having been ceded to the Anglo-Americans, and the Illinois being within this portion, the Bishop of Quebec has not sent any permanent missionary there since that time; it is even presumable that the Government would take it in bad part if he did so. Hence things were left as they were until the new order of things. It appears, indeed, that Mr. de la Valinière and Mr. de St. Pierre were appointed to the Illinois region by the Prefect Apostolic of New England. I do not know the extent of their faculties of which they render no account to me; and, as for the rest, I am not disposed to disturb them about it, etc."

Such, Sir, were the sentiments of my predecessor on the subject of these missions. It is true that they are incontestably in the diocese of Quebec according to our original grant, and also that the Seminary of Quebec for that reason long had the right to nominate a superior among the Tamarois, a prerogative which the said Seminary resigned only in favour of the Bishop of Quebec. Be that as it may, I believe it is prudent for us under the circumstances to accommodate ourselves to the new order of things, although I be not at liberty to assent to the dismemberment of this part of my diocese without the consent of my coadjutor and of my clergy. Divine Providence having permitted that the Illinois, etc., should have fallen into the power of the United States, the spiritual charge of which is confided to your care, I urgently beseech you to continue in the meantime to provide for these missions, as it would be difficult for me to supply them myself without perhaps giving some

offence to the British Government. The testimony that is rendered on all sides to your virtue convinces me that the faithful of that section will rejoice to have you for their ecclesiastical superior.

True it is that Mr. Gibault was nominated twenty years ago as a vicar-general for the Illinois country. But since that time the episcopal see of Quebec has twice changed its incumbent without his faculties having been renewed. Complaints of different kinds, especially a suspicion of treason towards the government, caused my predecessors to entertain some antipathy towards him, so much so that I propose to give him no employment for the future. . . .

I received a letter from him this year in which he asks to come back to the Province of Quebec. After the disadvantageous opinion that the government has formed of him, I cannot prudently consent to his return. Nevertheless, if you judge it proper to continue him as a missionary, I ratify in advance all that you may be pleased to ordain therein either in regard to him or to other missionaries now or in the future. Observe, please, that Mr. de la Valinière is a man of very good morals but that, as we have experienced in Canada, his turbulent spirit is capable of causing much trouble to his confrères. As for Detroit, I shall continue to send missionaries there as heretofore.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, with sincere veneration, in union with your holy Sacrifices, Sir, your humble and obedient servant,

✠ JEAN FRANÇOIS,
Bishop of Quebec.⁴⁷

Leaving all these "stirs" in the American Church unsettled behind him in the summer of 1790, Carroll was on his way across the Atlantic to be consecrated. In his letter "in mari" of July, 1790, he mentioned in particular the disturbed condition of the Church in Boston, owing to a faction that refused to accept as pastor Father John Thayer, who had arrived in Boston, in January, 1790. From London, on July 30, 1790, he again addressed Antonelli relating the sad condition of affairs in Boston caused by Poterie. If Poterie had, as he has heard, written to Propaganda against him, it is unfortunate, because Carroll left behind him at Baltimore, all the documents bearing on the case. If it was necessary, on his return, he promised to send copies of these letters to the Cardinal-Prefect.⁴⁸ On August 14, 1790, Cardinal Antonelli wrote to Carroll, informing

⁴⁷ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, I. c.*, printed in the *Records*, vol. xviii, pp. 156-157.

⁴⁸ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 390. These letters will be discussed in detail in that part of the biography dealing with Carroll's voyage and consecration.

him of the contents of Poterie's infamous letter of January 6, 1790, and assuring him that Propaganda did not consider it worthy of attention; but lest Poterie should mistake Rome's silence for approval, an answer was to be sent. Carroll was warned to avoid everything which might give occasion to such charges, and to be very careful in his acceptance of foreign clergymen.⁴⁹ Antonelli's reply to Poterie is of this same date (August 14, 1790). The Cardinal-Prefect takes Poterie to task for his unfounded charges against Father Carroll, and warns Poterie that his disgraceful record in Europe was well known to Propaganda. Poterie was told to exercise no spiritual power in the United States without Bishop Carroll's express consent. The Cardinal-Prefect strongly advised the rebellious priest to leave America and return to his diocese in France—"satiushortatu meo faceres, si American desereres et in Galliam remeares. Deus tibi saniora consilia in mentem inducat."⁵⁰

It is sad to think that Bishop Carroll's peace during his consecration at Lulworth, on August 15, 1790, should be disturbed by these scurrilous charges and that in the midst of receiving his old friends and of being entertained by them, he should be obliged to return to the subject in his letter of August 28, 1790, which carried the good news to Antonelli that he had been duly consecrated. He was happy, however, in being able to report that Poterie had secretly departed from Boston—"quem gaudeo aëro alieno oppressum clam ex America decessisse, atque ita missionem iniquo ac scandaloso operario liberatam."⁵¹ A final mention of Poterie occurs in Carroll's letter to Antonelli, before his departure from England, dated London, September 27, 1790.⁵²

Harmony, however, was not to be restored to the distracted Boston Church under Father John Thayer until 1792, when Father Matignon was appointed to that congregation. The entire incident is filled with significance for one who wishes to make an accurate estimate of Carroll's courage and vision in the presence of these intruders and *vagabundi*, who disturbed the peace of the Church in every large Catholic centre during his episcopate.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 258, f. 497.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, *l.c.*, f. 496.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, *l.c.*, f. 542.

⁵² HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 690.

CHAPTER XVII

(1784-1790)

CARROLL AND THE CLERGY

Two changes occurred in the history of the American clergy during these five years of Carroll's Prefectship. The first was the gradual dominance of the "newcomers" in every section of the country, outside of Maryland. The second was the growing realization of the necessity of episcopal government. This latter development had reached its most important stage *pari passu* with the growth of the clergy problems during the year 1788-89.

There were twenty-four American priests, and two "newcomers" under Carroll's jurisdiction, when he accepted the onerous post of the Prefectship in 1785. Shea tells us that: "The nineteen priests in Maryland were apparently Very Rev. John Carroll, Prefect-Apostolic; Rev. John Lewis, Bohemia; Rev. James Walton, at St. Inigoes; Rev. Henry Pile, Newport; Rev. Benedict Neale, Rev. Ignatius Matthews, at St. Thomas' Manor; Revs. J. Ashton, Sylvester Boarman, Port Tobacco; Rev. Leonard Neale; Rev. Charles Sewall, Baltimore; Rev. Joseph Mosley, St. Joseph's; Revs. Augustin Jenkins, John Bolton, Francis Beeston, Lewis Roels, Thomas Digges, Bernard Diderick, John Boone; Rev. James Frambach, at Fredericktown. The five in Pennsylvania were Revs. Robert Molyneux, Ferdinand Farmer, Philadelphia; James Pellentz, Conewago; Luke Geissler, Lancaster; and John B. de Ritter, Goshenhoppen."¹

As we have already seen, in his *Relation* to Antonelli (March, 1785) Carroll expressed his fears of the danger there was to the infant Church of America in the coming of unworthy shepherds from Europe. "I am convinced," so runs the *Relation* "that the Catholic faith will suffer less harm, if for a short time there is no priest at a place, than if living as we do among fellow-

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 260 note.

citizens of another religion, we admit to the discharge of the sacred ministry, I do not say bad priests, but incautious and imprudent priests." There is nowhere among Carroll's papers an official Clergy List for 1785, but this little band of apostles deserves a place of the highest honour in the history of the Church in this country. The chief events of their lives, so far as they are known, must be sought in various sources, and an accurate account of each one of them is at present impossible.²

The following tentative sketch may be of value:

List of American Clergy in 1785.

ASHTON, Rev. John. Born in Ireland, May 3, 1742; entered the Society of Jesus, on September 7, 1759; was sent to Maryland, where he arrived in November, 1767; for thirty-nine years was in charge of Whitmarsh mission; died February 4, 1815. He did not re-enter the Society after the Restoration.

BEESTON, Rev. Francis. Born in England, June 15, 1751; entered the Society at Ghent,³ September 7, 1771; taught at Liège after the Suppression; probably ordained in England; came to Maryland in 1786; was appointed assistant to Father Molyneux, in 1786; became pastor of St. Mary's, Philadelphia, in 1788. Foley says there is no record of his ministry after 1790, and Hughes states that he survived the Restoration, but did not re-enter the Society. Kirlin says that he retired to Bohemia Manor in 1790, and died there in 1809. He died, however, in Baltimore. He was secretary to the First Synod of Baltimore. A biographical sketch of Fr. Beeston by Bishop Carroll will be found in Kingston's *New American Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 40-41 (Balto., 1810). He was pastor of St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, when Bishop Neale was consecrated there, December 8, 1800, and was one of the managers of the lottery for the Cathedral in 1806.

BOARMAN, Rev. John. Born in Maryland, January 27, 1743; entered the Society of Jesus, September 7, 1762; after the Suppression he re-

² E.g., FOLEY, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, in twelve series, of five volumes, with a supplementary volume on the English College, Rome, and two further volumes (vol. vii, in two parts) entitled *Collectanea or Biographical Notices*, etc. London, 1877-1883; OLIVER, *Collections*, etc. London, 1857. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text, vol. i, pp. 3-7, gives a list of sources for this purpose, and his Text, vol. ii, pp. 676-704 (appendix F) contains a biographical account of the Jesuits who laboured in America from 1634 to the Suppression. The *Researches* (see *Index*) contain much biographical material; there is a contemporary clergy-list in DILHET's manuscript, *État de l'Église on du Diocèse des États-Unis*, which has recently been translated by the Rev. Dr. Browne, of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., and which is now in course of publication.

³ GRIFFIN, *Researches*, vol. xxiv, p. 284, says that Father Beeston was not a Jesuit, but came to this country with letters of introduction from Lady Arundell to Carroll.

turned to Maryland, arriving there March 21, 1774. His name is signed to the Act of Submission of the American Jesuits. Shea does not give his name in the list. Foley says he died in Maryland, in 1794. Hughes quotes a necrology which states that he died in 1797. He was one of the subscribers to Mathew Carey's *Catholic Bible* in 1789, and is placed on the list as living then at Newtown. Thomas says he died in 1794 (p. 24).⁴

BOARMAN, Rev. Sylvester. Relation of above, not his brother as is commonly believed; born in Maryland, November 7, 1746; entered the Society of Jesus, September 7, 1765. Foley says: "At the time of the Suppression, he was studying philosophy at Liège; and, returning to Maryland, was ordained, and became a missionary." He must have been ordained before setting out for America, where he arrived the same day with John Boarman. He attended the First General Chapter at Whitemarsh, on June 1783. Shea places him at Port Tobacco in 1785. Father Boarman was one of the Committee of Five that replied to the Southern District Remonstrance, in 1786. He was present at the First Synod (1791). He joined the restored Society in 1806. Hughes says his death occurred at St. Thomas', Newtown, January 7, 1811. Thomas questions the fact that he was a Jesuit (p. 17).

BOLTON, Rev. John. Born on October 22, 1742; entered the Society of Jesus on September 7, 1761; was sent to Maryland in 1771. His name is in the Act of Submission, and his residence at the time, according to Shea, was Port Tobacco. He was present at the Synod of 1791. He joined the restored Society in 1806, and died September 2, 1809. (Another catalogue gives his death as occurring in 1805.)

BOONE, Rev. John. Born in Maryland, April 18, 1735; entered the Society of Jesus at Watten, September 7, 1756. In 1765, he was sent to the Maryland-Pennsylvania mission. Five years later, August 5, 1770, he went to England, and in 1784, returned to Maryland. Shea incorrectly lists him among the American Jesuits at the time of the Suppression here. Father Boone was one of the two American priests to whom Bishop Talbot refused to give faculties in 1783, when they were setting out for Maryland. He died at St. Ignatius Mission, April 27, 1795.

DIDERICK, Rev. John Baptist. Born in Luxembourg, probably in 1726; entered the Society of Jesus in 1745; was sent to Maryland, in 1769 or 1771; in 1775, was assigned to Baltimore; was a leader in the Chapters of the clergy, and an opponent to the School Project and to Carroll's nomination to the episcopate. He died at Notley Hall, July 5, 1793. He is given as *Bernard Diderick* in the Act of Submission of 1774, and he used also the *alias*, Rich. Hughes is the authority for his Christian names, John Baptist, but he is best known as Bernard.

⁴ Cf. C. F. THOMAS, *The Genealogy of the Boarman Family*. Baltimore, 1897.

DIGGES (or DIGGS), Rev. Thomas. Born in Maryland, January 5, 1711; entered the Society of Jesus at Watten, September 7, 1729; was professed of the four vows in 1747. Returned to Maryland, probably in 1749, and laboured in the Maryland-Pennsylvania mission; was Superior for a term. He died at Mellwood, February 5, 1805.

FARMER, Rev. Ferdinand—*see* STEINMEYER.

FRAMBACH, Rev. James. Born in Germany, January 6, 1729; entered the Society of Jesus, October 19, 1744; arrived in Maryland June 9, 1758. Shea calls him Augustine and James. His name is among those who signed the Act of Submission. Shea places him at Frederick, Md., in 1774. He was shot at several times by bigots. Father Frambach purchased the ground for the church in Hagerstown, on August 16, 1786. He is mentioned specially for financial reasons in the Second General Chapter of 1786. In April 1788, he retired from Frederick. He was a Vicar-General under Bishop Carroll after 1790, and is said to have died at St. Ignatius', August 26, 1795.

GEISSLER, Rev. Luke. Born in Germany, in 1735; entered the Society of Jesus in 1756; transferred to the English Province and sent to Maryland in 1766 (another catalogue says 1769); before the Suppression, he was in charge of the Lancaster mission; in 1774 he signed the Act of Submission, being then stationed at Conewago; in 1780, he was at Conewago, and died there on August 10, 1786.

JENKINS, Rev. Augustine. Born in Maryland, January 12, 1742; entered the Society of Jesus, September 7, 1766; arrived in Maryland, according to Hughes, May 24, 1776 (Foley says 1774); his name is signed to the Act of Submission as being but recently arrived; in 1781, he was stationed at Newtown; his name is among the subscribers to Mathew Carey's *Catholic Bible* (1789). He does not seem to have been present at the Synod of 1791, and his death is given as occurring at Newtown, February 2, 1800.

LEWIS, Rev. John, the Superior of the Jesuit mission in the United States at the time of the Suppression. Born in Northamptonshire, England, September 19, 1721, educated at St. Omer's College; entered the Society of Jesus, September 7, 1740; professed, says Foley, in 1758, and sent that year to Maryland Mission; was at Whitemarsh at the time of the Suppression, his name being second in the Act of Submission; acted as Vicar-General of Challoner during the Revolutionary War; resigned the Superiorship on Carroll's appointment; "a person free from every selfish view and ambition," as Carroll styles him; was passed over by Propaganda for the Superiorship in 1784, on account of "his advanced age;" is mentioned by Shea, as residing at Bohemia in 1785. He died at Bohemia in 1788, either on March 24 or May 24.

MATTHEWS, Rev. Ignatius. Born in Maryland, January 25, 1730; entered the Society of Jesus, September 7, 1763, "being already a priest" (Foley); in 1766 was sent to the Maryland Mission; at the time of the Suppression, he was at Newtown; his name is found in the

Act of Submission; he succeeded Father George Hunter who died at Port Tobacco, on June 16, 1779; took a prominent part in the General Chapters; was one of the Committee of Three, with Diderick and Mosley, appointed in 1784 to petition the Holy See against the appointment of a bishop; in 1785, he was at St. Thomas' Manor; he received one vote in the election which gave to Carroll the bishopric. He died May 11, 1790.

MOLYNEUX, Rev. Robert. Born near Formby, Lancashire, England, July 24, 1738; entered the Society of Jesus, September 7, 1757; soon after his ordination was sent to Maryland, probably in 1770; was appointed pastor of the church in Philadelphia, June, 1773; his name is in the Act of Submission; was still pastor in Philadelphia in 1785; had an important share in persuading the Holy See of the necessity of episcopal jurisdiction; in the subscription list for Carey's *Catholic Bible* (1789), his residence is given as Bohemia, where he had gone in 1788; acted as Vicar-General of the Southern District for Bishop Carroll, and as such took part in the Synod of 1791; joined the restored Society of Jesus in 1806; had been made President of Georgetown College 1791-1796, and in 1806 resumed that position; was appointed first Superior of the restored Society of Jesus in the United States, on February 22, 1806. He died, says Shea, December 9, 1809—exact date being a year earlier.

MOSLEY, Rev. Joseph. Born in Lincolnshire, England, in November 1731; educated at St. Omer's; entered the Society of Jesus at Watten, September 7, 1748; in 1759, he was in charge of the Bromley (England) mission; was sent to Maryland, probably in 1764 (another catalogue gives the date of his arrival as January 11, 1766); one of the best known of the Maryland missionaries, having laboured at Newtown, St. Thomas' Manor, and Newport, before being placed in residence at Tuckahoe; his name is among those who signed the Act of Submission; refused to take the oath of allegiance presented by the Maryland Legislature in 1778, and was the object of a special act of that body in 1780; was one of the Committee of Three opposed to the bishopric; died on June 3, 1787. Foley says he went under the *alias* of Joseph Framback.

NEALE, Rev. Benedict. Born in Maryland, August 3, 1709; entered the Society of Jesus, September 7, 1728; came to Maryland about 1740; his name is in the Act of Submission of 1774; Shea places him at St. Thomas' Manor in 1785. He died at Newtown, March 20, 1787.

NEALE, Rev. Leonard. (Second Archbishop of Baltimore.) Born in Maryland, October 15, 1747; entered the Society of Jesus at Ghent, September 7, 1767; spent some years in the mission of Demarara; came to Maryland in April, 1783; appointed Rector of Georgetown College; elected coadjutor to Bishop Carroll and appointed Bishop of Gortyna; consecrated at Baltimore, December 7, 1800. Succeeded Archbishop Carroll, December 3, 1815. Died June 18, 1817.

PELLENTZ, Rev. James. Born in Germany, January 19, 1727. Entered the Society of Jesus on October 19, 1744. Professed 1756; sent to

- Maryland in June, 1758. Foley (*Collect.*, vol. I, p. 580) says that he "remained until the Suppression in 1773." He died at Conewago, February 13, 1800.
- PILE, Rev. Henry. Born in Maryland, May 24, 1743. Entered the Society at Watten, September 7, 1761; in 1771, he was labouring in the mission of Yorkshire. He returned to Maryland in 1784, after being refused faculties by Bishop Talbot, because he was an American. Died at Newtown, February 18, 1813. Foley says 1814. Did not re-enter the Society.
- RITTER, Rev. John Baptist De. Born in Germany. An exile from his province, he was aggregated to the English Province about 1763. Came to Maryland in 1765. Died at Goshenhoppen, February 3, 1787.
- ROELS, Rev. Louis, *alias* Rousse. Born at Watten, Belgium, November 22, 1732. Probably nephew of Rev. Charles Roels, Vice-Provincial of the English Jesuit Province. Entered novitiate, September 7, 1753. Arrived in Maryland, June 24, 1761; died at St. Thomas', February 27, 1794.
- SEWALL, Rev. Charles. Born in Maryland, July 4, 1744; studied at St. Omer's College; entered the Society of Jesus, September 7, 1764; arrived in Maryland, May 24, 1774. Was Rector of St. Peter's Pro-Cathedral, Baltimore; died there November 10, 1806.
- STEINMEYER, Rev. Ferdinand. Better known by the name of Farmer; born in Germany, October 13, 1720; entered Society of Jesus under cognomen of Farmer, September 20, 1743; professed February 2, 1761; assigned to English Province in 1751; sent to Maryland in 1758, and died in Philadelphia, August 17, 1786.
- WALTON, Rev. James. Born (in Maryland ?), June 10, 1736; entered the Society, September 7, 1757; arrived in Maryland, May 2, 1766; was in charge of mission of St. Inigoes, when Carroll laid the corner-stone of new church there, July 13, 1785. Died in 1803.

All these priests under Carroll's jurisdiction had been members of the suppressed Society of Jesus. Many of them have already appeared in these pages and their names will continue to appear until the end of Carroll's life. It is easy to misunderstand their anomalous situation; and it would be very easy to be prejudiced against them and against their policies, as exhibited in their correspondence and in the proceedings of their General Chapters (1783-1786-1789), unless that situation were made clear. There is much discussion, in all that is extant in our archives for these early years of the American Church, about the old Jesuit properties. They seem to have been over-anxious at all times regarding the preservation of their estates; and, unless the condition in which they actually lived be understood, it is inevitable that

some should read a tendency to sacrifice the spiritual interests of the Church here to material profit and gain into the opposition among them to the educational plans of Carroll and to the establishment of a stricter and fuller canonical rule in this country. And yet such a conclusion would be far from the truth. One thought, one desire, predominated in the hearts of all of them, Carroll included; and that was the restoration of the Society of Jesus in the United States. Whatever might be said of Jesuit life and Jesuit activity in the old world, there was nothing in the lives of these pioneers of the Cross in America but hardships, privations, and sacrifices. All of them had received an education second to none in Europe. They were mostly from well-to-do families in the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania or from good European stock. Their very profession in the Society was equivalent to high social and intellectual standing in centres like Liège, Paris, London and Rome. Harassed by penal restrictions in the colonies, always keenly sensitive of the bigotry that was ever latent and oftentimes evident in the colonial life around them, with their flocks scattered and timorous of Protestant neighbours to whom the laws on the statute books gave a medley of ways of disturbing their religious peace, they bore the brunt of the struggle for the Faith with a tactfulness and a courage remarkable in Christian history. As the years gathered upon the little Society in the colonies, good and pious Catholics made them beneficiaries in their wills, bequeathing to them land, cattle, and money for the purpose of keeping the Faith alive in the American mission. In the Catholic Church such bequests take on a sacred character. Their purpose becomes sacrosanct, and it is the solemn duty of those in charge of such estates to guard them from misappropriation or misapplication. All in all, the Jesuits in 1785 did not possess much of this world's goods, but it was sufficient to provide a comfortable maintenance to the missionaries and to carry out many charitable and educational works besides. One thing alone would have solved every difficulty in the Church at that time; would have resurrected the old spiritual power of the Superior which had been sufficient to keep the Church ever progressing; would have given them heart to have a novitiate, however small, begun at home for the continuance of the labourers in the American vineyard; and with extra-

sacerdotal powers, such as the power of Confirmation, would have enabled them to go on for a decade or more successfully withstanding the danger of loss from within and the danger of suppression from without—and that was the restoration of the Society. One group never lost its hope that the restoration was always near. Another group, of which Carroll was one, hoped as strongly for the restoration, but felt that the temper of things being as they were, they had to be up and doing, by consolidating themselves and their estates under a recognized chief. Delay was dangerous, and no one saw the dangers in delay more clearly than Carroll himself.

These dangers touched particularly the preservation of the old Jesuit property. The fact that the priests were not (1785) incorporated under the law of Maryland was a constant source of worry, and Carroll makes frequent mention in his letters to Antonelli of the progress they were making in this regard. Carroll's *Plan of Organization* (1782) states quite frankly that the meeting of the clergy that he recommended, and which took place at Whitemarsh the following year, had as its object and end, "the preservation of the Catholic clergy's estates from alienation, waste and misapplication." Such an incorporation, he points out, would enable them to obtain more priests for the missions and to found other churches. Moreover, it would be a means of controlling the labourers of the vineyard in such a way that no man should eat "the bread of idleness." Before the Suppression, incorporation as a body was not necessary, even though it had been possible under the law, because everything was "conducted smoothly under the government of our Superiors, [and] we did not trouble ourselves with considering the many checks and restraints provided by the Constitutions against any abuse of power." But the present generation of priests would soon be gone, and with the Society no longer existing, provision must be made—the sooner, the better—for the future. Carroll's view of the Chapter Meeting of 1783-84 was that by incorporating themselves into a body, they would not only preserve the properties from mismanagement but would also establish regulations "tending to perpetuate a succession of labourers in this vineyard, to preserve their morals, to prevent idleness, and to secure an

equitable and frugal administration of our temporals.”⁵ The field for work he calls immense, and he saw “innumerable Roman Catholics” who would go out into the new regions bordering in the Mississippi, and “impatiently clamorous for clergymen to attend them.” Hence, the way was clear: either accept all the newcomers who would enter the country, or establish a college “for the education of youth, which might at the same time be a seminary for future clergymen.” So far as the newcomers were concerned, Carroll and his fellow-priests were glad to welcome worthy priests, but their experience, even before the opening of the First General Chapter in June, 1783, had not been a felicitous or encouraging one. Fathers Whelan and Nugent, the first two newcomers to be employed in the missions, had set the whole country discussing the shame of their invidious quarreling. And certainly, Carroll’s experience with the newcomers, with hardly more than a few exceptions, was not conducive to seeing, in their multiplication, a solution of the problem of clergy scarcity.

It is for this reason that these years of Carroll’s superiorship over the Church in the United States have all the appearance of a highly complicated misunderstanding all around. The unfortunate limitation of his powers, blunder as it was, and by no means made, as he found out later, with the knowledge of the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda, only heightened the feeling of uneasiness that the Roman officials were simply postponing the confiscation of their estates. Father Carroll had been very outspoken in this matter, as we have already seen; and the guarded way he describes the property in his *Letter* and *Relation* is in accord with this sentiment. They all recognized the grave obligation of providing for a succession of labourers, and hence the necessity of protecting the old Jesuit property from mismanagement and misapplication by one of their own, from mortmain proceedings by a none too favorable State legislature, and from seizure by outside agencies. Among these outside agencies, the fear of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide predominated.

The infant Church was not left in peace in these earliest days of its organization. Troubled by the lack of legal protection for the church property in their possession, the little band of priests, while not suffering any appreciable temporal disadvantage

⁵ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 610-614.

in having been members of a suppressed Society, were soon to experience that bitterest of trials—calumnies from those of their own calling. Two of these deserve special mention here if only because of their unprincipled charges. The first is that by the Rev. Patrick Smyth, in a book entitled: *The Present State of the Catholic Missions conducted by the Ex-Jesuits in North America*, published at Dublin, in 1788. Father Smyth was parish-priest of Dunboyne, at the time of Bishop Butler's defection in 1787. Taking advantage of some family matters in America, he resigned his parish and came to the United States. He was stationed in the fall of 1787 at Frederick, Maryland, succeeding Father Frambach. On March 15, 1788, he wrote to Father Carroll saying that he intended to come to Baltimore, to resign his faculties and to return to Ireland. In this letter, asking for an *Exeat*, Smyth says: "Not a step do I go but I meet with some fresh token of your liberality; but the load is become so heavy, that I cannot possibly bear it. I will run away. That, you will say, is ungenerous and cowardly. I cannot help it. I must go back to Ireland. . . . I will resign my faculties into your hands and return to Europe with a deep sense of your many kindnesses."⁶ Then follows a paragraph on the discourtesy shown to him when he visited the houses of the "English" Catholics in his mission. They did not hesitate to show him that he was unwelcome because of his Irish parentage and education. In this respect Smyth names personally, Mr. Henry Darnall, Carroll's relation, who was particularly inhospitable. Father Carroll answered this letter on April 8, 1788, from Rock Creek, telling the sensitive priest that he had undoubtedly taken offense without cause;⁷ but Smyth's mind was made up on the question and he came to Baltimore, where Father Carroll entertained him for a month before he sailed for Europe. After his departure, a letter penned by Smyth for a Mr. Robert Welsh, of Fells Point, but unmistakably written for Carroll's eyes, was handed to the prefect-apostolic:

Dear Sir:

Just on the point of parting with our pilot and going to sea, I beg leave once more to salute you, and to thank you for your civility. The

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8B-G6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Case 9-S10.

letter which I left in the care of Mr. McGrath for you, will open to your mind a singular scene: Such a one as I certainly never would have noticed, were it not for the great cause which is concerned. Within the narrow circle of my own acquaintance I know six or seven priests, who would willingly undertake to relieve their suffering brethren in America, and who are deterred from coming hither, because they know too well the partiality which exists in favour of a certain description of ecclesiastics [the Jesuits]. Much gratitude is due to the Jesuits, who have in America, and indeed everywhere else, been at once an ornament and a firm pillar of the church and as an individual who venerates their ashes, I sincerely wish for their restoration. But shall the good of religion be neglected, until that event, however desirable takes place? This is not the language of sedition. If I were so inclined, it is to Mr. Ryan, and not to Mr. Welsh, I would thus open my mind.

It has been industriously circulated in America, that the Irish *secular* clergy would crowd to this country, to make their fortunes. Those who for sinister views have propagated the report, know very little of our clergy, or knowing it, they have foully misrepresented them. It was not by seeking the good things of this life, that the Irish clergy have preserved their country from perversion, in spite of the combined efforts of misery and persecution.

I intended to fill up the remainder of this bad paper, but the pilot's boat is in waiting. I must therefore bid you farewell; wishing you from my heart every happiness, I remain

Dear Sir, Your friend and servant,

6th May, 1788.

SMYTH.

On reading this letter, Carroll realized that the American Church had unconsciously harboured its first dangerous enemy. He feared that all the stirs and squabbles, the violent pamphleteering and the vicious personal attacks which had disgraced the Jesuit-Secular controversy in England on this very charge of retaining the best places for themselves and of regarding the Irish clergy as mere labourers in the vineyard, would be transferred to the United States. And the truth is that only the wisdom of Archbishop Troy saved the American Church from this plague. The *Present State* contained nothing new to those who were familiar with the conflict in England, but Father Carroll

felt sensibly the prejudice this virulent pamphlet would create among the clergy of Ireland, to which body he looked for priests to minister to their countrymen already emigrating in large numbers to America. He resolved to prepare a reply, and actually began one. The rough unfinished draft still exists, but letters from Archbishop Troy and other

members of the hierarchy in Ireland, as well as from priests, who advised him to take no notice of it, induced him to lay aside his projected answer. Smyth's turbulent character was not unknown in Ireland; he was soon involved in a controversy with Dr. Plunkett, Bishop of Meath, and when after some years he submitted and obtained a parish, he almost immediately became embroiled with his curate.⁸

In a letter to the most prominent Irish priest in America at the time, Father William O'Brien, O. P., dated May 10, 1788, Father Carroll replied to the insidious charge that ex-Jesuits were keeping all the lucrative missions for themselves:

Mr. Smyth who has left us about eight days ago, left ten dollars with Mr. Sewall for his Brs. expenses of which he informed you. The gentleman's insincere and dark manoeuvres have come to light since his departure. I gave you notice before, that some circumstances made me fear, he was a prey to suspicion. He wrote me a letter late in March and frequently before acknowledging with the most forcible expressions his grateful sense for the utmost generosity and tender regard, with which he had been treated ever since coming to America; he was with Mr. Sewall and Self, near four weeks waiting for a passage to Dublin, and no attention, I am sure, was wanting for him. On hearing accidentally some conversation in town (which I am convinced was occasioned by him) I brought the gentleman who retailed the conversation, to my house and told Mr. Smyth, what that gentleman and another had said of Smyth's being compelled by bad usage to quit America; and desired him as an honest man, to speak the sentiments of his heart before them. Upon which Smyth repeated, what he had often said to me before, that he was shocked that such reports should be spread; that it was impossible that he would have been treated with more openness and generosity, and enumerated many instances to prove it. Such was his language whenever I called on him. Will you believe after this that this darkman, whose character shall follow him to Ireland, left a letter behind him full of the most groundless insinuations, and betraying a heart so treacherous that I should be afraid of ever placing myself in his power; and that after saying to every person with whom he conversed, that he came not to America to stay in it but only to reclaim his Br., he has now the effrontery to say that he leaves it because he finds that every Priest who has not been a Regular is considered as an intruder.⁹

Father Carroll wrote to Archbishop Troy on August 11, 1788, stating that Father O'Brien had already written to Dublin an account of Smyth's unaccountable conduct.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 311.

⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-S1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. xiii, pp. 44-47.

I should remain perfectly easy in the self-conviction of having afforded him no cause of dissatisfaction, but quite the contrary; were it not that misrepresentation may deprive this country of the services of some valuable assistance from Ireland. To prevent this, I have written fully to a gentleman of your city, Mr. Mulcalie, whom Mr. O'Brien recommended to me, and with whose character he made me acquainted. I shall desire him to communicate the contents to your Lordship, that you may be convinced, with how little candour Mr. S—— has conducted himself in this business, and that no impressions may be received as if I were not disposed to give employment to as many virtuous and well-informed clergymen as a maintenance can be procured for. But one thing must be fully impressed on their minds, that no pecuniary prospects or worldly comforts must enter into the motives for their crossing the Atlantic to this country. They will find themselves much disappointed. Labour, hardships of every kind, coarse living, and particularly great scarcity of wine (especially out of the towns) must be borne with. Sobriety in drink is expected from clergymen to a great degree. That which in many parts of Europe would be esteemed no more than a cheerful and allowable enjoyment of a friendly company, would be regarded here in our clergy as an unbecoming excess. Your Lordship will excuse this detail, and know how to ascribe it to its proper motive, that gentlemen applying to come to this country may know what to expect.¹⁰

In January, 1789, Carroll received a copy of Smyth's *Present State* from a Philadelphia publisher, and immediately began the preparation of a reply. The following month, Archbishop Troy wrote saying that it was his opinion and that of his colleagues that the most prudent thing for Carroll was not to answer Smyth's diatribe. Carroll sent a reply to this letter from Dumfries, Va., on July 2, 1789, in which he said that he would draw up a few observations on Smyth's book "for your reading and that of those other Rev. Prelates who have, in a manner so obliging, prevented the intended bad effects of the malicious publication."¹¹

Father Carroll's answer to Smyth is still extant, in the original rough copy, in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives.¹² Some of

¹⁰ Printed in MORAN, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. iii, p. 505. Dublin, 1884 (From the *Dublin Archiepiscopal Archives*).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 504; cf. *Researches*, vol. xiii, p. 158.

¹² Special, Case 6-A1. Printed in the *Researches*, vol. xxii, pp. 194-205. There is little originality in Smyth's pamphlet. The accusations are as old as the controversies centering around Robert Persons, and the geographical descriptions are taken bodily from a work by an author of the same name—J. F. D. SMITH, *A Tour in the United States of America*, two volumes. Dublin, 1784. In vol. i, pp. 114-115,

its paragraphs are worthy of the attention of present-day readers. Though never published, in deference to Archbishop Troy's wishes, Carroll's uncorrected reply is a valuable contemporary source for the state of the Church at this time.

The following pages will be written for the sake of those only who delight more in truth than slander; and who feeling themselves interested in the cause of Religion, think no information beneath their notice, which tends to illustrate its history. When the ministers of the Church are publicly accused of pursuing a system of iniquitous policy, instead of promoting the interests of virtue, the imputation recoils generally on Religion itself. If the imputation be calumnious, the calumny raised against them receives aggravation from the circumstances of its eventually bringing scandal on the cause, with which their reputations are so nearly connected, and the gradation of guilt will be carried much higher, if a Clergymen himself by traducing his Brethren, essentially injure the credit of that sacred cause which he is bound to protect.

Nor is he less guilty who sacrifices to the preservation of some selfish and local interest the happiness of numerous Christians and the extension of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and for the sake of a particular body of men, to screen them from deserved infamy, and to secure to them an exclusive enjoyment of ease and plenty, refuses to receive fellow-labourers in the vineyard, while he himself with the companions of his indolence beholds it overrun with thorns and briars. Estimating his duty by these principles, the writer of these lines conceives it incumbent on him to assert the honour of Religion by repelling unmerited attacks on its ministers. He will be led unavoidably to give a real statement of some facts, which may prove a better direction to a future historian of the Church, than the pretenders to a——— of registering Ecclesiastical Memoirs. The attacks now to be repelled are grievous indeed, and it is uncertain, whether they would not have been borne in silence, had not a threat been denounced, more injurious to the honour of the ministers of Religion, than even the attacks themselves. It is said that if an answer be made, authentic records are to be produced, capable of shaming the most imprudent liar into silence and that it is owing to the bounty of this tender aggressor, that the extravagant Constitutions of Ecclesiastical government in the United States and certain private documents to be shown in an unguarded moment are not laid before the public.

Disgusting indeed is his prospect, who knowing Mr. Smyth's propensity to literary controversy, is called to a review of his late publication; and they who have experienced the effects of his proneness to suspicion (to say nothing of other more dangerous weapons to which he sometimes resorts) have reason to fear that as soon as one monster is destroyed he

we find the usual sinister description of the Jesuit estates and of the slaves residing thereon.

will conjure up another to alarm the public concern. Hercules might subdue a Hydra; but it is impossible to exhaust the fecundity of suspicion. What could induce him, a Clergyman, a man of education, who puts in a claim of truth and integrity, to publish to the world what every man in America knows to be void of foundation: that the liberty of the press is liable to be restrained in this country by a violent and opulent party? that no one dares mutter a complaint against a Jesuit, that the Catholic religion was never extended to Pennsylvania before Mr. James sent German missionaries; that poor Catholics instead of removing farther back in quest of plenty and independence are made to hover and starve round the superb seats of the Clergymen and rich squires, conspiring together in a system of oppression? Did he ever visit those superb seats, of which he speaks on the banks of the Potomack? or go to rouse the zeale of the slumbering shepherds, whom he describes as basking in the luxuriant climes of the Eastern shore of Maryland? No; he never saw them, but has trusted to an imagination, pregnant with suspicion, to give colouring to his picture. A word, a hint that he had improved on; and fancy, but not sportive good-natured fancy, has furnished the price.

I presume that considerate men would not deem it criminal in the former missionaries of Maryland, even tho' they were Jesuits, had they honestly built comfortable houses for their retreats, when returning home exhausted with labours, or when age or infirmities rendered labour no longer practicable to them. But either insensibility in their own sufferings or inability, or perhaps, the mismanagement so common to men not trained to the cultivation of landed estates, have in many instances deprived them of even this comfort;—and in contradiction to Mr. Smyth's unwarranted assertions, it is here declared in the case of thousands, who are eye-witnesses to the fact, that of three houses on Potomack ever inhabited by Catholic clergymen, only one enjoys the most ordinary conveniences of a comfortable habitation; that even this with an elegant external appearance, presents no more refined accommodations for the gratification of sensuality, than are found in the families of the middle ranks of Society in America; that the other two houses so far from being superb are mean and despicable; and in other respects as little calculated as the former, for those enjoyments, which are suggested to the reader in the expressions chosen by Mr. Smyth. If curiosity should be excited by his misrepresentation, should it go to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, it will find there but two clergymen. One of these lives on the confines of Maryland and State of Delaware; in a house not only inelegant but ruinous and scarce affording shelter from the weather. The other occupies a cell such as the woman of Sumanite prepared for the prophet Eliseus (4th Book of Kings, c. 4), containing just space enough for a bed, a table and a stool. Such are the establishments formed on the Potomack and the Eastern Shore, and yet preserved for the benefit of Religion by that Society, which could not bury obloquy in the same grave with itself, and whose memory Mr. Smyth, in grateful remembrance of his beloved departed friend of the order is preparing to consign to

perpetual infamy; this he proposes by a new translation (I can inform him, that he is not the first to perform this laudable exploit) of Pascal's letters; that is, of a work, branded as false and calumnious by the most respectable tribunals, civil and Ecclesiastical; and therefore not an improper appendix to the present State of the Catholic Mission.

In reading over this last performance, one is every moment surprised to find, how easily a pretended history may be compiled without any of the materials, which ought to enter into its composition. Does the Rev. Gentleman treat of introduction into the first progress of the Catholic Religion in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and Kentucky? Does he pretend to delineate its actual state, and the conduct of those who by profession are its guardians? Instead of authentic history, as might be expected from his self-praised talent of registering Ecclesiastical Memoirs, we meet with little, except mistakes generally springing from malignity, respecting past transactions, to say the least of them, of late occurrences.

Where did he find that a few Jesuits attended by a Treasurer, followed Lord Baltimore at his first settlement of Maryland? I have always understood (and my materials, I think, are to be depended on) that only one Jesuit of the name of White, came first into this country with no other treasure than his virtue and no other means than his zeal of preserving the infant colony in the Religion which he brought from Europe; that he returned to England after spending some years in America; and having collected a few fellow labourers, he revisited it again, and that the successors of these first missionaries have continued to this day to labour in the vineyard which they planted, and to be the instruments of Divine Providence in enlarging it.

Mr. Smyth laments that they have been so indolent, or so unenterprising, as to confine their feeble services to Maryland alone, that not a single effort of consequence was made by them—to extend their missions to their neighbours, or even to assist with any degree of regularity the back countries of Maryland.

How true this is will be seen thereafter. But were it even so, that they confined themselves to the limits assigned by Mr. Smyth, what cause of reproach can he find in this? Few in number as the English Jesuits always were, unable even to supply the demands of their parent country, and much less those of Maryland; bound by the ties of Gratitude and justice to devote their services to that province for the sake of which they obtained their livings in it; did it belong to them to leave the Catholics of Maryland without pastors, and go, in defiance of their sacred duties, into the neighbouring provinces where no Catholics dwelled, or, at least, none professed their religion? Was it in the opinion of this Rev. Gentleman, a crime in the Jesuits, to leave the harvest of their countries free to the workmen, who never disposed to labour in it? Did they put obstacles in the way between England or Ireland, and New England, New York, Virginia, and the two Carolinas? Why did not this country which could not suffer by sparing a few supernumerary priests, send them forth to the assistance of those abandoned provinces?

Why did not they, like the first Jesuits of Maryland encounter poverty and wretchedness to spread and preserve the true faith, and thus by patience and perseverance found useful establishments of Religion? Were the pains and deaths denounced against Catholic Clergymen presuming to enter these provinces, sufficient to damp their zeal? Would not the venerable Dr. Challoner and his predecessors, Bishops of the London district, have joyfully concurred in seconding their Apostolick enterprises had any been formed?

Were those worthy prelates withheld by any imagination of the Jesuits from extending their solicitude to so great a portion of the countries under their charge?

But no such enterprises were formed. The Jesuits were not in sufficient number, and Mr. Smyth ought to say what kept dormant the zeal of others. Since the dissolution of the Society some have come forward across the Atlantic; and if suspicion were as congenial to others as to him, they might invent some plausible reasons for this new appearance of zeale. However, that may be, the public ought to be informed that the few surviving ex-Jesuits owe to Religion one more service in addition to those which they have already rendered in Maryland, and that is to secure from waste and misapplication, and to transmit undiminished to the future ministers of the Church, the property, which was acquired for its advantage, and preserved by their predecessors.

Of this their sincere attachment to the cause, which they served so long, the journals of the Assembly of Maryland bear ample testimony; with whose concurrence they hope to see their views carried soon and finally into effect. Had these Ex-Jesuits been such as Mr. Smyth represents them, deaf to the voice of conscience and eager to share the spoils, what could have hindered them from converting their lands and negroes into portable property, as soon as the Society was destroyed, and enjoying in indolence the fruit of their sacrilegious plunder? With the same laudable view of fixing a stigma on the ministers of Religion in Maryland, our church historian says that the Catholic Religion ceased from being an established Religion in Maryland. (I wonder from what register of Ecclesiastical Memoirs he learnt this curious fact, unknown before that it ever was the established Religion.) That the Marylanders branched out into various forms of worship, while the great body of the Irish had invariably adhered to the Religion of their Fathers. This the reader cannot but understand a delicate stroke of the gentleman's pen at those pastors of whom he somewhere says, that they are slumbering in the vineyard.

But if indeed they have slumbered more than others, it is a consolation to know, that Providence has graciously interposed to prevent in great measure the bad effects which would naturally arise from their drowsiness. For it is notorious that few of original Catholic Families of Maryland, which did not emigrate to the other parts of America, have abandoned their religion; and many others have embraced it. They are reduced much indeed in point of prosperity and liable to carelessness and extrava-

gance; and because during the prevalence of the British Empire, they were most iniquitously excluded from the favours of government and even from professing the most lucrative employments, their numbers have daily increased and their congregations have multiplied.

But Mr. Smyth says there is no vestige of Catholic Religion in Annapolis, the capital of Maryland. In vain will the traveller seek for such a monument of the zeal of its ministers and first planters. On this occasion he might at least have given them the credit of not being ambitious to establish themselves near the seats of grandeur such as our country affords, and which I suppose flatter the human mind, in proportion equally with the more splendid greatness of richer and higher polished cities. But the reader will not find Mr. Smyth once deviating from his line of composition into praise and commendation. If he cannot distort a fact into a subject of censure, he will be wholly silent on it. When he pretended to write a sketch of the history of Religion and its ministers, he ought to have known, that while Catholics bore any share or had any influence in the government of Maryland, the town of St. Mary and not Annapolis was the capital. A church was built very early near to that, and has been rebuilt again, and subsists to the present day. Under all the discouragement of subsequent times the great body of inhabitants in the neighbourhood (for the town subsists no more), are still of the Religion of their Forefathers, besides many who are gone to people Kentucky. When after the Revolution in England, the seat of government was removed to Annapolis, it was carried into the heart of the Protestant interest. Thither crowded all officers and placemen, among whom no Roman Catholic could be ranked; there sat the Assemblies, which kept always over them a jealous and watchful eye, and sometimes attempted their total suppression. In a small town where every inhabitant was exposed to notice and scarce any settled but with a view to preferment, is it a matter of wonder that our Religion thus discouraged and persecuted, should make little progress? And yet in this very town, and not merely in the neighbourhood as is asserted by our candid and well-informed historian, there has always been and still is a decent chapel visited every month by a clergyman.

With respect to the past and present state of Religion at Baltimore, as well as the other historical scraps gleaned from his registry of Ecclesiastical Memoirs, he is misinformed in, or he misrepresents almost every circumstance. Baltimore began to grow into notice not more than 25 or 30 years ago. Before that it was an inconsiderable village, which afforded neither employment or sufficient living even for a minister of the established church, who derived his living not from the few inhabitants of the town, but from a general tax on people of every denomination in the parish, which comprehended a large portion of Baltimore County. As the town increased, so did the number of Catholics; and through much opposition, and by great constancy both in the Congregation and the Clergyman who occasionally visited it, they were amongst the first to build a small church, which is now receiving considerable enlargement. A

house for the residence of a Clergyman was added some years after chiefly by the contributions of the congregation: the better informed Mr. Smyth says, it was done at the private expense of a Jesuit in order to claim the property on a future occasion.

He concludes his account on the State of Religion in Baltimore by some injurious reflections on the Rev. Gentleman, who officiates for the congregations of that place. This is his return generosity for the continued civilities and hospitality, with which he was treated for a month by that very gentleman, who needs not my vindication from the groundless aspersions of his Guest. The goodness of his heart; the zeal for the welfare of his flock; his punctuality in his pastoral duties are conspicuous to all, and are not to be heightened by my descriptions of them. As a writer his compositions would have no cause to shrink from the eye of the critic, tho' placed in view of those of his Detractor; he is incapable of uttering a falsehood; and he has solemnly declared to me that he has never used the expressions ascribed to him because he never entertained the sentiments which they convey. But is Mr. Smyth equally entitled to credit; who had the confidence to commit to press, that the Catholic Religion in Baltimore may be assimilated to an almost consumed taper glimmering in the socket? The fact is, that as many witnesses may be produced as there are inhabitants in that town, that thro' the providence of God, our Religion has increased and does greatly increase in numbers. The person who with Mr. Smyth's means of information asserts the contrary, may discover the grounds of his assertions in those malignant passions, which too often agitate the human heart.

Perhaps he hoped to avail himself of the prejudices raised against a late Society; thinking, that if it could but bring ex-Jesuits into view, thousands would be ready enough to believe them capable of every offence, which malignity should be pleased to assign to them. Their time (says this humane man) is employed not in the apostolic functions of instructing the ignorant, of visiting the sick, or catechising with patience and condescension poor unheeded slaves; but in goading those wretched beings, and whipping and almost flaying them alive.

Mr. Smyth knows and should not forget, that a calumniator cannot atone for his guilt, but by making his retraction as public as his offence, and that the weight of his obligation is, at least, commensurate to the heinousness of the slander. Beyond all question reparation is a debt, which he owes to many persons, whose reputation, from the nature of their functions, is of some importance to the community as well as to themselves. This obligation they call on him to discharge; let him think of it, before he presumes again to make his offering on the altar of the God of justice and peace. They deny in the face of all Maryland (I would say of Heaven itself, if Mr. Smyth had not made a most unrighteous appeal to the God of Heaven—at the very moment he was devoting his pen to the office of defamation), they deny his most atrocious charge, a charge equal at least, to that of cool and deliberate murder. They deny that he ever saw one single instance, in any clergyman of

America, of the horrible crime which he imputes generally to them all. On the contrary, they say that a few amongst them are concerned in the management of estates of negroes that they . . . [*sic*] . . . no such avocation from their pastoral duties; that the few to whom this management is committed, treat their negroes with great mildness and are attentive to guard them from the evils of hunger and nakedness; that they work less and are much better fed, lodged and clothed, than labouring men in almost any part of Europe; that the instances are rare indeed, and almost unknown, of corporal punishment being inflicted on any of them who are come to the age of manhood; and that a priest's negro is almost proverbial for one, who is allowed to act without control.

Besides the advantage of this humane treatment, they are instructed incessantly in their duties of Christianity and their morals watched, I may say, with fatherly solicitude. By this treatment they are induced to conceive an attachment for their masters and the habitations of which they have given the strongest evidence. During the late war the British cruisers landed often at and hovered almost continually around the plantations of the clergy; they pillaged their houses; they drove and slaughtered their sheep and cattle. What an opportunity for their slaves to desert from their cruel treatment described by Mr. Smyth.

But how was the fact? While the negroes belonging to the neighbouring plantations were crowding aboard the British ships, those of the Priests, tho' whipped and scourged and almost flayed alive, refused every invitation to go, and even force used to carry them on board. Of the whole number belonging to Clergymen, two only were seduced away, one of them took the first opportunity of returning. The rest either absolutely refused, or ran into the woods to prevent being carried off. The fact alone furnishes the most complete refutation of the charge made by Mr. Smyth. When he seemed to boil with indignation against the crimes, conceived only in his suspicious bosom, are we to consider his expressions as genuine effusions or as the affectation of humanity? Can defamation coexist with humanity? Can we expect the delicate feelings of sympathy, when even justice is violated? Can we suppose that Mr. Smyth will not indulge himself in colouring certain objects too highly?

With the same spirit of bitterness he proceeds to an erroneous history of progress and present State of Religion in Pennsylvania. Like a good Irishman, full of resentments for the evils his country has suffered from England, if he cannot withhold commendation from some Jesuits, he will take care however not to bestow it on English Jesuits. The writer of these sheets owes as little favour to Britain as to Mr. Smyth; but he owes great respect to truth. And truth obliges him to contradict Mr. Smyth, and inform others, what everybody in Philadelphia knows, that the exercise of the Catholic Religion was begun there long before the arrival of any German Jesuits: that the first chapel was opened by the Rev. Greaton, and the new church, in which Mr. Smyth saw divine service performed with so much decorum, was raised by the exertions and under the auspices of the late Rev. Mr. Harding. The relation of Mr. James'

foundation is likewise discordant from the fact. From Mr. Smyth's account one would imagine that Mr. James was a Protestant and lived in America, when he solicited for German Jesuits; the fact was otherwise. He then was a Catholic in England, and had become a Catholic by meeting accidentally with the life of St. Francis Xavier, and afterwards by conversing with the late excellent Dr. Challoner. It is unnecessary to follow thro' all the mistakes in this subject. But he concluded his account of Pennsylvania with an anecdote of which he observes that it may help the main drift of his paper. I think so too. For nothing is more apt to promote the growth of calumny as an anecdote high seasoned with that commodity. Here is the real fact: A year or two before the death of the late Rev. and much revered Mr. Farmer he received information, by letters from Germany, of the character and estimable qualities of Mr. Graessel who had been in the novitiate of the Jesuits at the time of their dissolution. Mr. Farmer wrote to him earnestly inviting him to give his services to that country which he himself had burdened with his sweat and expressing the pleasure he should feel in having a coöperator who had been trained in the same school and discipline as himself. After receiving this letter Mr. Graessel resigned a handsome employment and flattering prospects of preferment, in order to join his venerable correspondent. But when he reached Philadelphia, Mr. Farmer was no more. About the same time arrived likewise from Germany two Capuchin Priests, worthy and able labourers in the Lord's vineyard. The ecclesiastical Superior appointed each to his respective station and nominated Mr. Graessel to remain in Philadelphia. He was induced by several considerations: 1st, Mr. Graessel, in consequence of Mr. Farmer's invitation quitted his employment and prospects in Bavaria bringing with him the original letter of invitation, and in full expectation of remaining at Philadelphia; 2ndly, His education having been the same as that of those who were to be his companions at Philadelphia, and they having expressed their wish for his appointment, the Superior thought so much was due to their services and enjoyment, not to refuse their request. 3d. He thought likewise it was a just way of rewarding the members of that body, who, under God, had brought Religion to its present state in Philad., provided their talents were equal to their charge. Let the Catholics of Philadelphia say, whether Mr. Graessel has not appeared as such. Mr. Smyth says that another Gentleman had recommended himself in Phila. by superior talents at least for preaching. He makes assertions without the least support of truth; neither of the candidates had been heard in Philadelphia, when the appointment was made; and I nearly believe, that one of them has never been heard there, even to this day; though I am sure he would be heard with pleasure. A part of the German Congregation but not the most numerous or little more than the most numerous part, some of whom had contracted a friendship for the worthy son of St. Francis, were dissatisfied with the appointment—they even took some measures, the impropriety of which they themselves afterward avowed; they applied to the Superior for his approbation to build a new church

for their nation, and, as they said to preserve their native tongue. The Superior instantly granted their request. He (Mr. Smyth) adds that the new church will continue a monument of German resentment. For my part I rather trust it will be a monument of German piety. He says that it is only separated by the street from the old one. The eyes of all Philadelphia behold it at least 400 yards distant.¹³

Father Strickland wrote to Carroll from London, April 18, 1788, saying that he has just seen the pamphlet. Smyth's object, he writes, "seems to be to open a free Port for the reception of all Irish Ecclesiastics who may wish to try their fortune in the new world. I make no doubt but you might have a great abundance of priests, if you would be willing to receive all whom the irregularity of their behaviour has made obnoxious to their own country or their indolence has rendered worthless. . . . In my opinion a silent contempt is the only answer it deserves."¹⁴ In the light of subsequent events, however, exception can justly be taken to this policy of silence, advocated by Troy and others. How seriously the charges were viewed where they could do most harm to the American clergy—at Rome—is only too evident from an incident described in Father Thorpe's letter to Carroll of August 8, 1790. The incident centred around the two boys—Felix Dougherty and Ralph Smith—whom Carroll sent to Propaganda in 1787. Cardinal Antonelli actually called the two boys before him and interrogated them for several hours regarding the charges made by Smyth. The boys somewhat relieved his alarms by assuring his Eminence that they had never seen a Jesuit novice in America and had never heard of a Jesuit novitiate. Father Thorpe was indignant at this manœuvre and told Antonelli it was an unfair proceeding, especially since Dr. Concanen had already informed the cardinal that Smyth's pamphlet was "a scandalous and ill-written work."¹⁵ Father Thorpe warned Carroll that the cardinal's mind still harboured doubts about the ex-Jesuits in America and that, as a result of Smyth's attack, fears were being expressed in Rome that the Americans would restore the Society in the United States in spite of the Brief of Suppression.¹⁶

¹³ The remainder of the draft is so badly worn that I found it impossible to read it.

¹⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8B-G7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Case 8-K8.

¹⁶ "Patrick Smyth was a man of splendid abilities, of ready and versatile talent,

The second of these attacks on the American clergy has already been referred to: that by La Poterie entitled: *The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci*.

The most serious problem that faced the prefect-apostolic was the necessity of supplying the missions with priests. The first waves of the immense immigration to America—a veritable second migration of the nations—began at the close of the Revolution with the Irish and German elements predominating. To Ireland Carroll looked for assistance in meeting the situation, and though we have only a portion of his correspondence with Archbishop Troy of Dublin, it is evident that the Irish prelate was anxious to assist Carroll in manning the Church here with worthy priests. A new land like America was a serious temptation to priests who were in difficulties at home; and we find Carroll endeavouring to make it obvious to Troy, in a letter dated November 9, 1789, that only pious, worthy and self-sacrificing members of the priesthood, men dominated by zeal and devotion, would be accepted:

My Lord,

I did myself the honour of writing a few lines to your Lordship from Virginia, the last of June, or the beginning of July. I then returned my sincere thanks for your great and generous endeavor to discountenance a pamphlet full of falsehood and malignity, and I requested your Grace to be the interpreter of my sentiments of gratitude to the other most Rev. Prelates who joined your Lordship so readily in condemning it.

I lament with your Lordship that there are not more clergymen in the United States. They are large enough, and offer a field wide enough for many more labourers. But unfortunately almost all who offer their services have great expectations of livings, high salaries, &c.; and these our country does not afford. Most of the stations to which salaries are annexed, are occupied; and I find few, or, to speak more properly, I find none willing to commit themselves entirely to the care of Provi-

but was in disposition restless as a wave; pre-eminently factious and discontented. He officiated in the capacity of pastor in various parts of the diocese, emigrated to America, transferred his services to Dr. Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore, and returned to Meath, choleric and disappointed, angry with himself and with the world, believing all his ecclesiastical superiors to be unmindful of his many perfections, and regarding himself as the most unhappy and ill-treated of men. It was his misfortune, as has happened to others, too, that his bishop had taken too much notice of him, had done too much for him, and had been too ready in making him a confidant. Hence, like many another spoiled ingrate, when thwarted and baffled in his schemes of ambition, even *pro hac vice* he turned on his benefactor and with gratitude worthy of a snake in the fable he stung his best friend, and repaid a life of kindness with insult and calumny." COGAN, *History of the Diocese of Meath*, vol. iii, p. 150. Dublin, 1874.

dence, and seek to gather congregations, and livings, of consequence, by fixing themselves in places where no missionaries preceded them. Your Grace knows, it was thus that religion was propagated in every age of the Church. If clergymen animated with this spirit will offer their services, I will receive them with the greatest cheerfulness, and direct their zeal where there is every prospect of success; and will make no manner of distinction between Seculars and Regulars.¹⁷

Naturally, the most secure method of supplying the thinned ranks of the clergy was to found a Seminary for the training of native youths. A Seminary involved a College; for, without a classical education, it was impossible to start young men aright in philosophy and later in theology. The founding of Georgetown College had been decided upon at the Second General Chapter of 1786, but it was evident that at least four or five years would be required to complete the plans for the organization of the College. The Bordeaux American College scheme which has so large a share in the letters of 1783-84, seems by this time to have been completely abandoned. If any serious attempt had been decided upon, the French Revolution swept the scheme away. Talleyrand, who was a prime mover in the Bordeaux scheme, went down in the maelstrom and for a time walked the streets of Philadelphia as an exile.

The legislative body for the discipline of the Church during this time was the General Chapter of the Clergy. At the closing session of the First General Chapter of the Clergy (1784) it was decided to call the deputies of the three districts together on October 10, 1787; but owing to the pressing nature of the business which had accumulated, the Chapter was summoned in November, 1786, one year before the appointed date. Three questions needed immediate solution: the incorporation of the Select Body of the Clergy for the purpose of protecting their property rights; the necessity of episcopal jurisdiction in the United States; and the growing demand for a Catholic college. Accordingly, on November 13, 1786, the deputies arrived at Whitmarsh for the business in hand. Father Ignatius Matthews and James Walton represented the Southern District; Fathers Bernard Diderick and John Ashton represented the Middle District. A quorum being present, the Chapter was opened, and

¹⁷ MORAN, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 504.

Father John Carroll was "respectfully entreated to attend." Father Carroll arrived on the 15th; Father Molyneux arrived on the 17th, to represent the Northern District. Rules for the guidance of the Chapter were agreed upon, and thirteen by-laws were drafted and passed. Several matters of minor moment were discussed and regulated, such as property repairs, old debts, the Sir John James Fund,¹⁸ and other financial affairs connected with the London Province, which were still unsettled. A resolution was passed on November 17, that the sum of £210 (currency, about \$560) be allotted annually to the prefect-apostolic, and that the procurator-general (Father John Ashton) be authorized to pay him the same, as long as he resided at Baltimore. On Carroll's retiring from Baltimore, his salary was to continue as before.

Baltimore was not at that time on the direct route between Washington and Philadelphia, and the city was visited from Whitemarsh and Deer Creek occasionally by the missionaries, after 1753. The coming of the Acadians in 1755-56 was the occasion for building a temporary chapel, which is said to have stood at the northwest corner of Calvert and Fayette Streets. In 1764, a lot at Saratoga and Little Sharp Streets was purchased by Father George Hunter, Superior of the Mission, from Charles Carroll, the father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and some six years later a brick church, known as St. Peter's, was erected on this property. Before its completion, the superintendent, Dr. John McNabb, failed in business and the principal creditor closed the church and instituted a ludicrous suit against Mr. Ganganelli (Pope Clement XIV) to recover the money he had advanced. During the war, a company of Catholic soldiers insisted on having services in the Church, and the creditor in question, being under suspicion of loyalism, surrendered the key. The Catholics of Baltimore regained possession of the Church, and, after the war, raised the amount necessary to liquidate the creditor's claim. Father Diderick, who was prominent in the Second General Chapter

¹⁸ Cf. GRIFFIN, *The Sir John James Fund in the Records*, vol. ix, pp. 195-211; cf. *ibid.*, vol. xxvi, p. 81. An unpublished account of the rise and of the use made of the Sir John James Fund is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Special C-D13, in a letter from Bishop Francis Patrick Fenwick to the historian, B. U. Campbell, dated, Philadelphia, January 29, 1845.

of 1786 on account of his obstructionist tactics, was in charge of St. Peter's from 1775 to 1784, though not in residence there. The first permanent pastor was the Rev. Charles Sewall, who came to Baltimore in 1784. Father Carroll left Rock Creek in 1786, and took up his residence with Father Sewall at St. Peter's, and the little church served as his pro-cathedral until the erection of the present cathedral, the cornerstone of which was laid on July 7, 1806.¹⁹

The important subjects for deliberation in the Chapter were the questions of Catholic education and the bishopric. The property question is an involved one bristling with difficulties to all concerned, and it created a legacy of unpleasantness which lasted down to the time of Archbishop Maréchal. Carroll's part in the discussion on the ex-Jesuit property in the United States is a slight one, and on May 22, 1790, as will be seen, he made a formal declaration as bishop-elect that he waived all claims in the matter of managing the Jesuit estates.

The problem of incorporating the clergy into a legal body for the preservation and maintenance of the estates was settled by the appointment of a Committee, consisting of Fathers Carroll, Walton, Matthews, Ashton, Leonard Neale, and Jenkins, to act on the resolutions taken. This Committee was to obtain information, whether it would be safe and expedient to apply to the Legislature for an Act of Incorporation at that time; and Father Carroll was empowered to call a meeting of the Committee at Port Tobacco to decide the question. The members of this Committee decided that the time was then inopportune. The Act of Incorporation was passed six years later.

The Chapter resolutions on the bishopric are the most important passed in that assembly.

1786, November 13-22.

System of Ecclesiastical Government.

Whereas it is necessary for the well government of the Roman Catholic Church in the thirteen United States of North America, that certain fundamental principles should be established in the clergy thereof:

1. That the form of spiritual government to which alone they do sub-

¹⁹ FREDERICK, *Old St. Peter's, or the Beginnings of Catholicity in Baltimore*. Balto., 1911.

mit shall be properly episcopal, depending only on the Holy See, in matters essentially belonging and universally acknowledged to belong to the Holy See as its undoubted prerogative.

2. That a diocesan Bishop alone is adequate to the above purpose.

3. That the representatives of the clergy of the United States are the only proper persons to chuse the same.

4. That the proper memorial to be drawn up and sent to his Holiness to represent the present state of the Roman Catholic Church in North America, and the determination of the clergy thereupon.

5. That the present Superior be jointly with two members of the clergy authorized and directed to draw up and send such memorial in behalf of the said clergy and to the above purport.

6. That the two members of the clergy chosen for the above purport [purpose?] are the Rev. Messrs. Rob. Molyneux and John Ashton.

7. That in the meantime the clergy submit to be governed by the present appointed Superior.²⁰

Shortly after the adjournment of the Chapter, the following circular letter, dated November 24, 1786, was sent out from Whitemarsh over the signature of Father Charles Sewall, who acted as Secretary, to the clergy of the Republic.

Rev. Gentlemen and Brethren,

We agreed it a duty to give you information, not only of all matters agreed on in Chapter, but likewise of the reasons, which moved a majority of us to an important resolution relative to our future Ecclesiastical Government. The matters agreed on are those which appear in the journals of our proceedings; among which you will find a vote directing that a memorial be transmitted to his Holiness, representing that a clergy of these States conceive it as their right, and therefore require to be governed only by an Ordinary Bishop, chosen by themselves and depending in spirituals solely on the Holy See; that, in the meantime of awaiting for his Holiness's answer, they submit to the authority already constituted amongst them.

The reasons operating on a majority of us to adopt this resolution were the following. First, the Clergy of Maryland and Pennsylvania are providentially placed in a position to be greatly instrumental toward spreading the blessing of true religion throughout the whole extent of the United States. In this view we formed the plan of a school of general education for youth; but more especially that it be a nursery of future clergymen, who will, we hope, be sufficient not only to succeed the present labourers, but likewise to extend their zeal as far as the tolerating laws of the other States will allow them. To compleat this scheme a Bishop will certainly be necessary. 2ly. We conceive no medium between

²⁰ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 666-667.

an Ordinary Bishop and a Bishop *in partibus*, constituted by and dependent on the Congr. de Propda Fide. We think you will find sufficient reason in the acct. of our Russian Brethren, and in other information you are possessed of, to prefer an Ordinary to a Vicar-Apostolic. Besides our governing powers jealous of all foreign dependance, and our fellow Christians of other denominations, will be confirmed in their prejudices, if we admit for our chief ecclesiastical Superior a person appointed by a foreign Congregation, responsible to them for the exercise of his authority, and removeable at their pleasure. 3dly. The clergy and the faithful here constitute a National Church, protected and sanctioned by law; and they have therefore a right to the same ecclesiastical government, as has ever been used from the days of the Apostles in every National Church. 4ly. There is a very cognizant reason why this matter should be taken up at present. The negotiation will undoubtedly be of some length, and probably the fate of the memorial will not be decided for two or three years. Clergymen not of our Body are coming to America, and the superior, where he finds them qualified, can not in conscience refuse employing them in other States soliciting their assistance. These, as part of the American clergy, will have an equal right to participate in the ecclesiastical government. Can we tell how soon they may be here in sufficient number to carry measures contrary to our wishes and destructive of the good, which our longer experience of the temper and government of America enables us to perform. Have we not reason to fear, that they will be attended to at Rome preferably to ourselves, and their plans adopted? and thus an attempt made to enforce a government, which if we admit, we shall impose a yoke upon ourselves and draw on our religion the inconveniences before mentioned. If we resist this government, dissensions and anarchy will ensue. On this reconsideration we are induced to delay no longer a measure recommended to us from Europe by those, on whose virtue, knowledge and experience we could best rely. We were very careful to consider whether the introduction of episcopacy would prove detrimental, if it should please God to revive our Society; and, so far as conceiving it hurtful to the Society's recovering her rights in this country we are clearly of opinion, that a Bishop chosen by ourselves, while we constitute a majority, would greatly facilitate so desirable an end. Ever since the days of St. Ignatius the Ordinaries throughout Christendom have generally proved favourable to the Society, and for the most part were its protectors and benefactors and in the times of its distress spoke loudly in its favour. We remember the glorious testimonies rendered the Society by the Bishops of France, Italy, and Germany, and even those of Spain. But the Vicars-Apostolical of England, and China, and other eastern countries have always thwarted its children, and by their opposition have oftentimes caused prejudice to religion.

These are the principal reasons which determined our opinions. We doubt not of your approbation and concurrence in a measure suggested by motives so powerful and so pressing. With the greatest respect, and

earnest request to you to beseech Almighty God to render this measure advantageous to religion, we have the honour to be

*The Chapter*²¹

Comment on this letter is unnecessary. But a strong opposition to the establishment of the episcopate as well as to the school was soon manifested by one group of the clergy, who considered both these projects as dangerous to the preservation of the clergy property. The chief opponent to the bishopric was Father Diderick, of the Middle District. He was aided in his opposition by Father Leonard Neale, the future Archbishop of Baltimore, who had arrived in Maryland from Demerara, on April 12, 1783. Father Carroll reported this opposition to his friend Plowden in a letter dated January 22-February 28, 1787, in which he asks Plowden's coöperation in obtaining a president for the school. That part of the letter referring to the bishopric is as follows:

I am sorry to inform you that, since writing the above, an opposition has broken out of some of our good gentlemen against the establishment of a school, and an application for a Bishop. They act from this laudable motive: that both these matters will occasion some alienation of property formerly possessed by the Society, which they wish to restore undiminished to her at her re-establishment; and of this they appear to have no doubt, since they read your Russian history. They positively assert that an appropriation to the school (tho' made by the representative body of the clergy, as has been the case) of estates now possessed by us is a violation of the rights of the Society; thus supposing that a right of property can exist in a non-existing body; for certainly the Society has no existence here. As this objection has arisen with a few, I hope they will soon change their mind, and remember that a very uncertain prospect of the revival of the Society ought not to hinder so essential a service to religion; that the Society was instituted to save souls; and that souls were not made subservient to the temporal benefits of the Society. You must know that, when we established a form of government for our temporal concerns, we severally promised each other, that, if it pleased God to restore the Society in this country, we would surrender back into her hands her former property. Personal property may be disposed of with greater ease. The few gentlemen who have objected have considered the promise of re-delivery to the Society; but have not attended to the power especially granted to Chapter. I make no doubt but, as soon as the matter is properly explained, we shall all agree again, except perhaps a Mr. Diderick, one of those whom, as you once wrote, Mr. Howard's

²¹ *Ibid.*, l.c., pp. 670-671.

undistinguishing charity admitted into our province and sent hither. He has set all this in motion; and the secret cause tho' perhaps unknown to himself, is that your schoolfellow, Ashton, is very strenuous for the measures adopted; as indeed, are Molyneux, Matthews, Pellentz, Digges, Mosely, Sewall, Boarman, Lewis, etc., and your humble servant. Now Mr. Diderick makes it a point to oppose Mr. Ashton; and I do not believe that I come in for a great share of his good will. I know not whether you are acquainted with this man's history. I am told that he was noted and even confined in the Walloon province for his turbulence. As much as we want recruits, I should not be sorry, he would return to Europe; for I really fear he will do mischief sooner or later. This last part of my letter will be, I hope, to yourself.²²

The members of the Southern District had issued a district circular against a college and the bishopric. This section of the American Church was strongly conservative in the matter of property rights, and was represented by Father James Walton, who was the legal owner of almost all the Jesuit property. Father Carroll appealed to the members of the clergy to preserve unity of sentiment and of design in the projects which were so necessary for the welfare of the Church in this country. He does not spare Father Diderick, whom he accuses of unfounded prejudices and calumny. A formal reply to the Southern District remonstrance, penned by Fathers Digges, Ashton, Sewall, Boarman, and Carroll, in February, 1787, repeats the Chapter resolutions and states that they were most firmly persuaded that a diocesan bishop was preferable to a vicar-apostolic or a prefect-apostolic as they then had, since both these latter superiors "must necessarily be under the control of a Congregation in Rome, that has always been unfavourable to the Society. And we know from the history of the late Society, that the diocesan bishops throughout Europe were the means of its getting footing, and flourishing in all Catholic countries, and were the most strenuous in the support of its existence in its last period." The bishop for the Church in America, this letter states, would be of their own choosing, and undoubtedly one who had been a member of the Society of Jesus and known to be well affected towards the same. As for his support, the encumbrance on the Jesuit property would not be very great, because his maintenance would hardly exceed what

²² *Ibid.*, l.c., pp. 672-673.

was being allowed to the prefect-apostolic at that time; and "can there be a shadow of injustice to ourselves to allow a decent maintenance to a successor of the Apostles, a Pastor of Christ's sheep, and a guardian of the depositum of faith?" The writers emphasize one point very well, namely, that it would be much better for the present body of the clergy, all ex-Jesuits, to appeal to the Holy See for a bishop, before the outsiders grew to be a majority and consequently could apply to Propaganda to make one of themselves chief shepherd of the Church here. These newcomers would soon exceed them in numbers, and their petition would be readily granted, and who knows but that Propaganda's appointee might not be "a thorn in our side?" The letter continues with a series of arguments in favour of the proposed bishopric. A diocesan bishop would be glad to put the school under the care of the ex-Jesuits, and if the Society should be reëstablished in the country, "the government of the school will likewise be surrendered into their hands." This was foresight; for, since the restoration of the Society of Jesus in the United States (1806), Georgetown College and University has been the leading Jesuit educational institution in the United States.

Fortunately, the opposition ceased on the receipt of this statesmanlike letter, as Father Carroll tells his friend, Plowden, on March 29, 1787: "I wrote you very fully a few weeks ago. I now have only to add, that, since the sending off of that letter, the gentlemen, who had shown some opposition to the business mentioned in it, have seen the reasonableness of the intended establishment, and of the application to Rome for a Diocesan; and are as urgent as any to have them carried into execution."²³

Father Carroll's position in the issue of the bishopric is preserved in a letter to Father William O'Brien, then stationed in New York, dated May 10, 1788, from which we have already quoted:

Immediately after receiving your favour of the 30th April, I wrote to Mr. Felicehi [*sic*] and hope that my letter will reach him before his departure. The loss of so amiable an acquaintance must be painful to you. I mentioned to him something concerning our views for an Episcopal government, tho I own that I never enter on this subject

²³ *Ibid.*, *l.c.*, p. 680.

without reluctance and for two reasons. One is that if that government is introduced into our Ecclesiastical policy in America, I have some reason to apprehend that I may be thought of for it, and it is without affectation or pretended show of humility that I declare to you and everywhere else a dread of ever being invested with such an employment. Another reason is that they who know my sincere sentiments may attribute any activity they discover in me for the establishment of Episcopacy to an ambition of having a mitre placed on my head. This is the reason why I have taken so little notice of your many generous and too partial recommendations both of me and to me on that subject. However, I shall now open myself more fully to you. About a year and a half ago, a meeting was held of the clergy of Maryland and of Pennsylvania on their temporal concerns; and conversation devolving on the most effectual means of promoting the welfare of Religion it was agreed on to attempt the establishment of a school and seminary for the general education of Catholic youths and the forming of Ecclesiastics to the ministry of Religion and since the Ecclesiastics would want ordination, the subject of Episcopacy was brought forward and it was determined to solicit it. Two other gentlemen were appointed beside myself to transact this business and they as it happens to easy people like myself, devolved the whole trouble of framing memorials, petitions &c. on me. Being very unwilling to engage in this last affair I delayed till Nugent's misconduct convinced me it was no longer safe to do so, and a prospect having opened itself of procuring a Bishop, eligible by the officiating clergymen in America, instead of being appointed by a foreign tribunal (which would shock the political prejudices of this country) the memorial for that purpose is now gone to his Holiness. This is the business which you may remember I said to you, I should have to communicate but which was afterward put out of mind by the unhappy events which followed.²⁴

As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, the Holy See had decided about this time (May, 1788) to proceed with the creation of a bishopric for the United States, and it was admitted on all sides that John Carroll would be the ecclesiastic chosen for that important post.

The work outlined by the Second General Chapter at its initial meeting had met, therefore, with considerable success. Financially, the property of the ex-Jesuits was in danger, not only because of the lack of corporation rights under the State of Maryland, but also because of the possibility of one, not an ex-Jesuit, being appointed bishop. In this case, it was meet that the members of the Select Body of the Clergy should foresee a repetition of those antagonisms and confiscations which had disgraced

²⁴ Cf. *Researches*, vol. viii, p. 57.

the Suppression in other lands. A firm step forward educationally had been taken by the school proposals, and it was only a question of time and money before Georgetown College would be founded. In the more delicate matter of jurisdiction, the Chapter succeeded admirably in winning almost unanimous consent from the clergy to the establishment of a bishopric, and with the priests anxious to have the Holy See appoint one of their number to the unique post of proto-bishop of the United States, all further delay on the part of Rome was unnecessary.

One topic, which lay nearest their hearts, and one which can be felt in their deliberations, even at this distance from the Second General Chapter, was the restoration of the Society of Jesus. It would be a callous mind that would not understand the poignancy of their situation. They were a little band of brothers working in a vineyard, much farther away in those days from the great body of the Society in Europe, but they felt every blow dealt at the Society's good name and honour during those years of bitter misunderstanding from 1773 to the restoration in 1814. All these deliberations in district meetings and in Chapters are coloured if not guided by this spirit, and if some of them seem to hold personal views opposed to those of Father Carroll, it is precisely because they were not sure that he had the restoration of the Society at heart. Three years were to pass before the Holy See acted upon the decision of the Chapter, and appointed Father John Carroll, the ex-Jesuit, Bishop of the Church in the United States, and almost twenty years passed before Father Gruber, the General of the Society of Jesus in Russia, acceded to the wish of the Maryland Fathers and allowed them to unite themselves with that portion of the Society in Russia, which by Divine Providence, had escaped the Suppression. The Maryland Fathers never wavered in the desire to have themselves incorporated into the Russian "remnant of the Society," as Carroll called it, "miraculously preserved as it seems, to be the seed of a future generation."

The direct effect of Smyth's and Poterie's vicious attacks upon the ever-thinning band of American ex-Jesuits was to dull Carroll's spirit of hospitality towards the "newcomers" in the Church under his jurisdiction. It was only after his consecration as Bishop of the Diocese of Baltimore, or as Dilhet calls it, the

Diocèse des États-Unis, that his fears of not being able to control the accessions of the clerical body left him. How dangerous this element was to the peace and harmony of his diocese is, unfortunately for the honour of the American Catholic priesthood, a chapter in its history which can not be ignored or palliated. But the conclusion must not be drawn that disorder and a state bordering on rebellion existed everywhere in the American Church during these years of an anomalous jurisdiction. The ex-Jesuits were to a man obedient to the prefect in all matters of disciplinary moment, and the mass of the people were living quiet lives in strict accordance with church rule and direction. The schismatics—if indeed, before his consecration, so strong a term may be applied to the few who showed a testimony to rebel—were never of any consequence, socially; and certainly with the prospect of the episcopate, Father Carroll felt better equipped to meet the serious problems of his future diocese.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FIRST AMERICAN STUDENTS IN ROME

(1787-1790)

In his letter to Carroll on June 9, 1784, announcing the latter's appointment as prefect-apostolic of the Church in the new Republic, Cardinal Antonelli offered, as has already been mentioned, two scholarships in the Collegio Urbano to the American Church:

In the meantime, for fear the want of missionaries should deprive the Catholics of spiritual assistance, it has been resolved to invite hither two youths from the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, to educate them at the expense of the Sacred Congregation in the Urban College; they will afterwards, on returning to their country, be substitutes in the mission. We leave to your solicitude the care of selecting and sending them. You will make choice of those who have more promising talents and a good constitution, who are not less than twelve, nor more than fifteen years of age; who by their proficiency in the sanctuary may give great hopes of themselves. You may address them to the excellent Archbishop of Seleucia, Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, who is informed of their coming. If the young men selected are unable to defray the expenses of the voyage, the Sacred Congregation will provide for them; we even wish to be informed by you frankly and accurately of the necessary travelling expenses to serve as a rule for the future.¹

The documents from this time up to Carroll's consecration and for some time afterwards have many references to these two American boys. Their journey has many interesting details, and many a dull page in the formal letters that passed between Rome, Paris, and Baltimore is enlivened by their presence in the Eternal City.² The Papal Nuncio informed Antonelli on July 5, 1784, that Franklin had told him the cost for the journey across the Atlantic would be probably 70 or 80 *louis d'or*. On July 31, 1784,

¹ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 244, f. 492; translation by SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. ii, pp. 243-245.

² *Ibid.*, *Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. 2, f. 272.

Antonelli advised the Nuncio to urge Carroll to send the boys at once and ordered him to reimburse the prefect-apostolic for whatever expense they may cause. Doria Pamphili was also to inform Mr. Franklin of this fact.³ A delay of three years followed Antonelli's generous offer of the two scholarships. Father Carroll had been a teacher in Europe in colleges which were directed by the Society of Jesus, but were under the general control of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. One source of friction between the secular and regular clergy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the oath which every student, especially in the national colleges at Rome, was obliged to take. This Mission Oath, as it was called, bound the student to several things: he promised obedience to the laws of the college; he promised that when he had finished his studies, or if he left the college before the completion of his studies, that for three years he would enter no religious Order or Congregation without the express consent of the Holy See; he promised also that every year, if he was in Europe, or every other year, if outside, he would send to Propaganda a detailed statement of his work, his health, etc.⁴ Consequently, while we find Carroll very grateful to Cardinal Antonelli for the scholarships, we find him writing to Father Thorpe on February 17, 1785, as follows: "With respect to sending two youths, I shall inform Propaganda that it would surely be very acceptable to have children educated gratis in so religious a seminary; and very acceptable to us all to have a succession of ministers of the altar provided for, but, as I suppose, they will not receive any into their college, but such as shall afterwards be subject to their government, and it being yet uncertain what effect my representations may produce, I shall delay that measure till further information."⁵ In his letter to Antonelli, of February 27, 1785, the prefect-apostolic thus expresses his views:

Regarding the two boys who are to be sent to the Urban College nothing can be done until I understand more fully your Eminence's wishes. If they are unable to bear the expenses of the journey, I understand that

³ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 244, f. 624.

⁴ Copies of the Propaganda College Oath will be found in Knox, *Douay Diaries*, pp. 40, 48, 70. London, 1878.

⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-F1.

the Sacred Congregation will provide for the same. I have not ascertained to whom it has been entrusted to pay these charges. Captains of ships are not wont to accept passengers, unless the fare be paid in advance, or at least, until they are certain that it will be settled. Moreover, as what I have said regarding the appointment of a bishop or superior, may suggest a possible danger in the manner of administering our ecclesiastical affairs, so also the method of educating boys in the College might be changed. This, however, we do not think will occur. Finally, it would be well, in order that their parents be instructed aright, to know whether any oath will be exacted of their sons, before they return to this country. For, every caution must be used, in order that as far as possible the Catholic priests and laity understand that it is only in necessary spiritual things that a foreign power has control of them. In the meantime, while I am awaiting a reply, I shall see to it that the two boys be selected with the greatest care, such as your letter signifies. I hope also to arrange that their expenses, at least as far as France be paid by their parents; if this is not possible, I shall take care to keep the expenses as low as possible. I understand that the voyage over will cost between 70 and 80 *louis d'or* for each boy.⁶

In his letter to the Nuncio at Paris of this same date, Carroll also mentions the offer of Antonelli and says that the route to Marseilles is less expensive. Dugnani, Doria Pamphili's successor as Nuncio at Paris in 1785, is informed of the scholarships on May 24, 1785, so that he may be on the lookout for the boys' arrival. Carroll's anxiety about the student oath was dispelled in Antonelli's sympathetic letter, of July 23, 1785. The Cardinal-Prefect says:

From the enclosed copy you may understand the form of oath which is taken by our students, and you will see clearly that the most important part of the oath dwells upon this: that each student shall return to his own province with the intention of devoting his labours to the apostolic ministry and that each shall inform the Sacred Congregation concerning his own circumstances. If, however, you discover anything in the oath which could afford displeasure under the present conditions, we will not be averse to accommodating the same form of oath to meet the needs of the students of those regions in whatever way shall seem more desirable, and it shall be your duty to advise us on this in good season.⁷

This letter reached Carroll about a year later—on March 27, 1786, and, as we have said already, it marked a turning point in

⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, ff. 306-311.

⁷ *Ibid., Lettere*, vol. 246, f. 437.

Carroll's attitude towards the Sacred Congregation. The spirit shown by Antonelli was so unmistakably sympathetic that from this time Carroll's letters to Rome, at least while Antonelli lived, show a broader confidence and a surer trust. Carroll replied on August 18, 1786, explaining that the boys had been picked, but that their departure had been hindered by the neglect or inability of their parents to attend to the same.⁸ No doubt Carroll had chosen the boys during his Visitation of 1785-86. The delay is somewhat explained in the correspondence; on January 12, 1787, Carroll informed Antonelli that the parents of the first boy selected from Pennsylvania had withdrawn their consent to his going, and another would have to be chosen. This would prolong the journey about two months. Both boys were going to pay their expenses as far as France, so that the Sacred Congregation would be relieved of that part of the burden.⁹

On July 2, 1787, Carroll wrote to Antonelli, announcing the fact that the two boys were then starting out. One was Ralph Smith, 14 years old, of Maryland; the other, Felix Dougherty, 13 years old, of Pennsylvania. They sailed from Philadelphia on a boat bound for Bordeaux, the captain of which was a Catholic. A series of letters from the Papal Nuncio to Propaganda, and from the Archbishop of Bordeaux, as well as from a consul in Civitavecchia, allows us to follow the boys from their arrival in Bordeaux, September 30, 1787, to Marseilles, where they were taken care of by a Mr. Billon, a merchant, who put them on board the boat for Civitavecchia, on December 7, 1787. Through an English interpreter they were made to feel much at home. Their tender age, together with their innocence, and, the agent admits, the dangerous state of the country through which they had to go by stage to Rome, induced him to send them under the care of a faithful steward.

One phrase in Billon's letter would read well in the lives of these boys, had they persevered to the priesthood—"Mi do l'onore di significare all' E. V. che i surriferiti giovani mostrano un'indole amabilissima, una vivezza particolare ed un talente che fa concepire le più lusinghevoli speranze de la lora buona

⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 438.

⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 440.

ruiscità." In his letter to Antonelli of July 28, 1787, Carroll urges that side-by-side with their studies in Rome, the boys be compelled to study English—"cum enim haeretici eleganter dicendi et pronunciandi gloriolam aucupentur." He commended the boys to His Eminence's special care. Another letter in French, from Carroll, dated July 28, 1787, to the Papal Nuncio, announced the departure of the boys. In this we learn that the Bordeaux route was chosen because the captain of the vessel was a Catholic. "Both the boys," Carroll tells the Nuncio, "are bright, especially the latter [Felix Dougherty of Philadelphia]." ¹⁰

The boys arrived at Civitavecchia on January 6, 1788; on the tenth they reached Rome and were given a hearty welcome by the authorities.¹¹ Carroll had entrusted them with letters to Antonelli, and it is easy to picture the happiness of the Cardinal-Prefect in seeing these first aspirants from the new Republic.¹² For the next ten years, scarcely a letter from Rome to Carroll failed to mention the two boys. Father Thorpe promised to call to see them every week at the Collegio Urbano and to give them news from home.¹³ A year later he mentions with particular pleasure the enthusiasm of the boys over the printed Constitution of the United States which Father Carroll had sent to them.¹⁴ When Father Patrick Smyth's diatribe against Carroll and the ex-Jesuits reached Rome, Cardinal Antonelli seems to have lost his head for a moment; for, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, to Thorpe's disgust, he called Ralph and Felix to his room and put them through a long interrogatory on the state of the suppressed Society in the United States.¹⁵

When the boys finished their humanities and were ready for the Seminary course of studies in Philosophy, they were obliged to

¹⁰ "Ambo ex parentibus nati sunt apprime Catholicis: alter, Rudolphus Smith, ex Marylandia, aetatem habet annos quatuordecim; alter Felix Dogherty, ex Pennsylvania, numerat annes aetatis tredecim [*duodecim*, struck out]. Uterque, sed maxime posterior, dicitur praeclaræ indolis et ingenio docili." (*Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. 878, no. 3). Felix Dougherty was baptized at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, in 1774, by Father Robert Molyneux. (Cf. *Records*, vol. iv, pp. 147-148.)

¹¹ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, ff. 390-394.

¹² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-F (rough draft); original in *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 347.

¹³ Father Thorpe to Carroll, Rome, January 6, 1788, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-I2.

¹⁴ Same to same, November 1, 1788, *ibid.*, Case 8-I7.

¹⁵ Same to same, December 2, 1789, *ibid.*, Case 8-J17.

take the Student Oath not to enter any religious Order or Congregation without the express permission of the Holy See, to send a biennial account of their missionary work, with any additional information they desired to Propaganda, to be ordained to the priesthood whenever the Propaganda or College officials should decide, and to remain within the diocese for which they were ordained. The contention caused by this Oath in English Catholic circles during the seventeenth century and later is overshadowed only by the political difficulties caused by the search for a formula of allegiance acceptable to the Crown and to the Catholic conscience. When the time came for Smith and Dougherty to take the Oath, they rebelled. The story is told succinctly in one of Father Thorpe's letters (October 12, 1791):

My letter in beginning of last month promised a further account of your two students. The College Oath was rather suddenly proposed to them only a day or two before the 15th of August, when they and several others about the same age were called to make it. Both of them declined it as all the others did. The common refusal seemed to be concerted, and in this supposition the Cardinal was much disturbed and expressed his disfavour to them with some vehemence that did no good. The prelate who resides in the house and to whom the students have access of appeal showed an indifference; the boys were not to be molested, but quietly sent away, if they were not willing to comply with the intents of the College. The Cardinal called it a bit of extraordinary independence. Then he fixed the 8th of Sept. and declared that whoever did not comply should be immediately dismissed. I had as usual visited your two countrymen, and occasionally spoken in favour of the proposed engagement, as it had been my duty to do so in the English College; as I did not know the extremities to which the Cardinal had pressed the present business until he sent for me, related his grievances, and desired me to confer expressly on the matter with the two Americans, for whom indeed he expressed much concern. Whatever was the cause of disdain in the others, these two had declined the oath on different motives. Felix only objected against the hasty manner in which he had been called to the act that required much consideration; but Raphael strongly excepted against the promise of taking Holy Orders at the will of another; on these and similar difficulties he remained obstinate for some time until he had perceived them not to be what he had apprehended. Thus their own good sense and piety reconciled the minds of both. They cheerfully made the desired oblation of themselves on the appointed day. Their example was salutary to their fellow students and they continue to give entire satisfaction to the College. They are both well and desire your blessing.¹⁶

¹⁶ Same to same, *ibid.*, Case 8-K8. Cf. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Commentarium*

We catch occasional glimpses of the boys in the correspondence of the period. Father Thorpe found them both in tears one day in June, 1791, and Felix confessed that they were losing heart and had become homesick. The seven long years ahead before ordination seemed "an eternity." Another important episode of their days in Rome came in 1796, when Felix Dougherty preached in Latin on Pentecost Sunday, in the historic Sistine Chapel, before Pope Pius VI. Among the many valuable documents in the Archives of the Dominican Order at Washington, D. C., is a manuscript copy of the sermon, on sixteen half-pages of small-sized legal paper, each page being four lines in length. Besides the title: *A Sermon on the Coming of the Holy Ghost*, the manuscript bears two Imprimaturs—one by the Most Rev. Francis Xavier Passari, then Acting-Prefect of Propaganda, the other by the Rev. Vincent Pani, O.P., Master of the Sacred Palace. The order of the sermon is very logical, but the Latin is mediocre in style.

The following year (1797) both the young men gave up their studies and came back to America. Letters in the Propaganda Archives for the year 1797, show that Smith decided he had no vocation and that Dougherty returned on account of ill-health (*per ragione della mia debole salute*).¹⁷ Propaganda announced the departure of the boys in a letter to Bishop Carroll, dated September, 1797.¹⁸ They returned by way of Leghorn, Marseilles, Paris, and Lisbon, to Baltimore.

Ralph Smith apparently is lost to sight after his return. There are letters of 1803 from a gentleman of that name from New

Officiale, annus i, vol. i, p. 687. Rome, 1909. The Oath imposed upon the students of all Pontifical Colleges at this time was that drawn up in the pontificate of Alexander VII, under date of July 20, 1660. It varies somewhat from the Oath prescribed by Pope Urban VIII (November 24, 1625).

¹⁷ The letters regarding their return (March 27, 1797-September, 1797) are in the *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 274, f. 106; vol. 275, ff. 143-144.

¹⁸ "Binos Americanos tuae jurisdictioni subjectos ad Amplitudinem tuam mittimus Dominum Raphaelem Smith aetate proveciorem et Dominum Felicem Dougherty juniorem. Eorundem iter maturare coacti fuimus, quod nempe primus in sortem Domini adhuc se vocatum non esse sentiat, atque ad natale solum redeundi desiderio tenebatur; alter vero ob suam valetudinem minus firmam iudicio medicorum quantocius patrium aerem respirare compellebatur, ut ad pristinam sanitatem redire valeat itaque tuae erit prudentiae Raphaelis vocationem alio quoque tempore experiri, ac pendere, an felicitis valetudo patiatur, ut sacris initiari valeat, eidem constans ac firma vocatio est, suique ingenii, studiorumque suorum optima specimina praebuilt." (*Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 275, f. 106.)

Orleans to Bishop Carroll in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, stating that he is about to pass his medical examination in that city, but it is impossible to say whether it is the same person. Smith's oath to report to Propaganda was binding upon him, even after his return, but no letters were found in the Archives at Rome. Of Felix Dougherty we have the further information that he entered St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, in 1798, but "soon" withdrew. On October 16, 1798, he wrote as follows to Cardinal Gerdil, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation:

As an Alumnus of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, and having, by virtue of the Oath taken in the Urban College, obligated myself to write every two years to the Worthy Congregation, I intend by this letter to satisfy this obligation since a favorable opportunity presents itself to do so.

I beg to recall to Your Eminence that I left the College last year on account of my weak state of health. I am at present in the Seminary of my Bishop at Baltimore, but I am preparing myself to leave within a short time in order to go to the Catholic College at Georgetown to teach the Classics to the Catholic youth there. My ordination is thereby deferred for one or two years. The dispersion of their Eminences who compose the Sacred Congregation and the lamentable catastrophe which has fallen upon Rome this year induces me to ask for a dispensation from the Oath which I took to Your Eminence while at College particularly that part of it which obliges me to write as stated above to the Sacred Congregation. I ask this from Your Eminence because you, as Prefect of the Congregation, have the power of granting it to me in the name of His Holiness. I do not ask it because I wish to join any religious Order nor because I do not intend to receive Sacred Orders at the proper time and to work in the Vineyard of the Lord; but because I regard the Oath as a great burden on my conscience in favor of the Holy Congregation without it being useful or even necessary to me in my present state.

If Your Eminence deigns to reply to me, as I beg you to do, may I ask you to direct your letter either to the Bishop for me or personally to myself at the Baltimore Seminary. I shall say nothing of my own great sorrow and of that of all the Catholics by all that has happened at Rome; we do not cease our prayers to God for His powerful protection over the Church which is the work of His hands. I will say only that our Holy Religion flourishes here and is becoming extended beyond all belief. At my return I found the number of Catholics almost doubled. It is a calamity for us, however, that the Bulls for the Consecration of the Co-adjutor to the Bishop, which had been sent twice from Rome during my time there, have not yet arrived. Hence, His consecration is perforce postponed.

My Lord Cardinal, with the most profound reverence and respect, I

kiss the Sacred Purple, and beg to be Your Eminence's most humble, devoted and grateful servant and subject.

At the end of this letter, in the handwriting of Cardinal Gerdil, is the annotation: "Reply that his obligation to write every two years be fulfilled at his convenience; that he is not dispensed from his promise to proceed to ordination, and that he should reflect that now more than ever the Sacred Congregation has need of labourers in the vineyard. A third copy of the Bulls in question to be sent at once."

In the Archives of the Collegio Urbano there is a reference to Dougherty to the effect that he had left St. Mary's Seminary in order to take up a teaching post at Georgetown College. Diligent inquiry has failed to show that the names of these first two American students at Rome are in any of the extant Clergy Lists.¹⁹ After the failure of the American scholarships in Rome, Bishop Carroll sent no more students abroad. His hopes were henceforth centred on St. Mary's Seminary.

¹⁹ It is possible that Felix Dougherty is the person referred to by Finotti (*Bibl. Cath. Americana*, p. 75). Finotti's copy of Carroll's *Discourse on General Washington*, contained an autograph letter from the Bishop to Felix Dougherty, Esq., at his office, East Street, Baltimore.

CHAPTER XIX

CARROLL'S ELECTION TO THE SEE OF BALTIMORE

(1786-1789)

The first period of the problem of episcopal jurisdiction in the United States ends with Carroll's appointment as prefect-Apostolic on June 9, 1784. One point in Antonelli's letter of that date needs repetition, however, since the Clergy Petition of May 18, 1789, asking the Holy See for the privilege of electing one of their own body to the post of proto-bishop of the new Republic, may be traced to that document. The prefectship, the Cardinal wrote, was meant to be a temporary arrangement, and Father Carroll was made aware of this plan on August 20, 1784, through Father Thorpe's letter of June 9th of that year. When this letter was laid before the priests of the First General Chapter of the American Clergy, at Whitemarsh, on October 11, 1784, a resolution was passed to the effect that a bishop was unnecessary at the time. A Committee of Three was appointed so to inform the Holy See. The *Memorial* of December, 1784, embodies the spirit of that resolution. The American clergy opposition was discussed by Carroll in his letter to Thorpe, of February 17, 1785, and the reason given is already a familiar one to the reader: "It will never be suffered that their [the Catholic] Ecclesiastical superior (be he a bishop or prefect-apostolic) receive his appointment from a foreign State, and only hold it at the discretion of a foreign tribunal or congregation." Carroll echoed the common belief that it would be fatal to the Catholic Church in the Republic, if acknowledgment of dependence on the Holy See should be interpreted by the civil authorities as submission to a foreign power. He realized how delicately the American sentiment should be translated into the language of Rome, and how invidious his statement might seem to those who should be inclined to see behind the stand the American priests were taking "a re-

maining spirit of Jesuitism," that is, a spirit of resentment against the sacrifice demanded in 1773. He was decided that a plain and honest representation of the situation was necessary, and he was determined to run the risk of misunderstanding at Rome, rather than allow the permanent interests of Religion to suffer. This sentiment he explained clearly and deferentially to the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda in his celebrated *Letter* of February 27, 1785—his letter of acceptance of the prefectship.

Cardinal Antonelli had indicated the intention of the Holy See to establish a vicariate for the United States, and while the solicitude of Rome for the American Church filled the hearts of its leaders with joy, nevertheless, Dr. Carroll believed it his duty to inform Propaganda that the American Anglicans had decided in their last convention to obtain a bishop for their Church. This decision, Carroll says, was not censured by the Congress, then in session for the purpose of drafting a Constitution. Since the Catholics enjoyed the same liberty in the exercise of their religion, it necessarily followed that they enjoyed the same right in regard to adopting measures for their own organization. Dr. Carroll then expressed the belief that the time was opportune for the appointment of a bishop over the American Catholics. There would be no danger of arousing any opposition from non-Catholic sources. He realized, however, that since the Holy See had granted him the faculty of conferring the Sacrament of Confirmation, the necessity for a superior invested with episcopal dignity and character was not so pressing. There was little doubt in Carroll's mind that the appointment of a bishop, rather than a vicar-apostolic subject to Propaganda, would conduce more to the progress of the Church in this country, and would contribute much to remove Protestant jealousy of a foreign jurisdiction. "I know with certainty," he writes, "that this fear will increase, if they know that an ecclesiastical superior is so appointed as to be removable from office at the pleasure of the Sacred Congregation, or any other tribunal out of the country, or that he has no power to admit any priest to exercise the sacred ministry, unless appointed and sent by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide." Carroll added that the priests here were imploring God in His wisdom and mercy to guide the judgment of the Holy See, lest anything should be decided upon which would be detri-

mental to the American spirit. For that reason he stated it would be best to allow the American clergy to elect their own episcopal superior, so that "bad feeling may not be excited among the people of this country."¹

Carroll's Visitation of 1785-86 proved the necessity of a stronger bond of union with the spiritual power of Rome. The "stirs" in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, were potent with uneasiness for the struggling Church in the United States; and the priests who had met at Whitemarsh in 1783 to reconstruct the shattered forces of the Faith were the first to realize that a presbyterian or archipresbyterate form of church government was too weak to control the divergent outlook already discernible in the principal cities.

It must be admitted that, in spite of the brusque action of Propaganda or, rather, of some of its officials in the Suppression of the Society of Jesus ten years before, no impartial reader of his letters can consider Cardinal Antonelli as otherwise than sympathetic towards the Church in the United States. His part in the French intrigue can be excused from the standpoint of zeal, although on its face the whole affair bears the mark of the ecclesiastical politician. When he received Carroll's manly letter of February 27, 1785, he lost no time in reassuring the anxious Superior of the American Mission that it was the intention of Propaganda to satisfy in every way not only the wishes of the clergy in the United States, but also the sentiments of independence then so intensely on the alert in the new nation. His answer of July 23, 1785, states this quite clearly: "The Sacred Congregation has also determined to establish a vicar-apostolic with the title and character of bishop in the thirteen provinces of United America and to confer this dignity first upon Your Lordship. If, however, you judge it to be more expedient and more consistent with the Constitution of the Republic that the missionaries themselves, at least for the first time, recommend some one to the Sacred Congregation to be promoted to the office of vicar-apostolic, the Sacred Congregation will not hesitate to perform whatever you consider to be most expedient."²

¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-F (original draft); original copy in the *Propaganda Archives*, *Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, ff. 308-309.

² *Propaganda Archives*, *Lettere*, vol. 246, f. 437.

This letter, which we consider the most important document of the five years of Carroll's superiorship, reached Carroll on March 27, 1786, and when it was presented to the deputies of the clergy at the Second General Chapter, held at Whitmarsh in November, 1786, it was quickly acted upon; and, as we have seen in a previous section, the opposition was soon satisfied and the way was cleared for the further action of Rome. Marbois had written from New York on March 27, 1785, to the Sacred Congregation that the Holy See could do nothing so advantageous to the Church in the United States than the appointment of Carroll, and he urged his promotion to episcopal honours. The Anglicans, Marbois explained, had already prepared the Americans for the presence of bishops, even though these would be obliged to go to England for consecration. The busy Frenchman suggested that the Holy See might name a vicar-apostolic, who would later be promoted to the episcopate; or, the churches of the thirteen States might elect a subject—this latter method he believed to be more in keeping with the spirit of the American people—"quest' ultima forma sarebbe senza dubbio più analogo allo spirito di questi popoli," the Italian document runs. But the Catholics were so scattered that he did not see how such an election could take place. This is the reason why Marbois urged the promotion of Carroll, since all were then accustomed to regard him as the head of the Church in the United States, and no one would wonder at his elevation to the episcopate.³

When the opposition to the creation of a bishop for the new Republic ceased, the Committee of Three, Fathers Carroll, Molyneux and Ashton, drafted its *Memorial* to the Holy See. Whether Molyneux or Ashton had a hand in its composition, is problematical. Carroll wrote to Father William O'Brien, then at New York, on May 10, 1788, saying that the whole trouble of framing materials, petitions, etc., had devolved on himself. Carroll saw the necessity of making progress on account of the unrest in New York and Philadelphia, and on March 12, 1788, the following *Memorial*, which can be styled the Clergy Petition for a Bishop, was sent to Pope Pius VI:

³ Collection of papers, entitled: *Sobre la errecion de un Obispado*, in the *Archivo General de Indias* (Seville), leg. 3895, an. 1788. Italian copies are in the *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, etc.*, vol. ii, f. 316.

Most Holy Father:

We, the undersigned, petitioners approaching the Apostolic See, with all due veneration, and prostrate at the feet of your Holiness, humbly set forth the following: That we are priests who have been specially deputed by our fellow-priests exercising with us the religious ministry in the United States of America, in order that we may, in the first place, return unbounded thanks to your Holiness for the truly paternal care, which you have deigned to extend to this remote part of the Lord's vineyard: and in the next place, to manifest that we all, had been stimulated by this great care, to continue and increase our labors to preserve and extend the faith of Christ our Lord, in these States, which are filled with the errors of all the sects. In doing so, we are convinced, that we not only render meet service to God, but also render a pleasing and acceptable homage to the common Father of the faithful. Moreover to correspond to this great solicitude, we believe it our duty to expose to your Holiness, whatever from our long experience in these States, seems necessary to be known, in order that your pastoral providence may be most usefully administered in our regard.

Therefore, inasmuch as his Eminence Cardinal Antonelli intimated to one of your petitioners, in a letter dated July 23, 1785, that it was the design of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide to appoint a Bishop Vicar-Apostolic, for these States as soon as possible, whenever the said Sacred Congregation understood that this would be seasonable, and desired to be informed as to the suitable time for that appointment, by the priest to whom the said letter was addressed, we declare, not he only but we in the common name of all the priests labouring here, Most Holy Father, that in our opinion the time has now come when the Episcopal dignity and authority are very greatly to be desired. To omit other very grave reasons, we experience more and more in the constitution of this very free republic, that if there are even among the ministers of the sanctuary, any men of indocile mind, and chafing under ecclesiastical discipline, they allege as an excuse for their license and disobedience, that they are bound to obey bishops exercising their own authority and not a mere priest exercising any vicarious jurisdiction. This was the boast of the men who recently at New York sought to throw off the yoke of authority, and alleged this pretext, which seemed most likely to catch the favour of Protestants, in that more than in any other State, contending forsooth that the authority of the ecclesiastical superior whom the Sacred Congregation has appointed for us, was forbidden by law, because it not only emanates from a foreign tribunal, but is also dependent on it for its duration and exercise. We refrain from setting out all this more at length to your Holiness, inasmuch as we have learned that certain original documents have been transmitted to Rome, from which it can be more clearly seen, with what powers the person should be invested, to whom the ecclesiastical government of these States is confided.

With this view, we represent to the Supreme Pastor of the faithful on earth, that all the grounds on which the authority of the Superior as

now constituted may be rendered odious, will have equal weight against a bishop, to whom the powers of a vicar, and not of an ordinary, are granted.

Therefore, Most Holy Father, we express in the name and by the wish of all, our opinion that the political and religious condition of these States requires that form of ecclesiastical government by which provision may be most efficaciously made in the first place for the integrity of faith and morals, and consequently for perpetual union with the Apostolic See, and due respect and obedience toward the same, and in the next place, that if any bishop is assigned to us, his appointment and authority may be rendered as free as possible from suspicion and odium to those among whom we live. Two points, it seems to us, will contribute greatly to this end; first, that the Most Holy Father, by his authority in the Church of Christ, erect a new episcopal see in these United States, immediately subject to the Holy See; in the next place, that the election of the bishop, at least for the first time, be permitted to the priests, who now duly exercise the religious ministry here and have the cure of souls. This being established, your most vigilant wisdom, Most Holy Father, after hearing the opinions of our priests of approved life and experience, and considering the character of our government, will adopt some course, by which future elections may be permanently conducted.

These are, Most Holy Father, what we have deemed it proper to submit with the utmost devotion of our hearts to your Holiness's pastoral care, declaring, as though we were about to give an account of our sentiments to Jesus Christ, the divine bishop of souls, that we have nothing in view, except the increase of our holy Faith, growth of piety, vigour of ecclesiastical discipline, and the complete refutation of false opinions in regard to the Catholic religion, which have imbued the minds of Protestants.

May Almighty God long preserve you, Most Holy Father, to Christian people, that you not only benignly foster this American church, as you have already done, but also guard it with all spiritual protection, and establish it thoroughly, and finally that you will vouchsafe to bestow on us prostrate at your feet your Apostolical and fatherly blessing.

This is the prayer of

Your Holiness's

Most devoted and obedient Servants and Sons,

JOHN CARROLL

ROBERT MOLYNEUX

JOHN ASHTON ⁴

⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, ff. 358ss. There is a copy of this Clergy Petition in Carroll's hand in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-T6. The translation given is taken from SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 326-329. The original is as follows: "*Beatissime Pater, Nos infrascripti oratores ad Sedem Apostolicam omni debita veneratione accendentes, et ad Sanctitatis Vestrae pedes provoluti ea quae sequuntur, humiliter exponimus; nos scilicet sacerdotes speciali-*

The chief points of the *Memorial* are: the necessity of a bishop, appointed directly by the Holy See, and immediately subject to the Holy See; freedom of election for this first time to be granted to the American clergy; a method to be adopted for future elections in keeping with the character of the American Constitution. A few days later, on March 18, 1788, Carroll wrote to Antonelli, describing in detail the scandalous contumacy of Father Nugent in New York City and urging the immediate appointment of a bishop. The American clergy, he said, believe that the time has come for designating someone with episcopal authority and jurisdiction. He was embarrassed at urging this procedure upon the Holy See, because it might have the appearance of ambition on his own part. "But I would rather run the risk of this suspicion than by keeping silence hide the danger that is imminent in religious circles here." This letter was not sent until April 19, 1788, when Carroll added a postscript on the progress made in the matter of church incorporation under the laws of Maryland. He told Antonelli that when he was in New

ter deputatos fuisse a fratribus nostris sacerdotibus religionis ministeria nobiscum exercentibus, in Foederatae Americae provinciis, ut imprimis Sanctitati Suae ingentes gratias referamus pro sollicitudine plane paterna, quam in dissitam hanc dominicae vineae portionem extendere dignetur; ac deinde significamus nos omnes hac tanta sollicitudine excitatos fuisse ad labores nostros continuandos, augendosque pro conservanda et amplianda Christi Domini fide in his provinciis quae omnium sectarum erroribus replentur; ita nempe faciendo persuasum habemus, nos non solum debitum Deo obsequium exhibere, sed etiam communi Patri fidelium gratum acceptumque reddere officium. Praeterea ut tantae sollicitudini respondeamus, muneris nostri esse credimus illa omnia Sanctitati Suae patefacere, quae pro diuturna nostra in his provinciis experientia scitu necessaria videntur, ut pastoralis tua in nos providentia, quam fieri potest, utilissime administretur. Itaque cum Emin. Cardinalis Antonelli uni oratorum significaverit litteris datis die 23 Julii 1785 Sanctae Congregationis de Propaganda fide mentem fuisse pro hisce provinciis constituere episcopum vicarium apostolicum quamprimum eadem Sacra Congregatio illud opportunum fore intelligeret, cuperetque de congruo ad eam designationem tempore, certior fieri ab eo, ad quem scripsit Emin. Cardinalis, inde est, Beatissime Pater, ut non ille tantum sed omnes communi omnium operariorum nomine profiteamur nostra quidem opinione tempus iam advenisse, quo dignitas et auctoritas episcopalis maxime desideratur. Ut enim alias gravissimas rationes omitamus, magis ac magis experimur in hac liberrima reipublicae constitutione, si quae sint vel inter ipsos sanctuarii iministros indocilis ingenii homines vel disciplinae ecclesiasticae impatientes, eos suae licentiae et disobedientiae excusationem praetendere quod episcopis quidem propria auctoritate utentibus obedire teneantur, non autem simplici sacerdote vicariam quamdam ac legibus nostris interdictam jurisdictionem exercenti. Hoc nuper Neo-Eboraci jactitarunt, qui auctoritatis jugum cupiunt excutere, et cum praecaeteris pervicaciae suae praeferunt quaequaverunt, qui esset ad capessendum heterodoxorum favorem maxime idoneus; contendere siquidem auctoritatem superioris ecclesiastici, quem nobis Sacra Congregatio constituit, esse illegitimam, utpote a tribunali externo profectam, ab eodemque dependentem quoad durationem et exercitium. Haec Sanctitati Tuae fusius exponere supersedemus quod documenta quaedam originalia

York last autumn, he had several long talks with the Spanish Consul de Gardoqui, and that the latter saw no hope for the Church in America unless a bishop were immediately appointed to guide it through the difficulties which were multiplying on all sides.⁵ Carroll's letter to Gardoqui, of April 19, 1788, in which we learn that the *Memorial* was dispatched with the official mail of the Spanish Consul, was as follows:

Your Excellency will be pleased to recollect a conversation with which I was honoured during my residence in New York. It related to the expediency, and indeed the necessity, of introducing episcopal government into the United States, as no other would carry sufficient weight to restrain the turbulent clergymen whom views of independence would probably conduct into this country. This opinion appeared to be strongly impressed on your Excellency, and is the natural result of your thorough penetration into the nature and necessary effects of our republican governments. You noticed at the same time their great opposition to foreign

Romam transmissa esse cognovimus, ex quibus intelligitur, qua auctoritate ipsum muniri conveniat, cui ecclesiasticum harum provinciarum regimem committitur.

Ad haec Supremo in terra Fidelium Pastori exponimus illa omnia, ex quibus invisa reddi potest auctoritas superioris prout nunc constituitur, militatura etiam contra episcopum cui vicaria solummodo et non ordinaria potestas concederetur. Igitur, Beatissime Pater, communi voto ac nomine significamus, nobis videri statum politicum et religiosum harum provinciarum exigere ejusmodi formam regiminis ecclesiastici, per quem imprimis efficaciter provideatur fidei, morumque integritati, adeoque unioni perpetuae cum Sede Apostolica, debitisque erga Illam observantiae et obsequii, deinde ut episcopi, si quis nobis concedendus est, designatio et auctoritas reddatur quam maxime suspecta aut odiosa illos quos inter vivimus. Ad quem finem, duo videntur nobis multum collatura; primum, ut Beatissimus Pater pro sua in Christi ecclesiae auctoritate, novam sedem episcopalem erigat in his Foederatae Americae provinciis Sedi Apostolicae immediate suffraganeam, deinde ut episcopi electi, saltem prima vice, permittatur presbyteris, qui nunc religionis ministeria hic debite exercent, curamque agunt animarum. Illo autem constituto, et redacta in Formam Americana Ecclesia, curabit provida Sedis Apostolicae sollicitudo, ut ratio aliqua stabilis concludatur, secundum quam in posterum episcopi designentur. Haec sunt, Beatissime Pater, quae maxima animi devotione Sanctitati Tuae pastorali sollicitudine submittenda esse existimavimus, ex animo profitentes et tanquam reddituri rationem nostri consilii divino animarum episcopo Jesu Christo, nihil nos prae oculis habere quam ut sancta nostra fides augeatur, crescat pietas, vigeat disciplina ecclesiastica, atque falsae opiniones, quae heterodoxorum animis de vera religione insederunt, omnino evellantur. Deus Optimus Maximus christiano populo Te, Beatissime Pater, diu servet incolumem, ut hanc Ecclesiam Americanam non solum benigne foveas, ut fecisti, sed etiam omni spiritali subsidio custodias, penitusque constituas, utque nobis ad pedes tuos procumbentibus apostolicam ac paternam benedictionem velis largiri.

Ita precantur

Sanctitatis Tuae devotissimi et obedientissimi servi et filii: Joannes Carroll, Robertus Molyneux, Joannes Ashton, presbyteri. Baltimore in provincia Marilandiae Martii die 12, 1788." (tergo) Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio VI Papae.

⁵ *Ibid., Scritture riferite, etc.*, vol. 2, f. 363. Part of this letter is cited by HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 637.

jurisdiction, and the prejudices which would certainly arise against our religion if the appointment of the bishop were to rest in a distant congregation of Cardinals; and if he were to act as their vicar removable at their pleasure; for which reasons you thought that the bishop should be chosen by the American clergy, approved by the Holy See for the preservation of unity in faith, and ordained to some title or see to be erected within these States, with the ordinary powers annexed to the episcopal character. You even were so obliging as to offer to support with your recommendation a petition addressed to His Holiness for this purpose, and to transmit it to the Count of Floridablanca, with a request to his Excellency to have it presented with the great additional interest of his recommendation. In consequence of this generous offer, your Excellency will receive from one of my Brethren, at Philadelphia, the Rev. Mr. Beeston, the original petition to be sent to his Holiness, and which, I doubt not, you will be so kind as to forward in the manner you were pleased to mention. I am so much concerned to preserve the favourable regard, with which you have hitherto honoured me, that I must request you not to impute the petition to views of ambition. Such a passion will be poorly gratified by such a bishopric as ours will be: labour and solicitude it will yield in plenty, and I trust these heavy burdens will never fall on my shoulders.⁶

Gardoqui transmitted a copy of the *Memorial* on July 25, 1788, to the Prime Minister, Floridablanca, and accompanied it with a letter of his own urging the appointment of Carroll. From Madrid, the letter and *Memorial* were sent on September 23, 1788, to the Spanish Ambassador at the Court of Pius VI, Don Nicholas de Azara, who presented them to Cardinal Antonelli on November 19, 1788. Meanwhile, the Sacred Congregation had acted upon the Clergy Petition. At a general congregation of Propaganda, held on June 23, 1788, the *Memorial* was favourably acted upon. The *Atti* of that date state that:

In order to check certain refractory ecclesiastics who boast that they are not bound to obey a simple vicar, exercising only an uncertain jurisdiction which is forbidden by the laws of that Republic, and in order to provide for a more stable way for order and the propagation of the Catholic religion in those states, it was absolutely necessary that His Holiness would design to erect a diocese immediately dependent upon the Holy See, and that to make the selection, as well as the authority, of the new prelate less suspicious, it seemed to be very desirable that His Holiness would grant that, *on this first occasion at least*, the bishop be

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-G1.

nominated by that part of the clergy which at present has the care of souls in the said provinces.⁷

This was granted by Pius VI in an audience on July 6, 1788, and on July 12, 1788, Cardinal Antonelli wrote to the three memorialists announcing the favourable result of their Petition:

Inasmuch as all the labourers in this vineyard of the Lord agree in this, that the appointment of one bishop seems absolutely necessary to retain priests in duty and to propagate more widely piety and religion—a bishop who can preside over the flock of Catholics scattered through these States of Confederate America, and rule and govern them with the authority of an Ordinary, Our Most Holy Lord Pope Pius VI with the advice of this holy Congregation, has most benignly decided that a favourable consent should be given to their vows and petitions. By you therefore, it is first to be examined in what city this episcopal see ought to be erected, and whether the title of the bishopric is to be taken from the place of the see, or whether a titular bishop only should be established. This having been done, his Holiness as a special favour and for this first time, permits the priests who at the present time duly exercise the ministry of the Catholic religion and have care of souls to elect as bishop a person eminent in piety, prudence, and zeal for the faith, from the said clergy, and present him to the Apostolic See to obtain confirmation. And the Sacred Congregation does not doubt but that you will discharge this matter with becoming circumspection, and it hopes that this whole flock will derive not only great benefit but also great consolation from this episcopate. It will be then for you to decide both the proper designation of a See and the election of a bishop, that the matter may be further proceeded with.⁸

When this letter reached the United States, the Committee of Three, Carroll, Molyneux, and Ashton, sent out a circular letter dated March 25, 1789, stating that the way was cleared for the election of their bishop. Hughes tells us that the Committee named three local committees for the three districts, whose duty it was to collect the suffrages of the priests, and to report to them before the end of April.⁹ Shea states that on the receipt of Antonelli's letter a meeting of the clergy was held at White-marsh and after the celebration of Mass, the votes of those present were taken. "An authentic act of this assembly was then drawn

⁷ *Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1789) ff. 369-378; cf. *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*, pp. 47-48.

⁸ *Ibid., Lettere*, vol. 205, ff. 595ss:

⁹ *L.c.*, p. 685.

up, signed, and forwarded to the Sacred Congregation de P. F.”¹⁰ Shea is correct, for we read in *the Atti* of 1789:

The deputies humbly offering thanks to the Holy Father and to this Holy Congregation for the grace kindly accorded to them, to the consolation and spiritual advantage of that Catholic flock, write under date of May 18 (1788) that the general sentiment has shown itself to be that a bishop with ordinary jurisdiction would be much more suitable for the purposes of the spiritual government than a titular bishop, and that he would be, also, more acceptable and less suspicious to the States; and on the other hand, that Baltimore had been unanimously selected as the place for an episcopal see, that being a centre in the centre of Maryland, where the greater part of the faithful and of the clergy are to be found, and whence the faith has been happily disseminated through the other provinces. And finally, they say that, after the celebration of the Mass of the Holy Ghost, the assistance of the Father of lights having been implored, the votes of those present, as well as those that were sent from a distance, were counted, with the result that the Very Reverend John Carroll, the present Superior of those missions, was duly elected bishop, having received twenty-four votes, while two other candidates, Ignatius Matthews and Henry Pile, received two votes, adding that three of the electors were either unwilling, or neglected, to send in their suffrages.¹¹

Pope Pius VI confirmed the choice of the American clergy, and at a general congregation of Propaganda Fide, held on September 14, 1789, the cardinals concurred in Carroll's election. A formal decree was then drawn up to this effect, and made known to the Pope. On the 17th, Pius VI ordered the Apostolic Brief or Bull to be prepared. At the same time, the Sacred Congregation wrote to Fathers Molyneux, Ashton, Sewall and “the other priests having the care of souls in the United States,” announcing Rome's acceptance of the election:

Nothing more acceptable and pleasing could happen to us, than all ambition being laid aside, and without being influenced by party spirit, you should have nominated, by almost unanimous consent, John Carroll as the first Bishop of the new See of Baltimore. For, since our Holy Father Pius VI was fully aware of the unblemished reputation of Mr. Carroll and of the remarkable zeal with which for many years he has strenuously laboured there for the salvation of souls, His Holiness has confirmed by Apostolic Decree the liberty of this first election granted to

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 334.

¹¹ *Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1789), f. 378.

you by special favour, and which you have exercised with such rectitude and wisdom. Therefore, after the new Prelate shall have been duly consecrated, nothing more remains than that you vie with one another in stretching forth your helping hands for the cultivation of that most flourishing vineyard, and that being admitted to a share of the pastoral solicitude you should labor with united forces for care of that flock. By this means you will bring to a happy conclusion the work so splendidly begun, and in the mystical body which has now received a head, will be verified that which was worthy of admiration in the first followers of Christ,—one heart and one mind. As we are certain that this will be the case, in order that you may fulfil it exactly, we, in union with you, implore Almighty God that the choice of your Bishop may correspond with your desires and our hopes.¹²

Meanwhile, the third General Chapter of the American Clergy had convened at Whitmarsh, May 11-18, 1789. Taking advantage of Rome's acceptance of their mode of election, the Chapter attempted to stabilize a permanent mode of appointing bishops in the future. Their resolutions were:

1. That the clergymen of the United States, living within a convenient distance from the residence of the bishop, and who have been approved for the administration of the Sacraments during three years preceding immediately, ought to concur in the election of the bishop.

2. That at present none but the Clergy residing in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the City of New York, are within a convenient distance for this purpose.

3. That the clergymen, as above described, shall be parcelled into divisions consisting of six members, each of which shall choose two

¹² *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 255, ff. 599ss: "*R. D. Roberto Molineux Joanni Ashton Carolo Sewall aliisque præsbyteris in Foederatis Americae Provinciis curam animarum gerentibus.*"

"Nihil profecto gratius, atque jucundius nobis accidere poterat, quam quod omni ambitione posthabita, nullo suo partium aestu abrepti unanimi pene consensu Joannem Carroll primum episcopum novae istius Baltimorensis Ecclesiae designastis. Quum enim Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius VI perpetuam plene haberet eiusdem viri probitatem, ac studium singulare, quo isthic diu multumque animarum salutem incubuit, vobis ex speciali gratia, primae huius electionis libertatem, qua tam recte sapienterque uti estis, vestramque electionem ratam habens, literis apostolicis confirmavit. Post quam igitur novus Antistes rite consecratus fuerit, nihil aliud restat quam ut vos eidem manus auxiliares certatim porrigatis ad florentissimam istiusmodi vineam excolendam, et in partem pastoralis sollicitudinis admissi, ad istius gregis custodiam collatis viribus satagatis. Sic enim opus a vobis egregie inceptum felicitate absolveritis, et in mystico corpore cui modo caput impositum est, fiet, quod in primis Christi cultoribus mirari liceat, cor unum et anima una. Quod quidem quum certum habeamus, fore ut vos exacte praesteritis nos quoque vobiscum Deum Optimum Maximum deprecabimur, ut vestri episcopi electio justissimis optatis vestris, nostrisque votis respondeat." Translation as given by SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 333-334.

electors of a bishop; and the divisions shall be made by the rectors of Port Tobacco, Baltimore, and St. Mary's Church of Philadelphia.

4. That, whenever a proper requisition is made, or a vacancy happens by death, the electors shall convene at the usual place of residence of the bishop, unless some other place be agreed on, within one month after requisition, or notification of the bishop's death; and, having made public profession of their faith as contained in the Creed of Pius the Fourth, shall proceed to give their votes signed with their own hands for some clergyman within the diocese; and whoever has two-thirds of the votes of all the electors present, shall be the person duly chosen. But if, after two scrutinies, no one has two-thirds of all the votes, then the election shall be determined by a majority of the votes of all the electors present.

5. That, if ever it should be thought proper to appoint a coadjutor, the ordinary shall convene the electors, and may recommend to them the person he judges most proper. The electors shall then proceed to the election in the manner above directed; but the bishop shall have a vote with them; and, if it so happen that the election is to be determined by a majority of votes, the bishop shall have a casting vote, in case of an equal division.

6. That this plan, if approved by a majority of the clergymen, who as above mentioned ought to concur in the election of a bishop, be powerfully recommended at Rome, to be confirmed by the authority of the H. See.

Ordered, that the above be communicated to all the clergymen in the three Districts, and that their sentiments thereon be collected by the Rev. Mr. Molyneux in the Northern District, by the Rev. Mr. Charles Sewall in the Middle District, and by the Rev. Mr. Ignatius Matthews in the Southern District; and that the above Rev. gentlemen do make a report thereon to the Superior, who shall notify the same to the next General Chapter.¹³

We have a glimpse into Carroll's attitude when the election result was made known. Writing to Father Plowden shortly afterwards, in May, 1789, he says: "The event was such as deprived me of all expectation of rest or pleasure henceforward, and fills me with terror with respect to eternity. I am so stunned with the issue of this business, that I truly hate the hearing or mention of it; and, therefore, will say only that since my brethren, whom in this case I consider the interpreters of the Divine Will, say I must obey, I will even do it, if by obeying I shall sacrifice henceforth every moment of peace and satisfaction."¹⁴ The prefect-apostolic knew by bitter experience "that while the office

¹³ HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 686.

¹⁴ BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.

brought no pomp or emolument, its cares and anxieties would increase day by day. But to decline the appointment would inevitably have led to the nomination in Europe of some one entirely unacquainted with the country, and the Catholic clergy and laity in it, as well as with their actual position."¹⁵ Some months later, on October 23, 1789, he wrote to Plowden:

If I could persuade myself, dear sir, to follow your example, in refusing peremptorily to submit to the choice of my brethren, I have much reason to think it would be better for our holy religion, and certainly to my greater ease of mind; but having previously used all my sincere endeavours to divert them from such a choice; I cannot but acquiesce in it, as it was unanimous, excepting one vote. At the same time, my own knowledge of myself informs me better than a thousand voices to the contrary that I am entirely unfit for a station, in which I can have no hopes of rendering service, but through His help and continual direction, Who has called me to it, when I was doing all in my power to prevent it. The interest you take in a late event, proves the warmth of your friendship; but it proves likewise, how blind and partial friends are liable to be. Your condolence would have suited better the situation of my mind; every day furnishes me with new reflections, and almost every day produces new events, to alarm my conscience, and excite fresh solicitude at the prospect before me.¹⁶

The Brief *Ex hac apostolicae* appointing John Carroll first Bishop of the United States was issued on November 6, 1789, and shortly afterwards, on November 14, Antonelli wrote to Carroll the following truly admirable letter:

We cannot sufficiently express in words the extraordinary delight that we felt when that distinguished convention of the Clergy assembled under the call of this Congregation cast an almost unanimous vote for you, and designated you to occupy the new See of Baltimore. For, in the first place, we entertain the highest hopes that the Christian people, being strengthened in the faith by the consolation of having a new Bishop, will grow stronger and firmer in the practice of the faith. Then we congratulate ourselves, that in the conferring of this additional dignity, you have been nominated by the clergy. For, such is the opinion that we have already formed of your deserts, that we can entertain no doubts but that you will fully satisfy the requirements of this new honour and of the burdens that it imposes. Our Holy Father Pius VI shared also in the joy that we experienced since he had formerly appointed you Vicar-Apostolic in those States, and he most gladly embraced the opportunity

¹⁵ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 335.

¹⁶ BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110; cf. HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 688.

of increasing your dignity, and, therefore, with the plenitude of Apostolic authority he has declared you to be the new Bishop of Baltimore by Apostolic Letters which are herewith transmitted to you. Consequently, we congratulate you on this new accession of dignity, and earnestly exhort you, that relying upon divine aid, you undertake with promptitude of spirit the care of the flock intrusted to you. It is a glorious thing and a great distinction to be able to offer to God the first fruits, as it were, of that vineyard. Rejoice, therefore, in so great a blessing, as well for your own benefit, as for the salvation of others, and the promotion of the Catholic faith, which we confidently trust will strike deeper and deeper roots as time goes on in the wide extended territories of that new world. That you may not be destitute of the faculties which the Apostolic See is accustomed to grant to the Bishops of the Indies and of America, we enclose to you the first formula of them which you can make use of for those of your Diocese, as you may wisely in the Lord judge to be expedient; nevertheless, make use also of the faculties, as Bishop, which were formerly granted to you as Vicar-Apostolic. If you stand in need of any other whatsoever, refer the whole matter to me carefully, and whatever is required for the spiritual benefit of your people I shall not refuse. As soon as possible, make a personal visitation of all the Provinces and the districts inhabited by Catholics, correct evil customs, put an end to abuses, exhort the missionaries to be energetic in the performance of their duties, suffer no one to undertake the care of souls and administer the Sacraments without your permission. If you be short-handed for Priests see to it, as to what country it is best to invite recruits from but take care lest quarrels and dissensions may arise from the diversity of character and disposition which generally exists amongst the natives of different countries. For which reason, principally, we do not permit Italian priests to go thither; and besides, they very rarely speak English. *Impose not lightly hands on any man:* but enlist amongst the Clergy only such as have given proof of piety and learning in the Seminary. For the rest, may God preserve you long for the benefit and increase of that Church.¹⁷

The *Ex hac apostolicae* is the first, and therefore the most venerable, of all papal documents which have been sent by the Holy See to the church in America.¹⁸ Shea calls it the crowning act in the development of Church organization in this country. A comparison of this Brief with similar documents both in the *Jus Pontificium* and in the *Bullarium Romanum* shows that it is a distinct original composition. The initial protocol might indeed

¹⁷ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 255, f. 668; cf. *Fish-Devitt*, pp. 50-52.

¹⁸ It will be found in the *Jus Pontificium de Propaganda Fide* (De Martinis), vol. iv, pp. 344-346. The original is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, and a copy will be found (in Maréchal's hand?) in the *Letter-Books*, vol. i.

be the preface to any kind of a papal document, but it is evident that the Holy See recognized the historic moment which had come in Catholic American affairs at the time of John Carroll's election. The language is lofty, spiritual, commanding; and the disturbing elements that had appeared in the American Church are undoubtedly in mind. Every difficulty that had arisen in the relationship of Church and State in the United States, is boldly discussed, and no room is left for suspicion of any kind.

- POPE PIUS VI

Ad Futuram Rei Memoriam

When from the eminence of our apostolical station, we bend our attention to the different regions of the earth, in order to fulfil, to the utmost extent of our power, the duty which our Lord has imposed upon our unworthiness of ruling and feeding his flock; our care and solicitude are particularly engaged that the faithful of Christ, who, dispersed through various provinces, are united with us by Catholic communion, may be governed by their proper pastors, and diligently instructed by them in the discipline of evangelical life and doctrine. For it is our principle that they who, relying on the divine assistance, have regulated their lives and manners agreeably to the precepts of Christian wisdom, ought so to command their own passions as to promote by the pursuit of justice their own and their neighbor's spiritual advantage; and that they who have received from their bishops, and by checking the intemperance of self-wisdom, have steadily adhered to the heavenly doctrine delivered by Christ to the Catholic Church, should not be carried away by every wind of doctrine, but, grounded on the authority of divine revelation, should reject the new and varying doctrines of men which endanger the tranquillity of government, and rest in the unchangeable faith of the Catholic Church. For in the present degeneracy of corrupt manners into which human nature, ever resisting the sweet yoke of Christ, is hurried, and in the pride of talents and knowledge which disdains to submit the opinions and dreams of men to the evangelical truth delivered by Jesus Christ, support must be given by the heavenly authority which is entrusted to the Catholic Church, as to a steady pillar and solid foundation which shall never fail; that from her voice and instructions mankind may learn the objects of their faith and the rules of their conduct, not only for the obtaining of eternal salvation, but also for the regulation of this life and the maintaining of concord in the society of this earthly city. Now, this charge of teaching and ruling first given to the apostles, and especially to St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, on whom alone the Church is built, and to whom our Lord and Redeemer entrusted the feeding of his lambs and of his sheep, has been derived in due order of succession to Bishops, and especially to the Roman Pontiffs, successors to St. Peter

and heirs of his power and dignity, that thereby it might be made evident that the gates of hell can never prevail against the Church, and that the divine founder of it will ever assist it to the consummation of ages; so that neither in the depravity of morals nor in the fluctuation of novel opinions, the episcopal succession shall ever fail or the bark of Peter be sunk. Wherefore, it having reached our ears that in the flourishing commonwealth of the Thirteen American States many faithful Christians united in communion with the chair of Peter, in which the centre of Catholic unity is fixed, and governed in their spiritual concerns by their own priests having care of souls, earnestly desire that a Bishop may be appointed over them to exercise the functions of episcopal order; to feed them more largely with the food of salutary doctrine, and to guard more carefully that portion of the Catholic flock:

We willingly embraced this opportunity which the grace of Almighty God has afforded us to provide those distant regions with the comfort and ministry of a Catholic Bishop. And that this might be effected more successfully, and according to the rules of the sacred canons, We commissioned our venerable Brethren the Cardinals of the holy Roman Church, directors of the Congregation "*de propaganda fide*," to manage this business with the greatest care, and to make a report to us. It was therefore appointed by their decree, approved by us, and published the twelfth day of July of the last year, that the priests who lawfully exercise the sacred ministry and have care of souls in the United States of America, should be empowered to advise together and to determine, first, in what town the episcopal see ought to be erected, and next, who of the aforesaid priests appeared the most worthy and proper to be promoted to this important charge, whom We, for the first time only and by special grace permitted the said priests to elect and to present to this apostolic See. In obedience to this decree the aforesaid priests exercising the care of souls in the United States of America, unanimously agreed that a bishop with ordinary jurisdiction, ought to be established in the town of Baltimore, because this town situate in Maryland, which province the greater part of the priests and of the faithful inhabit, appeared the most conveniently placed for intercourse with the other States, and because from this province Catholic religion and faith had been propagated into the others. And at the time appointed for the election, they being assembled together, the sacrifice of Holy Mass, being celebrated, and the grace and assistance of the Holy Ghost being implored, the votes of all present were taken, and of twenty-six priests who were assembled twenty-four gave their votes for our beloved son, John Carroll, whom they judged the most proper to support the burden of episcopacy, and sent an authentic instrument of the whole transaction to the aforesaid Congregation of Cardinals. Now all things being materially weighed and considered in this Congregation, it was easily agreed that the interests and increase of Catholic religion would be greatly promoted if an episcopal see were erected at Baltimore, and the said John Carroll were appointed the Bishop of it. We, therefore, to whom this opinion has

been reported by our beloved son, Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the said Congregation, having nothing more at heart than to ensure success to whatever tends to the propagation of true religion, and to the honor and increase of the Catholic Church, by the plenitude of our apostolical power, and by the tenor of these presents, do establish and erect the aforesaid town of Baltimore into an episcopal see forever, for one Bishop to be chosen by us in all future vacancies; and We, therefore, by the apostolical authority aforesaid, do allow, grant and permit to the Bishop of the said city and to his successors in all future times, to exercise episcopal power and jurisdiction, and every other episcopal function which Bishops constituted in other places are empowered to hold and enjoy in their respective churches, cities and dioceses, by right, custom, or by other means, by general privileges, graces, indulgences and apostolical dispensations, together with all pre-eminences, honors, immunities, graces and favours, which other Cathedral Churches, by right or custom, or in any other sort, have, hold and enjoy. We moreover decree and declare the said Episcopal see thus erected to be subject or suffragan to no Metropolitan right or jurisdiction, but to be forever subject, immediately to us and to our successors the Roman Pontiffs, and to this Apostolical See. And, till another opportunity shall be presented to us of establishing other Catholic Bishops in the United States of America, and till other dispositions shall be made by this Apostolical See, We declare, by our apostolical authority, all the faithful of Christ, living in Catholic communion, ecclesiastics as well as seculars, and all the clergy and people dwelling in the aforesaid United States of America, though hitherto they may have been subject to other Bishops of other dioceses, to be henceforth subject to the Bishop of Baltimore in all future times; And whereas by special grant, and for this time only, we have allowed the priests exercising the care of souls in the United States of America, to elect a person to be appointed Bishop by us, and almost all their votes have been given to our beloved Son, John Carroll, Priest; We being otherwise certified of his faith, prudence, piety and zeal, forasmuch as by our mandate he hath during the late years directed the spiritual government of souls, do therefore by the plenitude of our authority, declare, create, appoint and constitute the said John Carroll, Bishop of and Pastor of the said Church of Baltimore, granting to him the faculty of receiving the rite of consecration from any Catholic bishop holding communion with the apostolical see, assisted by two ecclesiastics, vested with some dignity, in case that two bishops cannot be had, first having taken the usual oath according to the Roman Pontifical.

And we commission the said Bishop elect to erect a church in the said city of Baltimore, in form of a Cathedral Church, inasmuch as the times and circumstances may allow, to constitute a body of clergy deputed to divine worship, and to the service of the said church, and moreover to establish an episcopal seminary, either in the same city or elsewhere, as he shall judge most expedient, to administer ecclesiastical incomes, and to execute all other things which he shall think in the Lord to be



DIOCESE OF BALTIMORE
1789-1808

expedient for the increase of Catholic faith and the augmentation of the worship and splendour of the newly erected church. We moreover enjoin the said Bishop to obey the injunctions of our venerable brethren, the Cardinals Directors of the Sacred Congregation "de propaganda fide," to transmit to them at proper times a relation of his visitation of his church, and to inform them of all things which he shall judge to be useful to the spiritual good and salvation of the flock trusted to his charge. We therefore decree that these our letters are and ever shall be firm, valid, and efficacious, and shall obtain their full and entire effect and be observed inviolable by all persons whom it now doth or hereafter may concern; and that all judges ordinary and delegated, even auditors of causes of the sacred apostolical palace, and Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, must thus judge and define, depriving all and each of them of all power and authority to judge or interpret in any other manner, and declaring all to be null and void, if any one by any authority should presume, either knowingly or unknowingly, to attempt anything contrary thereunto. Notwithstanding all apostolical, general, or special constitutions and ordinations, published in universal, provincial and synodical councils, and all things contrary whatsoever.

Given at Rome at St. Mary Major, under the Fisherman's Ring, the 6th day of November, 1789, and in the fifteenth year of our Pontificate.¹⁹

That there was no hesitancy on the part of the Roman authorities in selecting Dr. Carroll for this important post is evident from Thorpe's letters for 1789, as well as from the letters sent by Charles Plowden to his American friend. Plowden was so sure of Carroll's selection that he wrote on February 3, 1789, his surprise that Carroll had not been already consecrated.²⁰ There are several references in Thorpe's letter to a promise made by Carroll to send or to bring some Virginia tobacco to Cardinal Borromeo, and when Cardinal Borgia heard of its arrival, he laid claim to a portion of the package.²¹ The place of his consecration was in doubt. Plowden wrote on November 1, 1789, that since the See of Havana was vacant, he hoped it would be an additional motive for Carroll's acceptance of Mr. Welds's invitation to be consecrated in England.²² Cardinal Antonelli expressed a preference for Quebec, but left Carroll free to choose, and when the bishop-elect announced to Thorpe that he would go to England, Antonelli asked the reason, since Quebec was

¹⁹ Translation as given by SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 337-343.

²⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-L1.

²¹ Thorpe to Carroll, March 6, 1789, and July 8, 1789, *ibid.*, Case 8-J4, J8.

²² *Ibid.*, Case 6-I7.

much nearer. Thorpe explained that Dr. Carroll had many friends in England, and that he could better provide for the services in the cathedral at Baltimore by purchases made in England; moreover, Thorpe wisely added, that since America needed priests badly, Carroll's presence in England would enable him to make his choice of volunteers personally. Apart from his "unwary promise" to Mr. Weld, there is no other reason given in his correspondence for the choice of England. No doubt his unfortunate experience in Montreal and Quebec at the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities there, in 1776, was still fresh in his mind; and a further reason may have been his unwillingness to meet the Bishop of Quebec at a time when the frontiers of their respective jurisdictions were under discussion before the Holy See. We have no means of knowing what occupied his attention, apart from diocesan duties between his election and his departure in July, 1790. One very important fact in the history of the Catholic Church in this country occurred, however, at this time—the Address of the Catholics to President George Washington.

CHAPTER XX

THE ADDRESS FROM THE ROMAN CATHOLICS TO WASHINGTON

(1790)

In an appendix to the twelfth volume of his edition of the Writings of George Washington, Jared Sparks has entered into the religious opinions of the first President of the United States. Sparks is decidedly an untrustworthy historian, but the testimonies he has collected prove beyond doubt that Washington always expressed the sincere wish that amity and concord on religious questions should prevail in the national life. It is in the light of this principle that Washington's replies to the various addresses, presented to him after his election by the religious bodies of the country, should be viewed. He received these congratulatory addresses from nearly every denomination in the United States. They are all written in the same vein. They compliment his character for justice and truth. They express deep gratitude for his long and eminent public services to the nation. In his replies, it would have been impolitic to employ language "indicating a decided preference for the peculiar tenets or forms of any particular church. He took a wiser course; the only one, indeed, which with propriety could be taken. He approved the general objects, and commended the zeal, of all religious congregations and societies by which he was addressed, spoke of their beneficial effects in promoting the welfare of mankind, declared his cordial wishes for their success, and often concluded with his prayers for the future happiness of the individuals belonging to them, both in this world and in the world to come."¹

In his Farewell Address to the people of the United States (September 17, 1796) Washington restated the old philosophic maxim that "of all the dispositions and habits which lead to

¹ SPARKS, *op. cit.*, vol. vii, pp. 410-411.

political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports;" and in every reply he emphasized this fact. He lost no opportunity of reiterating the necessity of religious freedom, if the Republic was to endure. Some of these replies are worthy of notice for the sake of comparison with his reply to the American Catholics. To the bishops, clergy and laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, he wrote (August 19, 1789): "On this occasion it would ill-become me to conceal the joy I have felt in perceiving the fraternal affection which appears to increase every day among the friends of genuine religion. It affords edifying prospects, indeed, to see Christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more Christian-like spirit, than ever they have done in any former age or in any other nation."² To the Quakers, he replied (October, 1789): "The liberty enjoyed by the people of the States, of worshiping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their blessings, but also of their rights."³ In January, 1793, he wrote to a non-Catholic congregation of Baltimore: "We have abundant reason to rejoice that in this land the light of truth and reason has triumphed over the powers of bigotry and superstition, and that every person may here worship God according to the dictates of his own heart. In this enlightened age, and in this land of equal liberty, it is our boast that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the laws, nor deprive him of the right of attaining and holding the highest offices that are known in the United States."⁴

There is a pompous tone, it is true, about these statements, and had he simply repeated their tenor to the American Catholics, his reply would have little value in the Catholic history of the young Republic. But he sounds another note to the Catholics. The letter is presumably to them; but he is speaking, and perhaps with design, to the great non-Catholic population of the nation.

The Address of the Catholics was signed by John Carroll,⁵ in behalf of the Roman Catholic clergy; and by Charles Carroll of

² *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-179, under date of December, 1789.

Carrollton; Daniel Carroll, the brother of the newly-elected bishop; Dominick Lynch, the leading Catholic of New York City; and Thomas Fitzsimons, the leading Catholic of the day in Philadelphia; these four gentlemen signed the Address in behalf of the Roman Catholic laity. The Address is as follows:

We have been long impatient to testify our joy, and unbounded confidence on your being called, by an Unanimous Vote, to the first station of a country, in which that unanimity could not have been obtained, without the previous merit of unexampled services, of eminent wisdom, and unblemished virtue. Our congratulations have not reached you sooner, because our scattered situation prevented our communication, and the collecting of those sentiments, which warmed every breath. But the delay has furnished us with the opportunity, not merely of presaging the happiness to be expected under your Administration, but of bearing testimony to that which we experience already. It is your peculiar talent, in war and in peace, to afford security to those who commit their protection into your hands. In war you shield them from the ravages of armed hostility; in peace, you establish public tranquillity, by the justice and moderation, not less than by the vigour, of your government. By example, as well as by vigilance, you extend the influence of laws on the manners of our fellow-citizens. You encourage respect for religion; and inculcate, by words and actions, that principle, on which the welfare of nations so much depends, that a superintending providence governs the events of the works, and watches over the conduct of men. Your exalted maxims, and unwearied attention to the moral and physical improvement of our country, have produced already the happiest effects. Under your administration, America is animated with zeal for the attainment and encouragement of useful literature. She improves her agriculture; extends her commerce; and acquires with foreign nations a dignity unknown to her before. From these events, in which none can feel a warmer interest than ourselves, we derive additional pleasure, by recollecting that you, Sir, have been the principal instrument to effect so rapid a change in our political situation. This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us, on another account; because, whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well founded title to claim from her justice, the equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct—rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships. When we pray for the preservation of them, where they have been granted—and expect the full extension of them from the justice of those States, which still restrict them: when we solicit the protection of Heaven over our common country, we neither omit, nor can omit recommending your preservation to the singular care of Divine Providence; because we conceive that no human means are so available to promote the welfare of the United

States, as the prolongation of your health and life, in which are included the energy of your example, the wisdom of your counsels, and the persuasive eloquence of your virtues.

Washington's answer to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America, dated March 12, 1790, is as follows:

Gentlemen,

While I now receive, with much satisfaction, your congratulations on my being called, by a unanimous Vote, to the first station in my Country—I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating, the benefits of the general Government—you will do me the justice to believe, that your testimony of the increase of the public prosperity, enhances the pleasure, which I should otherwise have experienced from your affectionate Address.

I feel that my conduct, in war and in peace, has met with more general approbation, than could have reasonably been expected; and I find myself disposed to consider, that fortunate circumstances, in a great degree resulting from the able support, and extraordinary candour, of my fellow-citizens of all denominations.

The prospect of National prosperity now before us, is truly animating; and ought to excite the exertions, of all good men, to establish and secure the happiness of their Country, in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of Divine Providence—the protection of a good Government—and the cultivation of Manners, Morals, and Piety—cannot fail of attaining, an uncommon degree of Eminence, in Literature, Commerce, Agriculture, Improvements at home, and Respectability abroad.

As Mankind becomes more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those who conduct themselves worthy members of the Community, are equally entitled to the protection of Civil Government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost Nations in examples of Justice and Liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part, which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution, and the establishment of their Government—or the important assistance, which they received from a Nation, in which the Roman Catholic Faith is professed.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my Life and Health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavor to justify the favourable sentiments which you are pleased to express of my conduct. And may the Members of your Society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves, as the faithful subjects of our free Government, enjoy every temporal, and spiritual felicity.

The original copy of this precious document was in the Cathedral Archives at Baltimore until 1865, when it was loaned to John Gilmary Shea on December 19, of that year. Shea returned it to Baltimore on September 7, 1866. In 1908, it was discovered that the letter was missing and from that time till the present, diligent search has failed to reveal this valuable page in American Catholic history. There is no doubt that John Carroll took a copy of the *Address* and Washington's original answer to England with him in 1790, for it was published in London by J. P. Coghlan, in 1790, with the following preface:

The following Address from the Roman Catholics, which was copied from the American News papers—whilst it breathes fidelity to the States which protect them, asserts, with decency, the common-rights of mankind; and the answer of the President truly merits that esteem, which his liberal sentiments, mild administration, and prudent justice have obtained him. . . . Is this not a lesson? Britons remain intolerant and inexorable to the claims of sound policy and of nature. Ties of kindred and friends—whose sacred aspiration—alas, to NOMINAL LIBERTY, suffers the fettering sanguinary edicts still to blacken her golden eras—exile some of her most valuable subjects, and divide their interests, or force their religious compliance to disguise and debase principles, which, if suffered to practise, would constitute and confirm the most lasting affection to their Prince and the country which gives them birth. Is it true policy, that the Roman Catholics should become voluntary exiles for the free practice of their faith—to educate their children—to study for their ministry—or retire to their sacred Cloister?—and this only to serve God in thir own way—not a different God, but adored equally by all! Whilst it is an acknowledged fact, there are laws sufficient to make men, good citizens and good subjects—where is the boasted liberty which suffers not a disposal of ourselves, but aims so effectually to shackle and annihilate the soul from God. Britons, view and blush!

Washington's reply has brought joy to the hearts of all American Catholics since that time; but it was especially to the Catholics of 1790 that the encomium of the first President meant much in the way of patience and encouragement. A writer signing himself "Liberal," published at the time an attack on the extension of religious liberty to Catholics, in the *Gazette of the United States*. Bishop-elect Carroll promptly took up the challenge, and replied in June, 1789, in the same publication. He accused "Liberal" of an attempt to revive an odious system of religious intolerance. The world was weary with the bigotry of such men. "Liberal"

was among those who thought it consistent with justice to exclude Catholics from public honours and emoluments on account of their faith. "If such be 'Liberal's' views, in vain then have Americans associated themselves into one great national union, under the express condition of not being shackled by religious tests, and under a firm persuasion that they were to retain, when associated, every natural right not expressly surrendered. It is not pretended that they who are the objects of an intended exclusion from certain offices of honour and advantage, have forfeited by any act of treason against the United States, the common rights of nature, or the stipulated rights of the political society of which they form a part? This the author has not presumed to assert. Their blood flowed as freely (in proportion to their numbers) to cement the fabric of independence, as that of any of their fellow-citizens. They concurred with perhaps greater unanimity than any other body of men, in recommending and promoting that government from whose influence America anticipates all the blessings of justice, peace, plenty, good order, and civil and religious liberty. What character shall we then give to a system of politics, calculated for the express purpose of divesting of rights legally acquired those citizens who are not only unoffending, but whose conduct has been highly meritorious? I am anxious to guard against the impression intended by such insinuations; not merely for the sake of any one profession, but from an earnest regard to preserve inviolate forever in our new empire the great principle of religious freedom. The constitutions of some of the States continue still to entrench on the sacred rights of conscience, and men who have bled and opened their purses as freely, in the cause of liberty and independence, as any other citizen, are most unjustly excluded from the advantages which they contributed to establish. But if bigotry and narrow prejudices have hitherto prevented the cure of these evils, be it the duty of every lover of peace and justice to extend them no further."



CHAPEL AT LULWORTH CASTLE

CHAPTER XXI

CARROLL'S CONSECRATION

(August 15, 1790)

It is not certain when Antonelli's letter of November 14, 1789, which probably accompanied the Brief *Ex hac apostolicae* of November 6, 1789, reached Carroll's hands; nor are we sure of the channel through which these documents came. France was in disorder at the time, though the Revolution had not reached such a stage that couriers might not pass through the country. The Brief had not arrived by February 6, 1790, when Carroll wrote to Antonelli, explaining that his long delay in replying to the Cardinal-Prefect's letter of June 11, 1789, was due to the fact that although elected by his fellow-priests to the office of bishop, he did not wish to write anything which might influence the Holy Father or the Sacred Congregation in confirming his election. "Rather did I spend the time in prayer," he writes, "that the whole affair would be reconsidered by Rome and that another, much more worthy than myself be elected to the episcopate."¹ During the delay, however, he had heard through private communications that his election was concurred in by the Holy See and that the pontifical Brief was on its way. "My only consolation is that, not by my own will, but in spite of my expectation, this portion of labour and solicitude has fallen to me; so that, if it has come about by the wish of Divine Providence, He, as I truly hope, will aid me, Who has destined me for such a heavy burden."² There is little in his letter of March 16, 1790, to Plowden, that helps us to ascertain the date in question, except the statement that he had heard from Father Thorpe—"from its contents and . . . purport . . . I dread the arrival of the packet of January . . ." The probable date is April, as we learn from the following letter of Thomas Weld to Bishop Walmesley:

¹ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura originali*, vol. 893 (not folioed).

² *Ibid.*

I am obliged to your Lordship for your last kind letter, was glad to find by it you was well and than [*sic*] we would have the pleasure of your company. I have now a great favor to beg of yr. Lordship. You must know that the Revd. Mr. Carroll in Maryland has lately been appointed Bishop of Baltimore by the Pope, he only received his bulls in April last, by which he is appointed Bishop, to fix his see where he thinks most proper and get himself Consecrated where he finds it most Convenient. He is now Coming to England for that purpose, and as he is an acquaintance of mine and a great friend of Mr. Plowdens I invited him to my house to be Consecrated in my Chapel if yr. Lordship and Mr. Sharrock have no Objection to perform the Ceremony.

I should be glad to have the favour of an answer & if yr. Lordship has no objection if you could come here a week or two sooner than what you mention it would be the more agreeable for I expect Mr. Carroll may be here in a fort-night or three weeks, and I apprehend he will be in a hurry to return. I think if this meets with yr. Lordship's approbation the less it is spoken off the better, the more private it can be done the better. I suppose yr. Lordship has seen Mr. Throckmorton's publication on the elections of Bishops you see what things are come to, and what they will come to and where our afflictions will end the Lord only knows.

Mrs. Weld and all here unite in compts. to yr. Lordship, I remain with the gtest. regard yr. obdt. humble servt.³

This would indicate that the bishop-elect had written at once to his friend at Lulworth Castle, to whom he had given the promise that he would come to the home of the Weld family for consecration.

One of his last letters before leaving America was a declaration regarding the administration of the ex-Jesuit property. In the *Ex hac apostolicae* the words "to administer ecclesiastical incomes, etc.", were a mere formula of office. But some of his fellow priests, particularly Ashton, the Procurator, took alarm; and in order to allay any misgivings, Carroll wrote out a declaration on May 26, 1790, to the effect that he did not consider himself empowered in any way to interfere in the management of the old Jesuit estates.⁴

The exact date of Carroll's departure from Baltimore is not known. Shea says that he sailed for England early in the summer of 1790. (The date is probably June 9, 1790.) Dr. Carroll's

³ *Clifton Diocesan Archives*, printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 250-251.

⁴ Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 699.

choice of England as the place of his consecration was due to several causes, but chief among them was his promise to the Welds, whom he had last seen in 1774, that if the episcopate should be bestowed upon him, he would return to their home for consecration. Archbishop Troy wrote on January 25, 1790, inviting Carroll to come to Dublin, but this letter reached him after he had written to Mr. Weld accepting his hospitality. On July 23, the day after his arrival in London, Dr. Carroll despatched a letter to the Metropolitan of Dublin, explaining the reason for his choice of Lulworth: "When the subject of an American Bishopric was first started, I received so pressing an invitation from a most respectable Catholic gentleman in England, that I *unwarily* promised to be consecrated in his chapel, if the appointment should fall to my lot. Had it been otherwise I should have hesitated between Ireland, the land of my forefathers, and Canada, though, on the whole, I flatter myself that my going to England may be attended with some advantages to the cause of religion within my extensive diocese." ⁵

The presence of his former Liège colleague and his faithful friend, Father Charles Plowden, then the chaplain to the Welds at Lulworth, had its potent influence upon his choice. Writing to Plowden on May 8, 1789, he says: "I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the most obliging and honorable testimony of Mr. Weld's regard: you will be pleased to express with all that warmth which you can communicate to your expressions, my deep sense of his generous politeness. My inclination certainly leads me to accept of an offer not only so flattering, but which will afford me an opportunity of seeing some of those friends whom I shall ever honor and love. But I cannot yet determine what I shall do. I still flatter myself that Divine Providence will provide some worthier subject to be its instrument in founding a church in America." ⁶

At any rate, he was on the high seas in July, 1790, and had as a companion during his voyage over and back, Dr. Madison, of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, who was likewise making the voyage to be consecrated bishop of his own Church. While at sea Father Carroll began a letter to Cardinal Antonelli.

⁵ MORAN, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. iii, pp. 507-508.

⁶ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 354.

This letter, finished in London on July 30, 1790, is the first that he signed as bishop-elect. When the letter of His Eminence of November 14, 1789, was first handed to him, although it contained nothing more than what he had been told to expect, he could not but feel deeply moved. When he considered the dignity which had been conferred upon him, he says in his reply, he felt how far short he fell of the sanctity of the episcopal character, and his courage gave way. The hopes placed upon him by the Cardinal-Prefect and by the Sacred Congregation were so great that he saw no way of fulfilling them. Certainly the benevolence of the Congregation would strengthen his determination to perform as well as possible the work which lay ahead. He then spoke of the college project under way at home and of the lack of priests, and told the Cardinal-Prefect that he expected to spend at least a month in England. He arrived in London on July 22, 1790, and the first news he heard was that the renegade Poterie had sent to the Sacred Congregation his *Resurrection of Laurent Ricci*, a book filled with accusations against Carroll and his clergy. Unfortunately, he had not foreseen this, and had left behind him in America the documents necessary for a defence of his action in La Poterie's case. When he returned he would send copies of these documents, and he hoped that they would relieve Antonelli of any doubt in the matter.⁷

This letter had not reached Rome by August 14, 1790, for there is no mention of it in Antonelli's letter of that date to Carroll. The Cardinal-Prefect expressed the great pleasure felt by the Holy See and by the Sacred Congregation over Carroll's acceptance of the bishopric, and especially so, because in no way did Carroll try to bring it about. The new bishop was informed

⁷ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. 2, f. 390—"Haec scribo in ipsa navigatione versus Angliam, ut in ea, aut finitimis Belgii provinciis characteri episcopali insigniar. Post unius circiter mensis in Europa moram, rursus me mari committam . . ." No doubt, the reference to Belgium signifies his alternative, in case any difficulty should arise over the consecration of an American Catholic Bishop in England. As it turned out, all who participated in his consecration advised the utmost privacy. On July 30, 1790, he added a postscript to this letter—"Ante octo dies huc tuto appulsus. . . ." Plowden had written on May 31, 1790, advising him to borrow two *Pontificalia* before reaching Lulworth (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-M5). In this same letter Plowden says: "Mr. Weld desires that you will not put yourself to the expense of a pectoral cross, as he has one to present to you, which he hopes you will accept and like. It is rich, curious, and respectable, formerly the property of the last Abbot of Colchester."

that Poterie's letter and pamphlet had reached them, and that the Sacred Congregation considered the Boston priest's charges unfounded. To prevent similar attacks, namely, that Carroll was secretly working for the restoration of the Society of Jesus in the United States and that he preferred ex-Jesuits to others in the missions, Antonelli advised him to employ others than former members of the Society. He refers to the disordered condition of France and hints that many priests might be found there willing to go to the States.⁸

Father John Carroll's consecration as Bishop of Baltimore, and, therefore, as Father of the American Hierarchy, took place in the Chapel of Lulworth Castle, on August 15, 1790.⁹ The consecrating prelate was Bishop Charles Walmesley, O.S.B., V.A., of the Western District.¹⁰ Three other priests were present: Father Charles Plowden and James Porter, who acted as Assistant Priests to Bishop Walmesley, and Father Forrester, who signs himself *Missionary Apostolic*, and who was chaplain at Wardour Castle.¹¹ During the consecration young Thomas Weld, then seventeen, and but recently married, the son of Bishop Carroll's host, held the Missal over his shoulders.¹² The ceremony of consecration was carried out with all the elegance of the ritual. Mr. Weld spared no expense to render the occasion a memorable one for the first American bishop. The official certificate of Dr. Carroll's consecration, now preserved in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, is as follows:

⁸ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 258, f. 497 (cf. HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 689, for another version of this letter)—"Electio Amplitudinis Tuæ ad episcopatum Baltimorem eo magis a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro et a Sacra hac Congregatione probata est, quod videremus te hujusmodi dignitatem non modo non expetiisse sed imo pro viribus curasse ut alter ad episcopale istud munus designaretur."

⁹ Cf. C. M. ANTONY, *Lulworth Castle: its history and memories in the Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 243-257. The writer of this article searched all the existing files of the London newspapers from August to December, 1790, to find some reference to Bishop Carroll's consecration; but in vain. Also contemporary files of the Boston and New York newspapers were searched, with the same result.

¹⁰ Bishop Walmesley arrived at Lulworth on August 5, 1790; Plowden to Carroll, August 6, 1790 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-M8).

¹¹ OLIVER, *Collections S.J.*, pp. 306-308, has an interesting sketch of this clergyman.

¹² After the death of his wife in 1815, Thomas Weld studied for the priesthood and was ordained in 1821. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Amyclæ in 1826, and was elevated to the Cardinalate in 1830. He died in 1837. The youngest daughter of his host, Teresa Weld, born in 1782, married (1803) William Vaughan, the grandfather of Cardinal Vaughan.

Hisce testatum facimus Reverendum Dnm. Joannem Carroll, presbyterum ad episcopatum Baltimorem electum, lectis litteris Apostolicis apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem datis, sub annulo Piscatoris die sexta Novembris 1789, et praestito prius ab ipso Electo juxta Pontificale Romanum juramento, assistensibus Revdo Carolo Plowden ac revdo Jacobo Porter, presbyteris, 15^a Augusti 1790, sacra Beatissimae Virginis Assumptae die in templo Castelli de Lullworth comitatus Dorcestrensis in Anglia a nobis in Episcopum fuisse consecratum.

Dabamus ad Castellum de Lullworth die 17 Augusti anno 1790.

✠ CAROLUS WALMESLEY, *Epus Ramaten., Vic. Aplicus.*

CAROLUS PLOWDEN, *sac., assistens.*

JACOBUS PORTER, *sac., assistens.*

C. FORRESTER, *presbyter, Miss. Apost.*

THOMAS STANLEY, *sac.*¹³

As Shea writes:

The United States now had, at last, a Catholic Bishop, but he stood alone in a foreign land, without resources for his great work; viewed politically by many as one of a nation of successful rebels; ecclesiastically as a member of an Order struck down by the Head of the Church and scattered to the winds. In the city selected as his episcopal see, he had no church beyond a plain brick structure completed in 1783; his small band of priests was constantly thinned by the hand of death, and there was no source to which he could look for others to replace the dead. Though urged by the Holy See to establish a Seminary he had no income, and no one but Providence to whom he could look for his own support and the immense task which had been imposed upon him.¹⁴

At Lulworth Castle he was among friends, and the Welds urged him to remain with them for a long stay, but he was eager to return to America. After a visit of several weeks, he went up to London to prepare for the journey home. He found here at his lodgings, 28 King Street, letters from many correspondents. Father Thorpe's letter of July 7, 1790, gave him the news that the French Scioto Company had made strong representations to the Holy See, to appoint a bishop for their Gallipolis colony, but that Dom Didier had been given only provisional faculties. Father Thorpe also informed him of the plan the Sulpicians of Paris had under consideration of applying to Dr. Carroll for permission

¹³ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 364, for printed fac-simile.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 363.

to found a Seminary in the Diocese of Baltimore.¹⁵ Father Thorpe's letters of August 11 and 21, 1790, reached London early in September. In the first of these, he relates a conversation with Cardinal Antonelli regarding the unruly spirits in the American Church, and the Cardinal-Prefect gave the age-old answer to such problems: Carroll was now a bishop, with all the power and dignity of that great office; his was the duty to control all the spiritual elements within his jurisdiction; there was but one sure way—*utatur jure suo!* This letter also speaks of the objectionable clauses in the oath of consecration and Dr. Carroll is told that the Holy See will make any reasonable change in the oath in order to avoid anything disagreeable to the American spirit.¹⁶ On August 21, 1790, Thorpe wrote again, sending to Dr. Carroll the congratulations of all the officials of Propaganda.¹⁷ In a subsequent letter from Thorpe (August 28, 1790) we learn that Dr. Carroll had written to his agent in Rome as early as July, 1790, asking him to ascertain the mind of Propaganda on the immediate appointment of a coadjutor-bishop. Father Thorpe advised him to wait until after he had returned to Baltimore before making this formal request. Another interesting communication came to Bishop Carroll from one of his relations, Ann Louisa Hill (Mother Ann of Our Blessed Lady) an American, who was Prioress of the English Carmelite Convent at Hoogstraet, after the departure of Mother Bernardine (Ann Matthews) for Port Tobacco (1790). Mother Ann's letter (Hoogstraet, August 9, 1790), is as follows:

Hon'rd Sir:

Being informed of your safe arrival into England, I cannot omit doing myself the honor & satisfaction of writing a few lines, both to felicitate you on the high & eminent Dignity to which Almighty God has raised you, too assuring you of our humble Respects & best wishes of a happy success in all your undertakings, we shall not fail to pray for every blessing & Benediction from heaven. I beg if you should come to these parts that you will honour us with a visit, your presence will be a great and signal comfort to me & all my dear Community. We heard that you, honoured Sir, had desired Mr. Charles Neale to return to

¹⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-K5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Case 8-K6. The episcopal oath was changed (August, 1794) from the one prescribed in the Pontifical to that taken by the Bishops in Ireland.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Case 8-K8.

Maryland with 3 or 4 Religious of our Holy Order to make there a Foundation of Carmelites, in consequence of which our worthy Superior the Rev'd Lord Bishop of Antwerp chosed our much esteemed Superior, Mrs. Matthews, for that great work, her two nieces, & one of our Order of Antwerp accompanied her. They left us the 19th of April, the grief as well as the great loss we have sustained in parting with so valuable & so much esteemed a Superior is greater than I can express. What has aided much to the increase of my grief is that Providence has ordained me to be the person to succeed her in her office. I fear your absence will defer for some time the Foundation. It will be I am sensible a great disappointment to her; we have lately heard of the great loss our country has sustained in the Death of worthy Mr. Matthews, her worthy Brother; his death must be a real cross and affliction to her. I must acknowledge it as a subject of joy to me to hear our Holy Faith and Religion flourishes so much in my native country, & that Religious are permitted to make establishments there, & live up to the spirit of their H. Institutes. I am glad our Holy Order is the first, tho' must own at the same time, that myself & Community have made the greatest sacrifice we possibly could in parting with its worthy Foundress. We have distressed ourselves very much, but confide Almighty God will be thereby more Glorified & our Holy Religion much propagated in America. I add no more on this subject as I doubt not but you are appraised of the whole affair, it being undertaken'd by your desires & Request. I shall be glad Hon'd Sir to hear you are in perfect health, & that you left your Hon'd Mother, & all friends in the same, & of the prosperity of our Country, & if the Academy is finished, as I have heard it is under your Directions.

The worthy Superior of Antwerp & pious family begged me to present their humble Respects, & to assure you of their constant prayers for the happy Success of all your pious undertakings; I beg that you will accept of all That's most Respectful from myself & D'r Family, & be persuaded that we shall not fail of offering our prayers for you & all your pious intentions. I most earnestly recommend myself & them to your Holy prayers & have the Hon'r to remain with unalterable Esteem & profound Respect.

Hon'd Sir

Your obed't Hum: serv't & cousin

ANN LOUISA HILL¹⁸

Dr. Carroll was also invited by his old friends of Liège to pay them a visit,¹⁹ but for some reason he declined; as he likewise declined the invitation of the Sulpicians to visit them in

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Case 4-C4, printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 251-253; cf. GUILDAY, *English Catholic Refugees, etc.*, vol. i, p. 372.

¹⁹ Father Stone to Carroll. Liège, August 20, 1790. *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-P12.

Paris. It may be that with France in a disturbed condition, he considered it more prudent to remain in England. Father Brosius, who was to have an exceptional career in the United States, wrote to him from Louvain, August 9, 1790, asking to be received into the new Diocese of Baltimore.²⁰ In September, Plowden wrote to say that Coghlan the printer was insisting upon publishing a pamphlet account of the consecration at Lulworth and wanted Plowden's sermon on that occasion.

Coghlan worries me for the translation of your Brief and the history of your consecration, and demonstrates the great advantage which the publication of the same would procure for Catholicity in England. He has sent me down the Bull to be translated and copied in answer to my letter wherein I had informed him that I could not do it. This is the Irish mode of doing business. Mr. Weld wishes that what was done here on August 15, may not appear in print unless you should desire it. I was amazed to hear last Friday that the few words which were spoken from the Altar on that occasion were printed without either my knowledge or consent. The impression must have come from the copy which Mr. F. [Forrester] requested that he might read it to the deaf bishop.²¹

On September 14, Plowden wrote again to Carroll, at London: "Coghlan will not relinquish his scheme of printing something about you. He has sent me a sketch of the title which he wishes to prefix to it and I think it will be very harmless and inoffensive."²² Coghlan published before the end of the year a *Short Account of the Establishment of the New See of Baltimore, Maryland, and of Consecrating the Right Rev. Mr. Carroll*.²³ An abstract of Father Plowden's sermon, inserted in this pamphlet, is as follows:

Our Blessed Lord and Redeemer having defeated the powers of hell by the triumph of the cross, formed to himself a kingdom on earth which was to consist of the chosen of every nation, because all nations were now become his own by right of conquest. The Sun of Justice which rose from the East, has in its progress enlightened every region of the globe, and the kingdom of Christ, the church, under the government of his Vicar and of pastors deputed to him, has successively em-

²⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-B2.

²¹ Plowden to Carroll, Lulworth, September 5, 1790, *ibid.*, Case 6-M10.

²² *Ibid.*, Case 6-M11.

²³ Printed in the *Researches*, vol. vii, pp. 161-174; reprinted by the Historical Club. Baltimore, 1876. For Carroll's estimate of the *Short Account*, cf. HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 694.

braced the whole world. Ages succeed ages, empires subvert empires, but the empire of Jesus Christ perseveres ever one and the same, ever persecuted and ever conquering, because all human revolutions are entirely subservient to it, and the formation of the kingdom of Christ is the ultimate object of the whole dispensation of providence in the government of this world. Never perhaps was this truth more sensibly evinced, than in the late violent convulsions, by which the hand of the Almighty has dismembered the great British empire, and has called forth into existence a new empire in the Western world, the destinies of which, we trust, are founded in His tenderest mercies. For although this great event may appear to us to have been the work, the sport of human passion, yet the earliest and most precious fruit of it has been the extension of the kingdom of Christ, the propagation of the Catholic religion, which heretofore fettered by restraining laws, is now enlarged from bondage and it is left at liberty to exert the full energy of divine truth. Already is catholicity extended to the utmost boundaries of the immense continent of America, thousands are there earnestly demanding Catholic instructors, and all penetrated with reverence for the apostolical See of St Peter have concurred to demand, from his successor a Catholic prelate, whose knowledge and whose zeal may establish the faith of Peter upon the ruin of those errors, which the first inhabitants carried forth with them from this country. But if Britain infected them with error, we have the consolation to know that their catholicity is also derived immediately from us; and as we in former ages received the faith of Rome from the great St. Gregory and our apostle St. Austin, so now at the interval of twelve hundred years, our venerable prelate the heir of the virtues and labours of our apostle, will, this day by commission from the successor of St. Gregory, consecrate the first Father and Bishop of the new church, destined as we confide, to inherit those benedictions which the first called have ungratefully rejected. Glorious is this day, my brethren, for the church of God which sees new nations crowding into her bosom; glorious for the prelate elect, who goes forth to conquer these nations for Jesus Christ, not by the efforts of human power, but in the might of those weapons which have ever triumphed in this divine warfare; he is not armed with the strength of this world, but he is powerful in piety, powerful in zeal, powerful in evangelical poverty and firm reliance on the protection of that God who sends him. Glorious in this event, for his numerous spiritual children, to whom his virtues have long endeared him, comforting it is to us who have been long connected with him by the virtuous ties of education, profession and friendship, but in a special manner, my brethren, honourable and comforting in this awful solemnity to his and our common benefactor, the founder of this holy sanctuary, which shall be revered through succeeding ages, even by churches yet unnamed, as the privileged, the happy spot, from whence their episcopacy and hierarchy took their immediate rise; and this precious distinction will be justly attributed to the protection and favor of the glorious mother of God whose house it is, and through whose patronage all Christian

churches are founded? On this her greatest solemnity, my brethren, it is your duty to implore the particular assistance of the great Queen of Heaven; and while you are edified by the solemn rites with which the Catholic Church consecrates her prelates, you will earnestly solicit the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Bishop elect, that like another Austin he may worthily fulfil the extent of his apostleship to which he is called, and when you implore for him the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit, you will not fail to demand it through the intercession of her whom you daily salute, "Mother of divine grace."

In full confidence of her protection and blessing upon our ministry, we proceed to the solemnity of the Consecration.

Before the end of September, Bishop Carroll had received at London, Cardinal Antonelli's two letters of August 14, 27, 1790.²⁴ The Cardinal-Prefect's letters on this occasion are couched in terms of affection and of the highest satisfaction over the happy beginning of hierarchical life in the Church of the United States. To these letters, Bishop Carroll replied on September 27, 1790, acknowledging Antonelli's great kindness. He described the ceremony at Lulworth and enclosed a copy of the authentication of his consecration. He announced his intention of leaving London within a week if the weather permitted. He hoped to be able to start studies at Georgetown College shortly after his return. The Gallipolis colony, which Antonelli mentioned in his letters, has left for America, he says, against his wishes. The territory they selected was within the borders of the United States, as could be seen on the map which he has forwarded through the Nuncio at Paris. Dr. Carroll added a word about the calumnies of Poterie and of Smyth. The first is destitute of all faith; and he had been asked by the Irish bishops, especially by the Archbishop of Dublin, not to notice the work of Smyth. In replying to Antonelli about the charge that he had employed only ex-Jesuits in the American missions, he said that as prefect-apostolic he had commissioned thirty priests. Of these, seven only were ex-Jesuits, the others not being former members of the Society. He made it quite clear to the cardinal that he understood very well that there can be no restoration of the Society without the express permission and authority of the Holy See. At the end of this letter, Bishop Carroll announced to Antonelli the visit paid to him at London, by Father Nagot, the Sulpician, who had come from

²⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-A1-3.

Paris to discuss the question of founding a Seminary in Baltimore.²⁵ Not knowing how correspondence addressed to his Holiness should be sent, he enclosed the following letter to Pius VI, in Antonelli's care:

Most Holy Father:

When two months ago I informed the Most Eminent Cardinal Antonelli of my arrival in Europe to receive Episcopal consecration, I asked him kindly to place me at your Holiness's feet, and in my name to profess especially that, although I undertook this burden of the Episcopacy with great fear, yet it afforded me no little consolation that I was not deemed by you, Most Holy Father, utterly unworthy of so great an office; in the next place, that he would lay before you my faith that I would never, at any time, fail in obedience and docility to the Holy See, without which, as I had learned from Ecclesiastical History and the doctrine of the Fathers, faith and morals waver. Let me add, moreover, that I shall spare no endeavor that all committed to my care, whether people or pastors, may be actuated by the same feelings that animate me towards the Holy See.

To obtain this grace more surely, prostrate humbly at the feet of your Holiness, I ask you to vouchsafe to confer on us the Apostolical benediction.

Most Holy Father,

Your most obedient servant and son,

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Baltimore.²⁶

During his stay in London, Bishop Carroll carried on an extensive correspondence with the leading Catholic laymen of England, bringing to their attention the needs of his diocese,

²⁵ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture originali*, vol. 893, not folioed.

²⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 404. "*Beatissime Pater*, Cum duobus abhinc mensibus Eminentissimum Cardinalem Antonellum de adventu meo in Europam, ut consecrationem episcopalem susciperem, certiores facerem, simul rogavi, ut me ad Sanctitatis Tuæ pedes sistere dignaretur, meoque nomine profiteretur, imprimis me, quamvis hoc onus episcopale magna formidine suscipiam, tamen non parum consolationis inde derivare, quod a te, Beatissime Pater, non plane tanto munere indignus habitus fuerim; deinde, ut meam Tibi fidem exhiberet, nullo inquam tempore defuturum me illi observantiae et obsequio versus Sanctam Sedem, sine quibus et ex historia ecclesiastica et ex P. P. doctrina didici fidem moresque vacillare. Liceat mihi adicere ulterius, nulli unquam conatui me defuturum, ut eodem, ac ego ipse animo erga Sanctam Sedem sint affecti, qui meae curae committuntur, tam populus, quam pastores. Ad hanc gratiam certius consequendam, provolutus humillime ad pedes Tuæ Sanctitatis, rogo, ut nobis Apostolicam benedictionem conferre dignetur. Ut Sanctitatem Tuam Deus diu incolumem esse velit, suaeque Ecclesiae utilitati conservet, cum omni devotione et ex animo precatur Beatissime Pater, servus ac filius obsequiosissimus, †Joannes, Episcopus Baltimorensis. Londini, die 27 Septembris, 1790." (Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 366-367, for translation given.)

and in particular, those of the new College of Georgetown. Father Plowden (September 25, 1790) regretted Carroll's determination to sail for Baltimore in the early part of October, since a longer stay would have been agreeable to his many friends, and might have added considerably to the donations being sent to the bishop for Georgetown.²⁷ Mr. Weld, Lord Petre, Lord Arundell of Wardour, and others wrote urging him to remain longer in England, but Bishop Carroll knew that the situation in Baltimore, Philadelphia and Boston needed his presence. On October 3, 1790, he wrote to Archbishop Troy, announcing his approaching departure:

... Since my arrival I have carefully avoided taking any part in the present controversy amongst the Catholics, though I have been urged on all sides. If I had seen any prospect of bringing the principals on each side of the question to a good understanding with each other, most certainly I would have attended much more than I have done to the cause in controversy, and probably should have formed a very decided opinion. At present I can only say, that the oath, in its present form, appears to me inadmissible; that it implies a renunciation of the pastoral powers of the successor of St. Peter; and that its obvious meaning is different from that which the advocates for the oath affix to it. This I have not said to a soul excepting now to your Lordship, and even to you I deliver this opinion, not as one which is founded on much investigation, but as one which forced itself on my mind when I read the oath. My baggage has been on board some days; the wind keeps the ship in the river, which I hope to leave very shortly. I was greatly obliged to their Lordships (of your province) who offered me their congratulations through your Lordship. May God pour his blessings plentifully on your and their arduous labours for the extension of the faith! I shall always esteem it a happiness and honour to hear from you. Cardinal Antonelli, in a late letter, recommended me to let your recommendation accompany all priests who go from Ireland to America. In consequence I referred to your Lordship for such recommendation, a Mr. Phelan, a Capuchin friar and postulant for our Mission."²⁸

To Lord Arundell of Wardour, he wrote on October 4, 1790:

My good and dear Lord:

Your Lordship will be surprised to find my letter dated from London: for several days our ship has been prevented by contrary winds from falling down the river; and I wished to defer to the last giving your

²⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-M12.

²⁸ MORAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 508-509; cf. *Researches*, vol. xiii, pp. 161-162.

Lords'p an answer to yr most kind, affectionate, tho' you must allow me to add, too partial letter from Southampton. I own, that I was greatly affected by it; and could not read it through at once. The pleasure of being so much esteemed by Lord & Lady Arundell was corrected by the confusion, which I felt in knowing, how little I deserved it. I never spent a day at Wardour in my life, which did not fill me with respect for the noble family there: but the last days of my late visit made on me deeper impressions than ever. To add to these, your Lordship condescends to request, that you may be allowed to correspond with me: Indeed, my Lord, I shall ever esteem it an honour & a happiness. Letters directed to me at Baltimore, Maryland, left with Mr. Strickland, Mr. Talbot, or Mr. Joshua Johnson, Merch't in London, will go safe.

A little before I received your Ldsp's last Mons'r Nagot, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, came over hither, in consequence of a previous correspondence between the Nuncio at Paris & me. The object of his voyage was, to concert measures for the erection of an Episcopal Seminary for the Diocese of Baltimore. We arranged all preliminaries; and I expect at Baltimore, early in the Summer, some of the Gentlemen of that institution to get hand to work; & I have reason to believe they will find means to carry their plan into effect. Thus we shall be provided with a house fit for the reception and further improvement in the higher sciences of the young men, whom God may call to an Ecclesiastical state, after their classical education is finished in our Georgetown academy. While I cannot but thank divine providence for opening on us such a prospect, I feel great sorrow in the reflection, that we owe such a benefit to the distressed state of Religion in France.

Relative to the appointment of Bishops here, I can only say to your Lords'p that the opposition, which was intended in the North to be made ags't Bishop Gibson, will subside. A remonstrance was to have been signed by the Clergy: but Bishop Talbot having recommended compliance & submission, the remonstrance is withdrawn. So says a letter to Mr. Wm. Meynell, just returned from Palermo: to whom I have presumed to recommend to see Wardour, as he is under a promise of going to see Mr. Ch's Plowden. Your Lords'p will find in him a person well informed generally, & particularly in the fine arts. I cannot presume to answer your Lords'ps confidential appeal to my judgment, concerning the oath. When I see men of abilities & virtue engaged on both sides, I dare not venture to direct in a matter of so much consequence without studying the question much more, than I have had time to do. At present I will only recommend to your Lordsh'p to consult one, or at most two men, of whose judgment, in all other matters respecting your spiritual concerns, you have found most reason to rely; and to follow their opinions. But this need not make me so far reserved, as to withhold from your Lds'p that at present and as far as I have considered the subject, my opinion is against the oath: However an opinion formed, as mine has been, deserves little regard.

I promised to write to Lady Arundell before I leave England: now I

propose doing so from Gravesend. Yr Lordship knows my sentiments in her regard, & will, I hope, be the interpreter of them: and I request to have my humble respects made to Mes'rs Forrester & Nihell. The Dr. Booth is here: by him, I will send some impressions of the large seal: the small one shall be on this letter. I ought to answer Mr. Nihell's letter, full of kindness & goodness, like himself; but really I have not time. I hope he will excuse me. I depend much on his & Mr. Forrester's prayers; who, I hope, has had advices from Mons'r Picard—Let Mr. Nihell know that Mrs. Paines vinegar would come too late—I am not less obliged to her for the trouble she has taken. Dr. Madison, the new Prot't Bishop of Virg'a, is my fellow passenger.

I have the hon'r to be with the greatest resp't, My Lord,

Yr. Lords'ps Most obliged & humble s't,

J. CARROLL.²⁹

On October 8th, he embarked at Gravesend in the same vessel which had carried him to England. A stormy and disagreeable passage of two months followed and he reached Baltimore on December 7, 1790. It is not difficult to imagine the thoughts that occupied his mind during the voyage home, or the plans which he must have made, and probably traced on paper during that time. The problems which faced him were not insurmountable, for he succeeded during the twenty-five years of his episcopate in meeting them all in turn and mastering them. Foremost among these was the lack of educational facilities for the young and of a preparatory seminary for the priesthood. But he came back with the promise that the Sulpicians of Paris would soon be on their way to Baltimore, and with that promise the future did indeed present a rosier hue than it had since his appointment as prefect-apostolic in 1784. There was also the outstanding difficulty that the "newcomers" into the American vineyard were, with few exceptions, mediocre men, priests, as he said in several of his letters to Plowden, who joined "much ignorance to consummate assurance." They were mostly subjects of bishops who rejoiced to see them go, and they brought, and unfortunately kept, not only their habits of long standing, but their own views on the methods which ought to be pursued in organizing the nascent Church. "You cannot conceive the trouble I suffer already," he had written to Plowden on October 23, 1789, "and still greater which I foresee, from the medley of clerical charac-

²⁹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

ters coming from different quarters and various educations, and seeking employment here.”³⁰ The boldness of some of these priests before his departure in July, 1790, in flaunting his authority had created difficulties which would require several years to settle; and with priests contumacious of his jurisdiction, it is easy to realize the added difficulty he had in controlling the laity in accordance with fundamental ecclesiastical law. The antagonism created by the disturbers between the old clergy and the new was heightened by the thorny question of property rights in the missions, and his declaration of non-interference did not help to adjust matters peaceably and definitively. Bishop Carroll was at this time a man of fifty-six, and in the full enjoyment of his intellectual powers. He had not sought the exalted post given to him by the Holy See, but he was a man whose determination was that born of humility and of dependence upon God and upon prayer; and how well he met the problems which faced him on the morrow of December 7, 1790, is his enduring title to fame in American Catholic annals.

An escort of priests and people gathered at the landing in Baltimore, when the ship carrying their bishop arrived on Tuesday, December 7, 1790. Bishop Carroll was escorted to his home, the little rectory attached to St. Peter's Church, where he was to spend the remaining twenty-five years of his life. The following Sunday the church was thronged with Catholics and non-Catholics, few of whom had ever seen a Catholic bishop before. Bishop Carroll took possession of his pro-Cathedral in liturgical fashion that morning. Five priests, with the trustees of the church, met him at the door, and then escorted him to the altar, where the *Te Deum* was chanted. He was then conducted to the throne erected on the Gospel side, and pontifical Mass was begun. At the end of the Mass, he imparted his episcopal benediction and announced the usual indulgences granted on such solemn occasions. His sermon, dealing mainly with the duties and the responsibilities of his office, shows how profoundly he appreciated the immense scope of the work before him:

In this, my new station, if my life be not one continued instruction and example of virtue to the people committed to my charge, it will

³⁰ Quoted by HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 688.

become, in the sight of God, a life not only useless, but even pernicious. It is no longer enough for me to be inoffensive in my conduct and regular in my manners. God now imposes a severer duty upon me. I shall incur the guilt of violating my pastoral office, if all my endeavours be not directed to bring your lives and all your actions to a conformity with the laws of God; to exhort, to conjure, to reprove, to enter into all your sentiments; to feel all your infirmities; to be all things to all, that I may gain all to Christ; to be superior to human respect; to have nothing in view but 'God and your salvation; to sacrifice to these health, peace, reputation, and even life itself; to hate sin, and yet love the sinner; to repress the turbulent; to encourage the timid; to watch over the conduct of even the ministers of religion; to be patient and meek; to embrace all kinds of persons; these are now my duties—extensive, pressing, and indispensable duties; these are the duties of all my brethren in the episcopacy, and surely important enough to fill us with terror. But there are others still more burdensome to be borne by me, in this particular portion of Christ's church which is committed to my charge, and where everything is to be raised, as it were, from its foundation; to establish ecclesiastical discipline; to devise means for the religious education of Catholic youth—that precious portion of pastoral solicitude; to provide an establishment for training up ministers for the sanctuary and the services of religion, that we may no longer depend on foreign and uncertain coadjutors; not to leave unassisted any of the faithful who are scattered through this immense continent; to preserve their faith untainted amidst the contagion of error surrounding them on all sides; to preserve in their hearts a warm charity and forbearance toward every other denomination of Christians, and at the same time to preserve them from that fatal and prevailing indifference which views all religions as equally acceptable to God and salutary to men. Ah! when I consider these additional duties, my heart sinks almost under the impression of terror which comes upon it. In God alone can I find any consolation. He knows by what steps I have been conducted to this important station, and how much I have always dreaded it. He will not abandon me unless I first draw down His malediction by my unfaithfulness to my charge. Pray, dear brethren, pray incessantly, that I may not incur so dreadful a punishment. Alas! the punishment would fall on you as well as on myself; my unfaithfulness would rebound on you and deprive you of some of the means of salvation.³¹

In summary, his task embraced certain definite needs: the religious education of Catholic youth; seminary training for the priesthood; the immediate wants of the laity; the supply of the

³¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-372; original draft in *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Letter-Book, vol. i. Cf. White's appendix to DARRAS, *History of the Catholic Church*, vol. iv, pp. 615-618. New York, 1865.

clergy; the preservation of the faith; the inculcation of charity and forbearance, in fine, of the spirit of religious tolerance among his flock; and the safeguarding of his people from heresy and religious indifference.

His first biographer, Brent, relates that after remaining a few days in Baltimore, he hastened to his mother's residence at Rock Creek, "to testify towards her those sentiments of love and veneration which characterized so strongly his intercourse with her, and to renew those kindly and genial relations with the rest of his family and surrounding friends, which rendered him so dear and acceptable to them all."³²

The newly-created Diocese of Baltimore, over which he now presided, was coterminous with the new Republic. Practically speaking, it extended over the whole of the eastern part of the present United States, with the exception of East and West Florida, which remained Spanish territory until its seizure in 1810-13, and its final purchase in 1819. The population was unevenly distributed in this large territory. A small section, that extending in a narrow strip from Baltimore to Boston, contained over 45 per cent. of the population to the square mile. Surrounding this, westward to the Alleghanies, there was 6 to 45 per cent. of the inhabitants to the square mile; and beyond that natural barrier out to the Mississippi, with the exception of a cluster of settlements in Kentucky, the percentage of population was less than 6 per cent. to the square mile. Emigration westward had begun shortly after the Revolutionary War, and in 1790, a stream of settlers had reached the Ohio Valley beyond Pittsburgh. Outside the thirteen original States, the only organized portion of the country was the Northwest Territory, established in 1787.³³ Shea tells us that Bishop Carroll had as fellow labourers in this vast vineyard about thirty-five priests; and he gives us the following places as possessing churches at the time: Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York City, Boston, Charleston, St. Inigoes, Newtown, Newport, Port Tobacco, Rock Creek, Annapolis, Whitemarsh, Bohemia, Tuckahoe, Deer Creek, Fred-

³² *Biographical Sketch, etc.*, p. 122.

³³ Cf. SEMPLE, *American History and Its Geographic Conditions*, p. 65; DUNBAR, *History of Travel in America*, vol. i, p. 152. Indianapolis, 1915.

erick, Hagerstown and some minor stations or chapels in other parts of Maryland; Lancaster, Conewago, Goshenhoppen, Elizabethtown, York, Reading, Carlisle, Greensburg, in Pennsylvania; Coffee Run, in Delaware; Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, in the Mississippi Valley. There were other churches in the Middle West, at Detroit, Raisin River, Michilimackinac, and Fort Miami, but these were still claimed by the Bishop of Quebec, being in territory not yet entirely relinquished by the English. In the old French and Spanish lands there were two churches, one at Natchez, and the other at Villa Gayoso, under the Bishop of Havana. Besides these permanent settlements and cities, there were Catholics scattered wherever the pioneers had gone. Travel and communication were alike difficult and cumbersome, and the great distances separating the settlements rendered it difficult for the Catholics to make their presence known to the priests or to Bishop Carroll. A generous estimate of the number of Catholics in the United States at the time would be in round numbers 50,000. The first detailed Report on the State of Religion in the Diocese of Baltimore is that sent by Bishop Carroll on April 23, 1792, to the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda Fide.

Officially, Bishop Carroll's diocese was geographically identical with his prefecture; and the limits of this were determined in 1784 by the extent of territory at that time under the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District. The Brief, *Ex hac apostolicae*, did not enter into the question of diocesan limits, and, therefore, the old lines of the prefecture were unchanged. No juridic act of the Holy See had withdrawn the authority of the Bishop of Quebec from northern Maine, northern New York, or the Northwest Territory; and the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba still ruled the Natchez District in the south. Bishop Carroll referred this question to Propaganda, and on January 29, 1791, the Sacred Congregation placed the whole territory of the United States under the jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll. As the flag of the Republic advanced, therefore, in the northern and southern parts of the country, Bishop Carroll's authority followed by virtue of this indult.

Shortly after his arrival in Baltimore Bishop Carroll wrote to Lord Arundell to acquaint him with his safe journey across the Atlantic;

*Baltimore, 14 Dec. 1790.**My Lord:*

I know that your Lordship interests yourself so much in my regard, as not to be indifferent to the prosperous issue of my late voyage across the Atlantic. I have the pleasure to inform you, that I arrived safely on the 7th of Dec'er, having embarked at Gravesend October 8th. We had a blowing & disagreeable passage; but a good ship carried us safely through all difficulties. I hope your Lordship & your incomparable Lady are well convinced, that no distance of place or time can efface those impressions of esteem, respect &, allow me to say, of affectionate friendship, with which your virtues, kindness, & condescension have inspired me. God grant, this may find you both, as well as Mrs. Arundell & Clifford, with their respective husbands, in perfect health—Be pleased to present my respectful Compliments to Mes'es Booth and Forrester & Nihell; and to inform the first, that I have conducted his niece thus far in perfect health; that her B'r Charles is arrived to convey her to his house; that she presents her duty respectfully to him. And to Mr. Forrester you will be pleased to say, that I retain the greatest sense of his kindness, & shall be glad to know the answers, he received from Mr. Picard. Mr. Forrester has so many good qualities to recommend him to esteem, & to discover his usefulness, that I am almost ashamed to mention one, which, in our present circumstances, would be particularly conducing to the solemnity & propriety of divine worship; his knowledge of the rites and ceremonies of the church—I request the favour of your Lordship to present my respects to Lady Arundell, & the other branches of your noble & amiable family. I have not yet seen my Sister, whom her Ladyship honoured with a mark of her regard, & therefore can not be the interpreter of her sentiments—

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect,

My Lord

Yr. Lordships most devoted & obed't S't.

✠ J. CARROLL.³⁴

Bishop Hubert of Quebec, his nearest episcopal neighbor, wrote on December 5, 1791, to congratulate the new Ordinary of the United States:

My Lord:

I take advantage of a moment's leisure that the affairs of this diocese allow me to send you my tardy but very sincere congratulations upon your promotion to the See of Baltimore. God has made use of you, My Lord, to give birth to a new Church, to establish a second diocese in North America, which, I trust, will in the future form a considerable portion of the kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth. Surely you have not

³⁴ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

attained this preferment without many trials and merits; I pray divine Providence with all of my heart to recompense you therefor, and I thank him for having procured for my diocese the precious advantage of having a Catholic diocese in its neighborhood.

They have written to me from Paris that you intend to establish a seminary in your episcopal city, and that Mr. Nagot, a priest from the Seminary of St. Sulpice, had in consequence gone there with a dozen young ecclesiastics. You could not, my Lord, build a more solid foundation for the preservation and growth of the true faith in this country. The individual merit of this director, the reputation of the house to which he belongs, are so many arguments which prove that God, in calling you to the episcopate, has given you the wisdom and administrative ability necessary to fulfil its requirements. May He long preserve a life which must be infinitely dear to the glory of His name and to the spiritual welfare of your diocesans.

In my last letter to Mr. Hody, Superior of the Foreign Missions at Paris, I promised to give him good news of your success in founding a seminary. Be so good, My Lord, I pray you, as to make it possible for me to keep my word to him.

The letter with which you honored me on May 5, 1788, reached me in due time, and you ought in like manner to have received my reply dated October 6th of the same year.

I have the honour to be with perfect esteem and sincere veneration, &c.

✠ JEAN FRANÇOIS,
Bishop of Quebec.³⁵

Bishop Carroll's reply makes mention of the outstanding difficulty between the two dioceses—Quebec and Baltimore, each of which was coterminous with a nation, namely, the boundaries separating the jurisdiction of Bishop Hubert and himself:

Baltimore, January 20, 1792.

My Lord:

I received with emotion and veneration the felicitations your Lordship did me the honour to offer me upon the creation of the new see of Baltimore. May this diocese become what you prophesy, a means for the increase of the true faith in the vast country embraced by my diocese, and may it be sustained always by episcopal virtues like unto yours, my Lord, and by a clergy as edifying as that of Canada! On my part, I shall ever make it my duty to maintain with the see of Quebec not only a communion of faith and a fraternal union of charity, but to entertain towards your Lordship, a respectful confidence, and to give proofs thereof by communicating to you all my ideas and projects for preserving and extending

³⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-A12; printed in the *Records*, vol. xviii, pp. 159-160, from a copy in the *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec*.

the kingdom of Jesus Christ. Looking upon you as my senior in the episcopate, and my model, I shall strive to conform my conduct to the principles which animate yours.

It is true, and I cannot be grateful enough to God for it, that the worthy Mr. Nagot, in consequence of arrangements made whilst I was in Europe, is here in Baltimore at the head of a seminary with four other priests, and with six young ecclesiastics, of whom four are English or American. They have secured a suitable house, and all the exercises are carried out therein.

Besides the seminary, we have opened a school, or Catholic college, fifteen miles from here, for the instruction in letters and piety of Catholic youth. I hope that from this college Providence may draw many scholars to the service of the Church and that it will become a nursery for the seminary. I shall then have, if I be yet living, or my successors will have, the means of giving to our flock as pastors only priests trained under our eyes, and who can be relied upon with moral certainty.

This, my Lord, is what you can write to Mr. Hody. He did me the honor to write to me some time ago and I intend to reply forthwith.

I do not know if they have written you from Rome their decision touching the boundaries of our respective dioceses. They have placed under my jurisdiction the entire territory of the United States. Apparently they have thought, and probably with reason, that our government would have taken umbrage at seeing you exercise spiritual authority within its domain. I am expecting from France in the spring several ecclesiastics well suited to service in the Illinois and at Post Vincennes.

You will oblige me very much if you will give me a reliable and exact list of the properties owned by your church or your seminary in the United States. These properties still belong to you, according to our laws, if you have not dispossessed yourself of them by any act on your part. Last year Mr. Gibeault [*Gibault*] and other individuals, by means of a statement that I believe to be quite false, obtained the grant of several ecclesiastical properties located at Kaskaskias and at Post Vincennes. I am taking measures to invalidate this grant, but I am greatly handicapped by lack of assured knowledge in regard to these properties. I look to you, my Lord, for information which may perhaps serve to frustrate evil and to benefit both our dioceses.

I have the honour to be, in union with you in the Holy Sacrifice, and with profound respect, your Lordship's humble and obedient servant.

✠ J., *Bishop of Baltimore*.⁸⁸

Cardinal Antonelli had given Bishop Carroll the keynote for his administration of the Church in the new Republic—*utatur jure suo!* It was Rome's old-time answer to difficulties similar

⁸⁸ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, États-Unis, Miscellaneous, printed in the Records, vol. xviii, pp. 160-162.*

in character to those which surrounded America's first Catholic bishop. Occasions were to arise during the remainder of Carroll's life (1790-1815) when only stern and swift action on his part saved the American Church from permanent disorder. A few problems he was obliged to leave his successors to solve; but he never avoided the heavy obligations of his post and he never allowed the least encroachment upon his episcopal authority to go unchallenged. The history of his episcopate is the subject of the next volume.

CHAPTER XXII

TWO REMARKABLE PROJECTS

(1790)

Independent at last of all ties with the Old World, except the one bond which has ever been jealously guarded—spiritual union with the Holy See—the Catholic Church of the United States inaugurated its organized life with an American as its chief shepherd. With all the pulsating energy that distinguished American spirit in those early days of constitutional government, it was inevitable that every institution in the land would be subjected to a minute scrutiny by those who had risked all that the nation might be established. No one who knew John Carroll could say aught else of America's first Catholic bishop than that he was among the most striking figures of the times. He had all the kindness of the American. He had all the American's eagerness to assist those in difficulties, yet to refrain from entering problems that were not vital to American progress. He knew no master except those whom God had placed above him. He realized that the future greatness of the Church of God in the United States lay in teaching her children that the needs and the aspirations of the nation were all in consonance with Catholic doctrines and Catholic principles. It was not, to use a much-abused phrase of a later archbishop, that John Carroll had determined to make the Church in America throb with American life, because at that time the full content of the American ideal had not been probed; but one fact was clear to his mind and that fact was the grave responsibility which rested upon him of safeguarding the Church in the Republic from all "foreign entanglements," and particularly from the intrusion of all unauthorized influence during this critical period of its actual beginning. That he succeeded is now a matter of historical knowledge; and it will ever be said to his high honour among the



prelates of the past that he handed on to his successors an ecclesiastical establishment which saw America with American eyes and spoke of America in terms understood by the American people.

We have already been made familiar with the story of foreign interference in American Catholic affairs on the morrow of the American Revolution. The Church here was never to be entirely freed from this fear. The unrest caused by this intrusion was of two kinds—that having its origin in European capitals, and that fomented by little groups of priests and laity within the United States, who had failed to leave their allegiance to foreign institutions behind them. Bishop Carroll realized that there was only one way of keeping intact the flock entrusted to him and that was to prevent any division of his authority, except through the legitimate channel at Rome.

The two projects which are chronicled here were the first organized efforts to encroach upon his authority and jurisdiction, independently of his own wishes.

The first of these is one of the most tragic of all the colonizing attempts on American territory. Some few months after the issuance of the Bull *Ex hac apostolicae* which created the See of Baltimore and gave to John Carroll jurisdiction over all the Catholics in the new Republic, a project was inaugurated in Paris for the purpose of sending out a body of French colonists to Ohio. The Ordinance of 1787 had hardly been put in operation before land speculation began to appear. Under the leadership of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, the Ohio Company with a capital stock of a million dollars was organized, and Congress agreed to sell 1,500,000 acres of land to the speculators. At the same time under the name of the Scioto Company, the Ohio Company took an option on an additional 3,000,000 to 3,500,000 acres adjacent to the original grant. It was only when the bargain was closed that Congress learned it had been dealing with two companies.¹ Colonel William Duer, then Secretary of the U. S. Board of Treasury, who was the

¹ Cf. *American State Papers*, vol. i, p. 29, *Public Lands*, Washington, 1834. "Nothing was talked of in every social circle, but the paradise that was opened for Frenchmen in the western wilderness; the free and happy life to be led on the blissful banks of the Scioto," Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, p. 178. Cincinnati, 1847.

head of the Scioto Company, sent Joel Barlow to Paris to sell lots in the tract controlled by his company. Barlow's first attempts in Paris met with little success, until a distinctly French company—La Compagnie du Scioto—was organized and purchased 3,000,000 acres in the Scioto tract at \$1.20 an acre. In January, 1790, La Compagnie du Scioto was dissolved and the "Company of the 24" bought out its rights. The leading spirit of this last Company was d'Esprémesnil, and it was not long before he had sold a large number of tracts to prospective French immigrants.² "They were mostly of the better sort of the middle class, carvers and gilders to his majesty, coach and peruke makers, friseurs and other artists as little fitted for a backwoods life."³ Before the first group of colonists was ready to leave Havre on May 26, 1790, letters had been passed between d'Esprémesnil and the other promoters and the Papal Nuncio in Paris regarding the spiritual care and guidance of the new colony, asking for the appointment of a Father Duboisnantier as bishop of the new colony:

A son Excellence, Monseigneur le Nonce,

La nouvelle colonie des François qui se forme dans l'Amérique septentrionale, entre le Scioto et l'Oyo, étant presque toute composée de catholiques qui désirent vivre et mourir dans la profession intérieure et extérieure de leur foy, considérant à quels dangers ils seroient exposés pour le salut, s'ils se trouvoient sans église, sans prêtres, sans culte public, sans hiérarchie, et abandonnés à quelques ecclésiastiques mercenaires que les malheurs qui déchirent la France pourroient conduire au milieu d'eux par l'espoir d'y faire fortune, supplie humblement notre très saint père le pape, de leur accorder un évêque qui préside au maintien de la doctrine et de la discipline religieuse, et qui, toujours uni par principes à la sainte église romaine, puisse réprimer les abus qui se pourroient glisser dans ce nouvel établissement, soit contre la foy soit contre les mœurs. La nouvelle colonie désire cette grâce avec autant plus d'ardeur qu'occupant un terrain de plus de deux cent lieux d'étendue, il n'y a pas d'évêque à qui on puisse commodément avoir recours soit pour des ordinations, soit pour la Confirmation,

² The tragic story of the Gallipolis Colony has been told with sympathy and charm by the Rev. Lawrence Kenny, S.J., in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iv, pp. 415-451. An excellent bibliography will be found at the end of his article, which is especially valuable because he has used the *Gallipolis Papers*, in the Van Wormer Library, at the University of Cincinnati. Some of the ecclesiastical documents on the Colony were published by the present writer in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 195-204. The best detailed account of the Colony is that by BELOTE, *The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis*. Cincinnati, 1907.

³ LAMOTT, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati*, p. 15. Cincinnati, 1921.

soit pour des dispenses que les évêques seuls sont dans l'usage d'accorder, et que d'ailleurs elle espère que la fondation d'une ville épiscopale [Gallipolis] attireroit dans son sein un nombre prodigieux de familles dispersées dans ce pays presque inculte, et qui y vivroient en corps de société comme en unité de croyance.

A ces causes, les principaux Membres de la colonie proposent Monsieur Duboisnantier, prêtre habitué à s. Rock, et supplient très respectueusement sa sainteté de lui donner le titre d'Evêque, avec toute la juridiction spirituelle que peut demander une mission aussi étendue que celle du Scioto.

[Signed]

Guérin	MM. Barons de Maubranche, Malartic
de Lézay-Marnesia	du Bellan
Delaroche	Smith
du Val d'Esprémesnil	Madame Thiébaud
William Playfair	de Gravier
J. A. Chais, de Soissons	de Bellon ⁴

There is no record, among the papers of d'Esprémesnil, of the attempt to promote Father Duboisnantier to the episcopal See of Gallipolis in the wilderness of Ohio. Shea is correct in his surmise that Duboisnantier was proposed prior to Didier. This supposition is strengthened by some Bruté papers.⁵ He did not come to America.

More than a thousand colonists were to go out to the Scioto lands before the year was over, and a Benedictine monk of St. Maur, Dom Didier, whose brother had purchased land from the company, was approached by d'Esprémesnil, who urged the Benedictine to apply to the Papal Nuncio for episcopal jurisdiction. On March 22, 1790, the leaders of the project wrote to Dugnani, the Papal Nuncio, asking for Didier's appointment:

⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, ff. 388-389.

⁵ "A curious fact.—The late Bishop Bruté, among some papers of his which have come under our notice, states that a Catholic bishopric was proposed to be erected at Scioto, or Gallipolis, in Ohio, as early as the year 1789, which was the period also of Rev. Mr. Carroll's appointment to the new See at Baltimore. Mr. Bruté being at Paris in 1824, learned this remarkable fact from the Abbé Boisnantier, a canon of St. Denys, who had been himself nominated to the See in Ohio. No reasons, however, are mentioned, to account for the subsequent withdrawal of these appointments. It was probably caused by the circumstances mentioned in Dr. Spalding's *Sketches of Kentucky* (p. 62), where he speaks of the French Catholics who had settled at Gallipolis. The colonists had been defrauded in the purchase of lands, the title proving defective, and many of them returned to France in consequence of this unfortunate transaction, which marred the prospects of the new settlement, and probably suspended the proceedings relative to the contemplated See. It is rather singular, however, that the fact of the new bishopric having been designed, has never been publicly alluded to in connection with the history of the West." (*United States Catholic Magazine*, 1845, p. 407.)

A son Excellence, Monseigneur Dugnani, Nonce Apostolique,

Les personnes réunies pour former une colonie dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, sur les bords de la Rivière Scioto, désirant que ce nouvel établissement qui s'y forme puisse jouir de tous les secours spirituels qui dirigent et assurent la soumission à l'église catholique apostolique et romaine, après les informations nécessaires pour un choix si important ont nommé le Père Dom Didier Bénédictin de la congrégation de St. Maur pour présider tout ce qui serait relatif au culte divin et aux instructions de la Jeunesse. Les ci-dites personnes, aujourd'hui assemblées, ayant pris connaissance du *Mémoire* présenté par Dom Didier à son Excellence, Monseigneur le Nonce ont l'honneur de supplier son Excellence de vouloir bien protéger auprès de sa Sainteté les observations qui sont présentées dans cette requête. La colonie sera très flattée d'obtenir par la Protection de son Excellence des secours spirituels, qui pourront contribuer au succès d'un établissement dont tous les principes ont pour objet la gloire de la religion, la pureté des moeurs, et le bonheur de la colonie, et ont signé le present ce 22 Mars, 1790.

[Signed]

Baron de Maubranche
de Lézy-Marnesia, fils
M. de Lézy-Marnesia
Malartic
de Bondy
pour mon frère, Didier.

Gravier
du Val d'Esprêmesnil
Vte. de Bellon
J. A. Chais, de Soissons
De Graville
etc., etc.*

The fact that some of these names appear on both letters would seem to indicate that there had been no rivalry between Duboisnantier and Didier. Probably the first-named, on reflection, declined the empty honour. There is no insincerity in the declaration of their intention to establish a well-organized Catholic life at Gallipolis. Frenchmen of all classes were anxious to leave France to escape "l'intolérable tyrannie des vizirs françois," as De Warville calls the Revolutionists, when they saw the ancient bulwarks of Christianity falling in ruins around them.⁷ The *Mémoire*, mentioned in this supplication for Didier's election, gives a general survey of their spiritual plans. The Didier *Mémoire* bears the same date as the preceding letter, March 22, 1790. The number of the emigrants, who were mostly Catholic, he says, was increasing to a considerable extent; and, since he had been chosen as their spiritual head in the New

* *Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, vol. ii, ff. 379-379v.

⁷ BRISOT DE WARVILLE, *Nouveau Voyage dans les États-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale, fait en 1788*, vol. i, p. 377. Paris, 1791.

World, he felt obliged to strengthen the request of the leaders by making a personal application for ecclesiastical powers—either as Bishop of Gallipolis or as vicar-apostolic—to carry out the religious and educational plans of the colonists. It is apparent from the *Mémoire* that the Nuncio had already called his attention to the fact that the United States had just been given a Bishop in the person of John Carroll of Baltimore; but Didier argues that the distance between Baltimore and Gallipolis was so great that Bishop Carroll could not guide the spiritual destinies of the emigrants. The French people, moreover, were accustomed to have their own bishops, and Didier begged the Nuncio to hasten the conclusion of the matter at Rome, as he was then ready to start for Havre:

Monseigneur,

J'ai l'honneur de représenter à Votre Excellence qu'une société de personnes distinguées et Catholiques, a fait des réquisitions considérables au Scioto, partie de l'Amérique septentrionale, qu'elle y fait passer plusieurs habitants des campagnes, que plusieurs particuliers suivent cet exemple, que ces émigrations s'élèvent déjà à un degré de population assez considérable pour mériter l'attention religieuse du très saint Père et celle de Votre Excellence. Ils ont droit d'attendre du chef visible de l'église les secours spirituels qui lui seul a la pouvoir de leur procurer. Cette société, Monseigneur, m'a fait l'honneur de me choisir pour son pasteur. Ce choix m'honore, excite mon zèle et me détermine à sacrifier ma personne et mes foibles talens à la Religion, à l'Education, et au bonheur de cette colonie naissante. Mais, Monseigneur, il ne m'est pas possible de remplir ce but, si je n'ai point une mission légale. Votre Excellence sait que l'Etat dans lequel se va fonder cette colonie ayant pour Religion dominante la protestante, et tolérant toutes les sectes, il n'existe aucune puissance ecclésiastique à la quelle je puisse avoir recours. Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de me faire observer qu'il existe un évêque à Baltimore. Qu'il me soit permis de lui représenter qu'on peut regarder cet évêque comme nul pour le Scioto, à raison des distances considérables qui nous sépareront; la difficulté des communications, le danger d'abandonner un troupeau que l'on pourra regarder comme une église naissante; tous ces obstacles pourroient, Monseigneur, retarder les fruits que la religion pourroit faire en ce pays, et même détruire insensiblement dans le cœur des habitants les principes religieux qu'ils ont reçu dans leur enfance, par les difficultés qu'ils éprouveroient dans l'exercice, la facilité qu'ils pourroient rencontrer à professer une autre Religion qu'on leur persuaderoit être aussi bonne. Votre Excellence connoit le cœur de l'homme. Elle sait qu'il faut se prêter à l'opinion, aux usages et aux habitudes, lorsque l'on veut opérer le bien. Il faut donc qu'elle ait le bonté de considérer la nature des

hommes qui vont habiter ces nouvelles régions, ce sont des François Catholiques, accoutumés à être soumis pour le spirituel à des Evêques et à des Prêtres. Je pense, Monseigneur, qu'il seroit dangereux de leur laisser perdre ces avantageuses impressions. Il faut aussi que Votre Excellence envisage le nombre considérable des Emigrants, qui vont former tout d'un coup une masse d'habitans assez forte, pour avoir besoin d'un chef revêtu de pouvoirs spirituels très étendus. Que ce soit un Evêque ou un Vicaire Apostolique, il faut l'un ou l'autre, c'est au très saint Père et à Votre Excellence à juger ce qui conviendra le mieux. Je n'ai point, Monseigneur, assez de présomption, pour solliciter en ma faveur. Ces titres qu'exigent des talens supérieurs et des vertus que je n'ose flatter d'avoir, un zèle ardent, une religion solide et éclairée, quelques connaissances—d'utilité publique, un cœur compatissant auquel rien ne répugne, lorsqu'il s'agit de soulager l'humanité souffrante, sont des titres pour prétendre au rang de subalterne. Il faut des qualités plus éminentes lorsqu'on est destiné à être placé sur le chandelier, c'est ce qui fait que mes vues ne se portent point à ce degré d'élevation. Le but de ma supplique, Monseigneur, est de vous faire envisager le besoin d'un évêque, ou de tout autre Supérieur ecclésiastique, auquel je puisse m'adresser pour les pouvoirs relatifs à l'emploi auquel je suis destiné par le choix d'une société, la nécessité de sa résidence au Scioto, tant pour le présent que pour l'avenir; résidence à laquelle j'attache le succès de l'établissement de la Religion dans ces contrées et sa propagation future dans cette partie du Globe. Si ces réflexions, Monseigneur, ne sont point assez déterminantes, pour faire en ce moment l'établissement que j'ai l'honneur de proposer à Votre Excellence, je la supplie de vouloir bien employer ses bons offices auprès de sa Sainteté pour m'obtenir avant mon départ tout ce qu'elle jugera nécessaire pour le plus grand bien de la religion, la gloire de Dieu et le bonheur des peuples qui me sont confiés. Je me contenterai des pouvoirs qui me seront accordés, dans la forme et l'étendue qu'il aura plu à la sagesse et à la providence du très Saint Père de les circonscrire, et je les accepterai avec la reconnaissance et la soumission la plus entière. Je supplie Votre Excellence de vouloir bien presser au Cour de Rome l'expédition prompte de l'objet de ma demande, attendu la proximité de mon départ. Permettez que Votre Excellence trouve ici l'hommage respectueux de mon sincère devouement et les sentimens distingués avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être,

*Monseigneur,
Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur*

FR. DIDIER.⁸

The same day, on receipt of this *Mémoire*, the Nuncio sent a despatch to Rome, dated March 22, 1790, to Cardinal Antonelli,

⁸ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, ff. 380-383.

announcing the project of the Scioto Company and the selection of Dom Didier as Bishop of Gallipolis, Ohio.⁹ The Nuncio averred that Didier was unknown to him, but that he would inquire as to his character and talents for the post. He asked Didier for a more complete explanation of the plans of the company, promising that when these were presented to him, he would send them to Rome. On March 29, 1790, the Nuncio wrote a second time to Cardinal Antonelli, saying that three or four priests were preparing to go to Gallipolis, with Didier as the spiritual head of the colony.¹⁰ Propaganda yielded to the wishes of the Scioto Company and on April 26, 1790, appointed Didier not bishop or vicar-apostolic, as he wished, but vicar-

⁹ "Eminenza, Una colonia francese di varie centinaia di persone va a stabilirsi nell'America settentrionale. Ha questa fatto l'acquisto di una quantità di terreno sul bordo dell'Ohio a cento leghe di distanza dal mare. Fra le persone, che sono alla testa di questa colonia vi è il Signor d'Espremenil Consigliere del Parlamento di Parigi, e soggetto ben noto il quale credo abbia formato un piano di costituzione a governo di questa piccola repubblica. Uno dei primi loro oggetti è stato di provvedere a tutto ciò che può esser necessario per l'esercizio del culto nostra santa religione per l'istruzione e per l'educazione. Hanno quindi prescelto un certo D. Didier monaco di S. Maur, che io non conosco, ma di cui mi procurerò qualche informazione. Questo religioso mi ha fatto presentare l'annesso foglio, in cui espone la commissione, di cui deve essere incaricato, e domanda alla Sacra Congregazione le necessarie facoltà. Io però gli ho fatto rispondere che oltre il suddetto foglio sarebbe stato opportuno che li deputati di questa colonia facessero conoscere alla Sacra Congregazione le loro idee, e li mezzi che si offrono a fornire per l'esecuzione, onde la Sacra Congregazione possa acquistare una sufficiente cognizione di questo nuovo stabilimento, e dare quelle providenze che la natura del luogo, il numero della persona ed altre circostanze fisiche e morali potranno esigere per il miglior successo. Questa memoria adunque mi sarà mandata nel corrente di questa settimana, che io poi in seguito accompagnerò con lettere d'ufficio all'Eminenza Vostra. Ho creduto soltanto di prevenire Vostra Eminenza, stante che essendo imminente la partenza del suddetto religioso, mi si fa premura di qualche risposta. Parigi, il 22 Marzo, 1790." *Propaganda Archives, l. c., ff. 381-382.*

¹⁰ "Eminimo, e Revmo. Signore, Alcune famiglie francesi sono in procinto di partire per l'America Settentrionale. Hanno quivi comparte delle terre sulla riva del fiume Scioto, alla distanza però di 100 leghe dal mare, ed hanno il progetto di stabilire in esse una colonia. Fra i loro primi pensieri hanno avuto quello di provvedersi de' ministri della religione. Ci sono tre o quattro ecclesiastici disposti a partire in breve. Ma oltre a questi, vi è un Religioso della Cong. di S. Mauro, il quale specialmente vien deputato da questa colonia per essere alla testa di tutto ciò che riguarda il culto, l'amministrazione de'sacramenti, l'istruzione, ed anche l'educazione. Questo religioso pertanto mi ha formato un foglio, che qui annetto unitamente all'altro sottoscritto dai capi della stessa colonia. Da tali fogli V.E. e la Congregazione vedranno quanto il suddetto religioso desidera, e quanto gli può esser necessario per contribuire al buon esito dello stabilimento in ciò che riguarda la religione, e i costumi. E con profondissimo ossequio sono, dell' E.V. umilissimo, divotissimo, obbligatissimo servitore A. Arcivescovo di Rodi. Parigi, 29 Marzo, 1790." *Propaganda Archives, l. c., f. 378.*

general in *spiritualibus* for the space of seven years, on condition that such jurisdiction should not conflict with that of Dr. Carroll. A copy of this Brief exists in the Catholic Archives at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, and the following translation was published in the *Researches* of the American Catholic Historical Society:

26th April, 1790.

Whereas, it has been communicated by the Most Rev. Archbishop of Rhodes, in France, that some men of illustrious piety and distinguished family have formed the design of emigrating to North America and establishing a colony on the lands of the river Scioto, where they have already, to this issue, bought considerable land; and whereas, for the sake of Catholic worship to which they are and will be most attached, they have arranged to bring with them a priest who may, as well on the way as in the settlements where they will fix their homes, administer to them the Sacraments, undertake the preaching of the word of God, look after the care of souls, they humbly ask of the Holy Father to grant to Rev. Father Didier, Benedictine Monk of the Order of Saint Benedict, Congregation of St. Maur, all the faculties which may seem opportune for the spiritual government of so many Catholic families: the Sacred Congregation, through the most eminent Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect, agreeing to their petitions, decreed, if it should please the Holy Father, that the faculties of *Formula IV* could be conceded to Father Didier, if he should be approved for pastoral work by the Archbishop of Paris, or his Vicar-General in spiritualities, for seven years, with complete jurisdiction over all the French who emigrate with him, *on condition that the lands and place where they should found their Colony should not be within the diocese of any Bishop within the limits of the government and sway of the United States, which altogether lies under the jurisdiction of the Bishop lately appointed in Baltimore by the Apostolic See. Further, Father Didier can in no way use the above faculties unless by the consent of the said Bishop, and is bound every year to inform the Sacred Congregation of the state of his mission, the number of faithful and their spiritual progress.*

Which decree being communicated to him by the Most Eminent Cardinal Prefect, at an audience given on the above date, His Holiness graciously approved in every particular, and conceded the said faculties *ad septennium*.

L. CARDINAL ANTONELLI, *Prefect*.

Dated Rome, April 28, 1790.

Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, twenty-sixth of April, 1790.

Through Most Eminent Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect, the Sacred Con-

gregation appointed Rev. Father Didier, Benedictine of the Congregation of St. Maur, Superior of the French Colony on the banks of the river Scioto, for seven years, with the authority necessary for the spiritual government of the said Colony, according to the prescription of the decrees of the Sacred Congregation, and with the limits placed as to their exercise, and at no other time and in no other way.

L. CARDINAL ANTONELLI, *Prefect*.¹¹

Dated Rome, April 28, 1790.

It is evident from this original Brief of appointment that Didier's powers as ecclesiastical leader of the colony were in no way to interfere with the jurisdiction enjoyed by Bishop Carroll in the United States. The territory beyond the Alleghanies was an obscurely-known one; and in 1790 it was not altogether certain whose was the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this part of the Ohio Valley. But the Brief reads with a definiteness which leaves no room for doubt that the Sacred Congregation had no intention of reducing the diocesan limits of Bishop Carroll nor of giving Didier any faculties which could be used without Carroll's express consent. In his letter of May 10, 1790, to Cardinal Antonelli, the Papal Nuncio of Paris also understood that Didier's faculties would have to be confirmed by Bishop Carroll before they could be used. About Didier himself he could find little, but he was informed that he was a religious of good character, sound in doctrine, though somewhat of an impetuous and idealistic nature. Didier had already left for Havre at the date of the Nuncio's writing (May 10, 1790), and was preparing to sail about the end of the month for America. Bishop Carroll, in a letter to Plowden, dated London, September 3, 1791, speaks of "the arrival, last year, of a Benedictine Monk, with a congregation, on the banks of the Ohio."¹² Propaganda intended, therefore, that the new colony would depend almost immediately upon the Bishop of Baltimore.

Antonelli was well informed by this time of American church affairs and his solution of the spiritual needs of the Scioto Colony was a just one. Everything depended upon the question whether

¹¹ Vol. xii, pp. 50-51.

¹² Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 745. New York, 1910. Carroll mentions the fact that the Sulpician Father Galais, during the discussions preparatory to the foundation of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, suggested that the Seminary should be founded at Gallipolis, where many emigrants from France at that time proposed to settle. (Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 377.)

the United States laid claim to the territory occupied by the Scioto Company. If so, then Didier was to depend directly upon Bishop Carroll for the right to exercise sacerdotal faculties. It appears that d'Esprémesnil was dissatisfied with Didier's humble acceptance of the faculties granted to him, and, after the monk's departure, he seems to have renewed his efforts, for he urged the appointment of the Abbé Duboisnantier to the See of Gallipolis, as the town to be founded on the Ohio was called. The Nuncio related this to Antonelli in his letter of May 17, 1790.¹³ No action seems to have been taken on this letter. An interesting episode connected with this Ohio project is the fact that the Sulpicians of Paris had been carefully studying the scheme, and had almost decided to accompany the colonists, when they were advised by the Nuncio to consult Bishop Carroll, who was then in London. They were persuaded to go to Baltimore instead.

Antonelli lost no time in informing Bishop Carroll of the Gallipolis colony. He wrote on May 22, 1790, announcing the departure of the first colonists.¹⁴ This letter Carroll probably did not receive, having left for London in July, so that the first news he had of the French colony came to him in London. Among the first ships that set out from Havre, one sprang a leak and when it looked as though all on board would be lost, an English ship came to its assistance and courageously saved all the passengers. In Antonelli's letter of August 14, 1790, he says: "The new colony of Frenchmen which has started out for the banks of the Scioto must have reached your country by

¹³ "*Emo, etc.*, Essendo D. Didier già partito da Parigi, non ho potuto eseguire che per lettera le commissioni di cui V.E. mi ha onorato. Non so se il mio piego arriverà in tempo di raggiungerlo a Havre de Grace, ove da vari giorni era egli sul momento d'imbarcarsi, ma quand'anche fosse partito, Mr. d'Espremenil mi ha fatto sapere, che potrà facilmente spedirglielo essendo imminente la partenza d'altre navi mercantili per la medesima destinazione. Qui in Parigi vi è un Prete, che bramerebbe di divenir vescovo di quella colonia, ed a ottenuto, che i capi di essa s'interessino per la sua elezione. Mr. d'Espremenil mi ha quindi presentato il foglio, che annetto. Per quanto credo che la cosa non convenga in alcun modo sì per le disposizioni, che si annunziano nel soggetto, sì per le misure già prese circa la dipendenza della colonia dal vescovo di Baltimore, e la facoltà recentemente accordata a F. Didier, non ha potuto ricusare di mandarle il suddo foglio. Se V.E. crede mi basterà d'avere una lettera ostensibile per Mr. d'Espremenil il quale non lascia di essere un soggetto, che merita de riguardi, e delle attenzioni. E con profondmo ossequio, dell' E.V., etc. *Parigi, 17, Maggio, 1790.*" *Propaganda Archives*, l. c., ff. 387-387v.

¹⁴ This letter is missing in the *Propaganda Archives* and in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, but it is mentioned in Antonelli's letter of August 14, 1790.

this time. We wrote to Your Lordship on May 22, that they would be guided in spiritual things by Dom Didier, a monk of St. Maur, to whom faculties have been given by the Holy See, with the clause, however, that if the colony settle within the confines of the Diocese of Baltimore, Father Didier will be bound to obtain your consent to the exercise of his faculties."¹⁵ In his reply of September 27, 1790, Bishop Carroll says: "One group of the colonists who have left France arrived in America, after I had left; not that group, however, with which the priest of the Congregation of St. Maur has sailed, of whom there is mention in your letter. They have selected a city in a territory belonging to the United States, though not included in any of those provinces which I have described more fully to Father Thorpe, when I asked him to explain to Your Eminence my hesitancy in this matter. This can be more easily done when you see the map which I have despatched through the Nuncio of Paris."¹⁶ Shea tells us that after reaching the settlement at Gallipolis, and after learning that he was within the jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll, Dom Didier travelled back to Baltimore to obtain the Bishop's consent to use his faculties. Father Didier remained with the colony, acting as vicar-general of Bishop Carroll until 1792, when he retired, discouraged by his unsuccessful efforts to keep the faith alive among his flock. On July 21, 1792, we find his name signed to the baptismal register of St. Charles Borromeo's Church, in St. Charles, Mo. Sometime later, he was at Florissant, and, in 1794, he took up his residence at St. Louis, where for five years he laboured, beloved of all the citizens of that city, until his death about the end of October, 1799.

Father Kenny's admirable sketch of the dispersal of the Gallipolis colony explains the dwindling of the settlement and the far-reaching consequences of the same:

Enticement to the other settlements drew many away; fear of the Indians, now on the war-path, was no idle fancy, and contributed to all the other motives for departure; but the cause usually ascribed for the general dissipation of the colony was that, even after they had paid a second time for their land, their titles were still insecure, in fact, invalid. It is interesting to see how they penetrated at once into the remotest part of America. Little knots of them appear on the map from the At-

¹⁵ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 258, f. 497.

¹⁶ *Ibid., Scritture originali*, vol. 893, not folioed.

lantic seaboard to civilization's last outposts in the Trans-Mississippi, and from Detroit and Canada to and across the Mexican border.¹⁷

Cincinnati attracted some; Paris, in Bourbon County, Kentucky, attracted others. One group, led by Marnesia, went to Pennsylvania, and founded the settlement of Asylum.¹⁸ Count Joseph de Barth, Baron of Walbach, settled in New Hampshire. One of his sons, Father de Barth, twice refused the See of Philadelphia; another, General Walbach, rendered distinguished service to the land of his father's adoption, in the War of 1812. New Bourbon in Missouri received another group of the colonists, and New Madrid proved a mecca for the disillusioned pioneers. Even far-away Maine is said to have harboured a group of the refugees from Gallipolis.¹⁹ Of all the cities, St. Louis appears to have been the most popular refuge. Here they found Father Didier, their pastor, whose brother, John Baptist Didier, soon became one of the prominent citizens of the town. Only a remnant of the several thousand French colonists remained in the city of Gallipolis, which they had hoped to see created an episcopal See. In September, 1793, Fathers Badin and Barrières, whom Carroll had appointed his Vicars-General for the Ohio and Kentucky districts, visited Gallipolis, and remained three days, heartily welcomed by the deserted colony. High Mass was sung by them in the garrison and forty children were baptized. "The good French colonists were delighted, and shed tears on their departure."²⁰ Bishop Carroll writes the epitaph for this once enthusiastic dream-city:

¹⁷ *L.c.*, p. 437.

¹⁸ HERBERMANN, *A French Emigré Colony in the United States*, in the United States Catholic Historical Society, *Records and Studies*, vol. i, pp. 77-97 (A translation of Henri Carré's article on the same subject in the *Revue de Paris*, May 15, 1898); GRIFFIN, *A Colony of French Catholics in Bradford County, Pennsylvania (1794-1800)* in the *Records*, vol. xviii, pp. 245-261, 421-433; Bishop Kenrick in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, for January, 1834. For a description of the sad condition of this settlement, where four priests who resided there never said Mass nor gathered the people for prayer or services, cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 292. Griffin gives another version in the *Records*, vol. xviii, pp. 426-429, but the absence of any documents in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives* strongly favors Shea's opinion. The apostate Abbé Fromentin was one of these four priests. Cf. INGHAM, *Asylum*. Towanda, 1916. The only one of the four priests who remained was the Apostle of Georgia, Abbé Carles. (*Works*, of Bishop England, vol. iii, pp. 252-254.)

¹⁹ Cf. *Queries on Catholic Maine History*, in the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. v, pp. 44-46.

²⁰ SPALDING, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missionaries of Kentucky*, pp. 61-62.

You have inquired, Most Eminent Cardinal, about the French who came two years ago, to inhabit the banks of the Scioto, and who brought with them as their pastor a Benedictine monk of St. Denis, Dom Didier. When they had arrived at their destination, great difficulties and quarrels arose in the colony, on account of a diversity of opinion regarding the movements in France. Hence a large number left for other places; those who remained, reduced to a very small number, built a village, cut down the trees, planted the fields, and were about to profit by the fruit of their labour, when an Indian uprising took place, and they were in sore straits again. I do not know what they decided to do. This past summer, Dom Didier, their parish priest came here, and from him I obtained practically all that I related about the colony. I have learned hardly anything about these colonists which could satisfy either the interest of the Sacred Congregation or its solicitude regarding those things which pertain to piety and religion. Many of them are refugees from Paris who have brought with them the vices of the large cities, and a hatred for religion. It is to be hoped that Dom Didier will be able to apply a remedy to this evil and to encourage labour and simplicity of morals.²¹

The tragic end of this great colonizing project is described in a letter from Father Badin to Bishop Carroll, June 28, 1796, in which he says that eighty men, without religion or morals, were all that were left in Gallipolis; in 1805, as Dilhet tells us, they had dwindled to twenty.²²

Louisville, 1844. Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 455. It would look from this as if Didier had deserted his people. BRECKENRIDGE in his *Recollections* says "they had vanished like the palace of Aladdin." Cf. for the whole melancholy tragedy, VOLNEY, vol. ii, pp. 381-393. "Night was coming on when I reached the village of Gallipolis. I could only distinguish three rows of little white houses built on the flat summit of the bank of the Ohio. . . . I was struck with its wild appearance, and the sallow complexions, thin visages, sickly looks, and weary air, of all its inhabitants. They were not desirous of conversing with me" (p. 385, *English trans.*). There is a letter in ROBIN, *Nouveaux Voyages* (p. 17), from Dom Didier (undated but written after his arrival at Gallipolis) to Father Plot, sub-Prior of the Royal Abbey of St. Maur, to which Didier belonged. It must have been written during the first days of the colony, for it breathes great hope for the future. He says in part: "J'ai rencontré beaucoup d'Américains catholiques. J'ai baptisé beaucoup de leurs enfans; ils ne voyent de Presbytres que quatre fois par an. J'ai vu des Sauvages catholiques, parlant un peu Français, qui m'ont baisé les mains. . . ." It is strange that no letters of Didier's exist in the *Gallipolis Papers*, now in the Van Wormer Library (Ohio Philosophical Society), of the University of Cincinnati. These papers have been arranged and some of them edited by Belote, in the seventh volume of the *Quarterly Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* (vol. vii, 1907, no. 2). Other documents exist in the collection of the *American Antiquarian Society* and in those of the *New York Historical Society*. See also, BADIN, *Origine et Progrès de la Mission du Kentucky*, p. 16. Paris, 1821.

²¹ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura originali*, vol. 893.

²² DILHET-BROWNE, *The Beginnings of the Church in America*, p. 62. Quebec,

The failure of the whole scheme is but another incident in the already long list of utopian projects which have had their stage in America from the earliest colonial days.

Father Kenny writes:

Nowhere in all the annals of the American colonies is there offered a sharper contrast of light and shade, in fact or in symbol than here, where old nobles and counts with their gentle ladies, right out of the most brilliant court the world has ever known, are translated, as if by some evil magic, to the uncouth haunts of savage men and beasts. There are not indeed any thieves or murderers among them, if one except the Count Malartic, a professional warrior. No doors need locks. There are to be no deeds of violence. Lawsuits and quarrels, yes; these people are not all saints. One may find among them a specimen of that most odious degeneracy, the ex-priest, Fromentin, one day to become a member of the United States Senate representing the State of Louisiana.²³ The yellow fever will sweep him and his paramour in one day before the court that has a right to judge. There, too, is Von Schrilzt and his reputed wife, who will leave an illegitimate progeny to carry his shame down the ages. These bring out by contrast the worth and purity of their surroundings. To the Americans, the greatest wonder in the colony is Monsieur Duthiel, a farmer who always insists on giving too much of his wheat in every barter lest he might get the better of any of his neighbors. Death itself will stand in awe of Jean Baptiste Bertrand, who even in the days of famine will observe all the fasts of the Church, and by blandishments and by corporal punishments alike will see to it that even his grown offspring remain true to their faith. He will survive all the other men of Gallipolis, reaching the age of ninety-four in 1855. Standing winsomely beneath the arches of the wide wilderness, one might hear the sweet Mademoiselle Vimont humming the strains of sacred anthems she used to sing in the grand old Notre Dame of Paris; here is an Evangeline for the poets. Little boys and girls of tenderest years, playing in the bushes, meet at times the glaring eyes of Shawnees or of the wild cats; here are babes in the woods for the painters. What is needed, what we do not find, is an individual, a man towering above all the rest; there is no hero, where all are brave. They stood together and time has levelled down their graves to a common surface. But what with good and bad, civilized and savage, wise and frivolous, age and infancy, English and French, the romancer has materials for a story that, by keeping close to the truth, will one day resurrect the old French city and make it the term of pilgrimages for their descendants scattered

²³ See a letter from Andrew Jackson, to President Monroe, Pensacola, August 4, 1821, in the *Records*, vol. xviii, pp. 429-431, for the base life led by Fromentin.

today from end to end of America like leaves that are blown by the blasts of October.²⁴

Simultaneously with the Gallipolis bishopric occurred another of somewhat more ambitious design, namely, the creation of a separate diocese for the Indians of New York State. "The consecration and installation of Bishop Carroll," writes Shea, "were coeval with a strange project to erect an episcopal See in the State of New York. While the Church was slowly gaining a permanent footing in the cities of that State, there was an attempt to establish a French mission, and, strangest of all, a Bishop among the Oneida Indians, which forms one of the curious episodes in our history."²⁵ The object of those who engineered the scheme was no less than the foundation of an Indian Primacy over the Six Nations of New York State. The Oneida tribe constituted itself the spokesman for the rest of the Nations, and the plan was fully developed before the appeal was made to Rome. The Oneidas were a tribe of the Iroquois Confederacy, occupying the land about Oneida Lake, in Oneida County. They consisted of three clans—the Wolf, the Turtle, and the Bear, and each clan was represented, in the signatures to the documents, by three members. The Six Nations mentioned in the documents were the Oneidas, Onandagas, Mohawks, Senecas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras.²⁶ They were friendly towards the missionaries, and some of the noblest pages of early missionary effort are those containing the story of the Jesuits among these tribes. The *Jesuit Relations* contain many important documents describing the work done among the Oneidas by the Society of Jesus. The early missionaries speak of the Oneidas as the most civilized of the nations—a claim they make for themselves in their letter to Pope Pius VI. "They are

²⁴ KENNY, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, pp. 435-436. Rev. Victor O'Daniel, O.P., in his scholarly *Life of Bishop Fenwick* (Washington, D. C., 1921) has brought to light new material for the study of the Gallipolis Colony (cf. pp. 73, 189-190, 194, 212).

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 373. All the documents available in the *Propaganda Archives* on the Oneida project are published in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iii, pp. 78-79.

²⁶ Usually these tribes are spoken of as the Five Nations. The Tuscaroras were a southern tribe, and are supposed to have joined the Five Nations about 1714. After this date the Confederacy is called the Six Nations. Cf. DRAKE, *The Book of the Indians of North America*, v. i, p. 2. Boston, 1834.

demons when they are attacked," wrote one of the Jesuits in 1653, "but the gentlest and most affable people in the world, when they are treated as friends."²⁷ Shea's account of the origin of this extraordinary project is taken mostly from Hough's *Notices of Peter Penet*.²⁸ Though Penet's name is not mentioned in any of the documents at our disposal, it is probably true that the project originated with him. Penet was a native of France and had come to the United States in December, 1775, for the purpose of negotiating a supply of arms and ammunition for the Continental soldiers. He succeeded in impressing General Washington, who appointed him an aide-de-camp in the American army; but the supply never materialized. In 1783, he was trading as a merchant in Philadelphia, and had gained considerable influence with the Oneidas, whom he persuaded into the belief that he was an ambassador from the King of France. Shea says that he induced the tribe to apply to the French Minister of New York, Count de Moustier, in 1787, for a priest, and from a letter in Hough's *Notices*, it would appear that the priest in question, Father Perrot, was brought by Penet to the Indians.²⁹ Father Perrot took up residence among them at Oneida Castle (1789) and remained a year. His stay among the Indians might have been lost sight of completely, had his presence not been bitterly opposed by the well-known Calvinist clergyman, Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who attacked him severely in his letters.³⁰ Father Perrot is not mentioned in any of the documents dealing with the project; in fact there is no mention of any priest in Penet's *Plan of Government*, which appeared in the *Albany Gazette*, in February, 1789.³¹ Whether there is any connection between the project of Penet and the effort of the agent, Jean de la Mahotière, the documents do not state; but if we are to accept the statements of Kirkland and those related about the

²⁷ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. xl, p. 91.

²⁸ FRANKLIN B. HOUGH, *Notices of Peter Penet and his Operations among the Oneida Indians, including a Plan prepared by him for the Government of that Tribe*. Louisville, N. Y., 1866. Cf. SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. ii, p. 373 ff.

²⁹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 373. Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxiv, p. 27.

³⁰ Cf. LATHROP, *Life of Samuel Kirkland, Missionary to the Indians*, p. 293. Boston, 1847. (SPARKS, *American Biography*, vol. xxv.) TRACY, *Notices of Men and Events Connected with the Early History of Oneida County*, p. 200. New York, 1882.

³¹ The Penet Plan will be found in HOUGH, *op. cit.*, pp. 24ff.

"Lost Dauphin," the Rev. Eleazar Williams, who was a missionary among the Oneidas,³² it is strange to find a body so thoroughly Presbyterian, as these missionaries describe the Oneidas, writing that they were entirely Catholic, that they had obtained the departure of the Anglican and Presbyterian ministers in April, 1789, and that they had made arrangements to have two priests from Canada take charge of divine worship until the arrival of the six Capuchins who were to accompany Mahotièrre back to New York from France.³³

The first of the four documents on the Oneida Bishopric is a *Supplicatio* in Latin to Pius VI, dated April 25, 1789. It was probably written at Oneida Castle, and is signed by the representatives of the Wolves, the Turtles, and the Bears. The letter begins with the general statement that the highest good of man here below is to possess the true Faith and that no one can come to the knowledge of the Faith except through the Roman Catholic Church, whose head, the Supreme Pontiff, is the Vicar of Christ on earth. Communion with the Church was the earnest desire of the Oneidas; and, although they were undeservedly regarded by Europeans as savages, nevertheless they possessed a culture of their own, which was far greater than was generally known. They ardently wished to be numbered among the children of the Church. In a general council of their Nation, their leaders, warriors, wise men, women and children, had decided to send an appeal to the Holy Father, asking him to provide them with a bishop, who would be at the same time Primate of the Six Nations. For this post they had chosen Father John Louis Victor Le Tonnelier de Coulonges, whom they had adopted as one of their own, and who was in every way worthy of this exalted dignity. A certain Nicholas Jourdain, an adopted Frenchman, whose Indian name was Shakerad, interpreted the *Supplicatio* to the chiefs, who then signed it and placed it in the hands of their agent, Jean de la Mahotièrre. Mahotièrre came to Paris and presented the *Supplicatio* to the Papal Nuncio, together with a letter to Pius VI explaining the necessity for the bishopric:

³² Cf. BLOOMFIELD, *The Oneidas*, pp. 98ff. New York, 1907.

³³ "Il a obtenu de la nation des Oneida le renvoi des ministres anglicans et presbyteriens comme n'ajans plus parmi elle ni troupes, ce qui a été executé le mois d'avril 1789."

*Pro uno oneideae
nationis Episcopo
et sex nationum
Primate*

*Supplicatio oneideae nationis
indicae ad Vestram Sanctitatem
Pium VI. Summum Ecclesiae
Pontificem. Romae.*

Sanctissime Pater

Istam [?] habere veram religionem primum est hominis bonum, sicut fides est primum bonum supernaturale: donum coeleste ad quod nemo pervenire potest nisi per aditum ad Ecclesiam Catholicam, apostolicam romanam, cujus gubernacula tenet ejus visibile Caput Summus Romanus Pontifex, Christi in terris Vicarius! Hujus vestrae sanctae Communionis gratiam ferventer appetunt, sanctissime pater, homines illi quos tam immerito europaei dixerunt agrestes ac feros; ii quippe in societates grandes, seu nationes, antiquitatis primas numeroque stupendas congregati, immensis americani continentis terris dominantur et imperant quae ab americanis finibus ad australia et occidentalia usque maria patent, easque hominibus liberis, familiis, villis, vicis atque pagis cum omnium inter omnes communitate summaque in parentes et seniores pietate frequentant.

Ardentissimo praesentim in fidem christianam studio flagrant, sanctissime pater, nationis illius indicae populi qui oneidaei dicti, gallicè *les Oneida*, proximi sunt septentrionales Americanarum ditionum fines numeranturque et sunt prima e quinque illis celeberrimis nationibus, coeterarum omnium debellatoribus, vulgo dictis *nationes quinque*; populi oneidaei statuta mente se ad officia civilia rite informandi, jam ratum habuerunt unum gubernationis modum aequae numeris omnibus absolutum ac sibi plene accomodatum, illud suae vitae, civilis grande consilium inniti voluerunt ac statuerunt firmo religionis christianae fundamento, quo ad felicem exitum properante, coeterae nationes indicae mox eandem gubernationis formam in suam adoptaturae, eorum quoque bono exemplo simul ac verbi divini ministerio una pariter, uti firma proximaque spes est, convertentur ad religionem catholicam apostolicam romanam.

In quoram gratiam, pro propugnatione fidei et nostrarum salute animarum, nos supremi duces consilii, duces belli, bellatores, senes, mulieres et liberi totius oneideae nationis et nobis affinium nationum, sanctitati vestrae, supplicavimus et supplicamus providere, constituere, et confirmare Episcopum nostrae oneideae nationis et Primate quinque nationum dilectum optimeque de nobis meritum Joannem Ludovicum Victorem Le Tonnelier de Coulonges, equitem, origine gallum, unum vero e nobis nostra nationali adoptione, virum religione, moribus, bonis consiliis et exemplis maxime commendandum, jam selectum, nominatum et assumptum a nobis ad illas sacras functiones, illumque augere rogamus in hac prospera apud nos religionis facie quibuscumque juribus, dignitate et praestantia in ordine ad conversionem nostrorum fratrum indorum, ad propagationem et conservationem fidei in nostris imperiis, et Deus totius auctor salutis vestram sanctitatem vestrumque pontificatum suis optimis cumulabit donis.

Datum in pleno oneideae nationis Concilio sub signo nostrorum supre-

morum ducum magnoque sigillo nostrae nationis, anno reparatae salutis millesimo septingentesimo, octogesimo nono, et primo ab exercita nostra suprema postestate, die vero vigesima quinta aprilis.

<i>Tribus Lupi</i>	<i>Tribus Testudinis</i>	<i>Tribus Ursi</i>
Ajestalate	Shovonjhelego	Hagoyvownloga
Scanondoe	Anthony	Konwagelet
Hannah-Sodalh	Sagoyowntha	Agwilentengwas

(Interpretatum a nobis linguarum interprete apud sex famosas nationes indicas die et anno supradictis. De mandato supremi concilii. Nicholas Jourdain, indice Shakerad.)³⁴

Mahotière's letter, dated over twelve months later (May 17, 1790), shows that the agent had taken it for granted that there would be no hesitancy on the part of the Holy See in granting the request of the Oneidas. A Company of Four—all Frenchmen—had been formed for the purpose of organizing the future prosperity of the Indians. A chapel had been erected, with pictures, bells, sacred vessels, ornaments, and other necessary decorations, at the Company's expense. Mahotière informed His Holiness that six Capuchins were to accompany him back to America:

M. Jean de la Mahotière premier agent général de la Nation des Oneida sur les ordres qu'il a reçu de solliciter auprès de Votre Saintété les moiens de propager et de conserver la foi parmi les nations indiennes de l'Amérique septentrionale.

A NOTRE TRÈS SAINT PÈRE LE PAPE PIE VI, A ROME

Très Saint Père:

J'ai l'honneur d'adresser à Votre Saintété par l'envoi de Monseigneur le Nonce résidant à Paris, les pièces ci-jointes, lesquelles la nation des Oneida en particulier et les six fameuses Indiennes en général m'ont chargé avec ordre d'exprimer à Votre Saintété, les progrès que fait la religion parmi ces nations, leur impatience d'obtenir du Saint Siège des pouvoirs pour leur évêque et primat, et surtout de mettre avec la plus grande force sous les yeux de Votre Saintété les moiens qui sont propres à conserver et à propager la foi dans un pays qui l'emporte sur toute l'Europe par son étendue et qui peut lui être assimilé pour le nombre des habitans, et de porter moi même à les nations les pouvoirs et la

³⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, ff. 401-403. This and the following documents are left exactly as they appear in the photostat copies; no corrections of spelling, grammar, or accents have been made.

réponse dont il vous plaira, très Saint Père, me charger par l'entremise de Monseigneur Votre Nonce à Paris.

Le divin flambeau de la foi ne s'éteindra jamais sur la terre, et si en punition des méchans il cessoit d'éclairer une partie du monde, sa lumière vivifiante éclaireroit bientôt un autre hémisphere et prépareroit toujours des habitans pour le ciel: "O altitudo diviurum sapientiae et scientiae Dei . . . quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia et investigabiles viae ejus!"

Une compagnie de quatre français en opérant la civilisation des Indiens s'est proposée, très Saint Père, le bonheur de les nations et de leur posterité, de leur conversion à l'église romaine, leur alliance avec les puissances chrétiennes à l'effet d'obtenir des secours pour la conversion des Indiens et assurer à les mêmes puissances la jouissance paisible et la conservation de leur États et Colonies en Amérique, cette dernière considération est surtout de la plus grand importance pour les Florides, la Louisianne etc., et la Havanne, qui sont sous la puissance de la cour de Madrid.

Notre titre de français, par l'agréable ressouvenir qu'elles ont encore de l'honnêteté et de la générosité des Français à leur égard lorsqu'ils étaient possesseurs de la belle province du Canada avant le traité de 1763, mais pour opérer leur conversion à la foi et à la vie civile, nous avons jugés absolument nécessaire de recourir aux bienfaits, nous leur avons faits construire une église, acheter des tableaux, des cloches, des vases sacrés, des ornemens, des livres d'église et toutes ses décorations, de notre argent; pour leur inspirer l'amour du travail et le gout de l'agriculture nous leur en avons donnés nous mêmes l'exemple et nous leur avons faits présents de chevaux, de boeufs, de charrues et de tous les utensiles de labour.

Tous les présens, très Saint Père, leur ont été très agréables, nous avons donnés beaucoup; mais M. le Tonnelier de Coulonges a employé à cette oeuvre pie plus des deux tiers de son patrimoine, cinq cens milles livres au moins, et cet homme vertueux, ce prélat à bonnes oeuvres est mis hors d'état de continuer ses charités pour en avoir trop suivi le sentiment religieux.

La nécessité d'employer les moiens di bienfaisance et de charité pour propager la foi dans le nouveau monde existe encore aujourd'hui, que dis-je, elle est plus instante que jamais par les progrès qu'y fait la religion, vous en faire, très Saint Père, le tableau frappant, est l'ordre que j'ai reçu des nations indiennes converties, c'est l'obligation que je me suis imposée par État, par amour pour la religion, et par un sentiment de profonde vénération pour Votre Saintété. C'est combler vos entrailles paternelles de joie pour la conversion d'une infinité d'ames à la foi et la conquete d'un pais immense à l'Eglise. C'est convaincre ces bonnes nations que Votre Saintété trouvera dans les tresors de sa charité des moiens effectifs de seconder près d'elles les opérations de la grace et la propagation de la foi. Et de continuer les secours que nous leur avons si loialement portés, ou par la voie de quetes et d'aumones annuelles faites parmi les chrétiens, ou par celle de bénéfices dont il plairait à Votre Saintété pourvoir ou

faire pourvoir leur évêque et primat, ou par celle de bienfaits accordés par votre entremise, très Saint Père, par la Cour d'Espagne et dont la proposition ne peut qu'être favorablement accueillie, sous le nom de secours accordés par Sa Majesté très catholique aux Indiens de l'Amérique septentrionale convertis, lesquels secours arriveroient tous les ans à Newyork par le paquet Espagnol, par le paquet français, ou de la Havanne, à l'adresse du consul d'Espagne ou de l'ambassadeur de France, pour être remis à M. le Tonnelier de Coulonges leur évêque et primat, et Dieu comblera le regne de Votre Saintété de ses prosperités et de celles de l'Eglise les plus abondantes.

J'ai aussi ordre, très Saint Père, de supplier Votre saintété d'accorder des pouvoirs de curés et de missionnaires apostoliques à six Capucins Français que je vais emmener dans trois mois chez les nations indiennes. Ce sont de tous les prêtres ceux qui y sont en plus grande vénération qui leur conviennent le mieux. Je finis, très Saint Père, en demandant votre sainte bénédiction, et vos saintes indulgences.

Jean de la Mahotière premier agent général de la nation des Oneida et chargé des pouvoirs des six fameuses nations.

Paris. 17 Mai, 1790.³⁵

The Nuncio seems, at first, to have treated the project with scant attention, but the affair had reached the public press and had aroused a certain amount of sympathy and enthusiasm. Mahotière was then requested, as in the case of Dom Didier, for fuller explanations, and the Nuncio granted the Indian agent several interviews for the purpose of reaching a satisfactory explanation of the project. Mahotière impressed Dugnani as being a man of probity, but the Nuncio was very dubious about the whole plan. On August 2, 1790, the Nuncio wrote to Antonelli, enclosing the *Memoir* requested. After stating that he is sending the *Memoir* on the Oneida proposals, the Nuncio states that the appellants ask for the elevation of Father Tonnelier de Coulonges as bishop of the Indian see. Mahotière was a puzzle to Dugnani, but he seemed to him to be a man of good intentions though whether he was capable of all that he promised was not certain. The *Memoir* in question repeats the main propositions of the *Supplicatio*. There is no mention in the document of the newly-erected Diocese of Baltimore nor of Bishop Carroll, although St. Peter's Church, New York City, is spoken of, and the Spanish Consul at New York is given as the person to whom letters could safely be sent:

³⁵ *Ibid.*, l.c., ff. 397-399.

Suite des details interessans sur les nations indiennes de l'Amérique septentrionale et sur les six nations en particulier dont la première est celle des oneida

*A Notre très Saint Père le Pape Pie VI, Chef de l'Eglise.
à Rome*

Très Saint Père

Les Nations indiennes de l'Amérique septentrionale à qui cette partie de la terre est echue en partage par les decrets de la divine providence, sont très nombreuses et leur population beaucoup plus grande à mesure qu'elles sont plus enfoncées dans les terres et qu'elles ont moins de communication avec les européens. Ces indiens naturels du pais sont, très Saint Père, propriétaires et maîtres de cette immense partie du continent qui s'étend depuis les lignes des Etats Unis d'Amérique et celles du Canada jusqu'aux mers de l'ouest, du nord et du sudouest dont la seule partie connue a une étendue de soixante neuf mille vingt deux lieues carrées d'Angleterre et est par consequent plus grande que l'Allemagne, la flandre, la hollande et la suisse qui en total n'en contiennent que soixante neuf mille seize. Je dis la partie connue parcequ'on n'a pû encore y decouvrir aucune rivière, aucun fleuve qui eut son cours vers quelques points de l'ouest, ce qui prouve les etats indiens dans cette partie ont encore une très grande étendue aude là des terres qui nous sont connues; de la suit naturellement, très Saint Père, une reflexion que vous pardonneriez à la force de notre zèle, qu'il importe infiniment à votre sainteté et au bien de l'église que la foi soit prêchée à les nations qui sont bonnes parcequ'elles sont près de la nature et qu'elles se convertissent de proche en proche à la religion de Jesus Christ.

Les indiens, très Saint Père, ont divisé les terres en autant d'états differens qu'ils sont de nations, il les ont peuplés de familles et d'hommes libres, y ont élevés des hameaux, des villes et villages, et parmi eux la communauté de biens, les devoirs de la fraternité, le respect, l'obeissance aux parens et aux personnes plus âgées sont des lois également consacrées par l'usage et par les moeurs.

Chaque nation possède ses états en tous droits de souveraineté et les etats indiens sont absolument differens et tout à fait étrangers à ceux de l'Amérique, connus sous le nom d'Etats Unis à ceux du Canada; nations souveraines, hommes libres, les indiens ne dependent en aucune manière ni du Congress ni du Roi d'Angleterre ni d'aucunes puissances avec qui ils traitent de souverain à souverain, toujours fideles à leurs traités, chacune des nations indiennes exerce ses guerriers, lève ses armées, fait la paix et la guerre, et combien il est affligeant, très Saint Père, de voir les Europeens, parce-qu'ils sont en proportion plus nombreux que les indiens situés de l'autre coté des lignes Américaines, exterminer les chefs, massacrer les familles indiennes, et envahir leur terres. Le gouvernement civil et religieux que nous leur avons donnés a pour objet, très Saint Père, un traité d'alliance, une confederation intime entre toutes les nations indiennes situées derrière les Etats Unis, depuis la nation des Oneida,

qui possède la moitié du fleuve Saint-Laurent et du lac Ontario jusqu'à celle des Creeks qui occupent les derrières de la Georgie et des Florides qui appartiennent à la Cour d'Espagne, de proposer à cette Cour l'adhésion à le traité qui ne peut lui être que très-agréable, puisqu'elle aura pour objet la conservation des états et des familles indiennes qui dans la lisière seule des Américains peuvent former un corps d'armée de cent mille hommes, qu'elle portera plus particulièrement encore sur la défense et la conservation des Etats Espagnols, les Florides, la Louisiane etc., dans le continent de l'Amérique et des îles y adjacentes qui sont menacées par les Américains et qu'elles ne sera de la part de la Cour d'Espagne qu'une extension de la protection ouverte et du traité qu'elle a déjà fait avec les deux nations indiennes dites les Creeks et les Chiroquois qui occupent les derrières des Florides, de la Georgie et des Carolines.

Les nations des Mohawks établis sur la rivière de ce nom, celle des Oneida souverains des terres à droit et à gauche du lac auquel ils ont donnés leurs nom, celle des Cayouga, des Caskanouray, des Onondaguay et des Senecas sont dites par excellence les Six Nations ou les Six Fameuses Nations, parcequ'elles ont vaincu pour la cause des Français leur alliés et amis toutes les nations indiennes connues. Elles sont situées entre le 300 et le 305 degré de longitude et le 42 et 46 degré de latitude du meridien de Paris et selon la manière de compter indienne, elles comprennent vingt quatre à vingt six mille familles.

La nation des Oneides située dans les environs du lac de ce nom, a, très Saint Père, sa ville principale au sudest dudit lac; elle est defendue par son heureuse situation et par un bon fort, et est marquée sur les cartes anglaises sous le nom d'*Oneida Castle*. C'est cette nation qui a reçu la première le germe de la civilisation par le gouvernement civil et religieux que nous lui avons donnés, son exemple a été suivi il y a un an par les cinq autres fameuses nations indiennes avec les secours spirituels et ceux temporels puissés dans les trésors de charité qu'il plaira à Votre Saintété de lui procurer.

Nous leur avons fait édifier une église dans la vilee d'Oneida, nous l'avons pourvue de vases sacrés, de cloches, de livres, et de toutes choses nécessaires au service divin; nous en avons fait une nation agricole en leur donnant avec de boeufs, des chevaux, des charrues et tous les utensiles, d'agriculture, l'exemple de cultiver nous-mêmes les terres, le bled, le mahis, les patates, le millet, le ris, le chanvre, le lin, etc.; et M. le Tonnelier de Coulonges, homme plein de mérite et de bonnes oeuvres, que la nation des Oneida et les chefs des Six Nations ont nommés Evêque des Oneida et Primat des Six Nations et présentés à Votre Saintété en cette qualité, a dépensé au moins les deux tiers de sa fortune dans les oeuvres de religion et de bienfaisance. Il a obtenu de la nation des Oneida le renvoi des ministres, anglicans et presbyteriens comme n'ayant plus parmi elle ni troupeaux, ce que a été executé le mois d'avril 1789, et a appelé auprès de lui deux pretres du Canada pour l'aider dans le gouvernement spirituel de cette nation, jusqu'à l'arrivée des six capucins, que nous lui conduirons dans trois mois, aussitôt qu'il aura plu à votre

saintété faire une response favorable à la nation nouvellement convertie et autres qui vont suivre son exemple.

Les pères capuchins français sont, très Saint Père, les prêtres qui conviennent le mieux aux indiens; ils les connaissent déjà et les aiment extrêmement; ils leur ont donnés le nom de *Longues robes*, et il seroit difficile de faire plus de plaisir à une communauté indienne que de lui procurer une longue robe; il est à souhaiter que Votre Saintété veuille revetir des caractères de curés et de missionaires apostoliques les six capucins qui vont passer avec nous dans les états indiens, et tous les autres qui ne tarderont pas à les suivre dans les travaux d'une aussi riche moisson.

Le Roi d'Espagne est déjà fondateur d'une église superbe, élevée depuis six ans à Newyork; il est bien digne de la religion de la monarque de être aussi de quelque église à édifier chez les nations indiennes et de se déclarer le bienfaiteur de ces peuples qui peuvent rendre de très grands services à la cour d'Espagne et qui ne marqueront pas de la faire à l'occasion. La voie du Consul d'Espagne à New York est la plus courte et la plus sure. Que Dieu inspirera à votre saintété les moiens les plus propres à effectuer et à obtenir la conversion de les nouveaux peuples par les bienfaits des fidèles.

Tribe du loup

Ajestalate
Hannah-Sodalh
Scanondoe

Tribe de la Tortue

Shovonjhelego
Sagoyowntha
Anthony

Tribe de l'ours

Hagoyvownloga
Konwagalet
Agwilentengwas ³⁶

On September 11, 1790, Cardinal Antonelli answered to the effect that the project had his sympathy, but that the main question at issue was whether these Indians were within the Diocese of Baltimore or that of Quebec. The Nuncio was asked to send the fullest possible information, and if it was evident that the Oneidas were not subject to either of these two bishops, the Cardinal-Prefect would gladly place the supplication before the Holy Father, who thanked God on the conversion of so many souls, and would gladly do everything necessary to assist them in organizing their Church.³⁷ Nothing further seems to have been done in the Oneida project, which has a prominent place in the Franco-American ecclesiastical schemes of the time. Father Le Tonnelier de Coulonges passes from our sight with

³⁶ *Ibid.*, l.c., ff. 399-400.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 258, f. 577: "Da quanto espone il suddetto agente sembra che tutti questi popoli sono pienamente liberi, nè possano punto appartenere nè agli Stati Uniti de America nè alla provincia del Canada, il che se non fosse dovrebbero nello spirituale dipendere o dal nuovo vescovo di Baltimora o da quello di Quebec le guiridizione de quali si estende per un tratto immenso di paese." Antonelli suspects that they may belong to Louisiana!

these documents. Whether he remained with the Oneidas or returned to France is not known. The good priest had expended at least two-thirds of his private fortune in works of benevolence and religion amongst his Indian flock. There is no doubt that Propaganda informed the Indian agent that all applications for the spiritual direction of the Six Nations should be made directly to Bishop Carroll. Two years later, the question was brought to Dr. Carroll's attention and a priest was sent to these tribes.

The march of events in France and especially in Paris blocked any further interest in a project thousands of miles away. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was completed about this time (July, 1790) and the arbitrary methods employed by the National Assembly were fast disorganizing ecclesiastical life in France. The Oath of the Clergy to the Constitution, passed on November 27, 1790, was refused by forty-six thousand parish priests; and from that time until the close of the Reign of Terror, irreligion and violence were masters. The Church in the United States was to profit by the tyranny practised upon the priests and bishops of France; and although the Gallipolis and Oneida schemes for a French bishopric in the new Republic failed, in the period immediately following the episcopate of Carroll the six episcopal sees in the United States were ruled by French ecclesiastics who had fled from the chaotic upheaval of their own land during Carroll's time.³⁸

Protection of the American Church was imperative at the time, since the world war of 1789-1815, then about to engulf all Europe, would undoubtedly send adventurous spirits, both ecclesiastic and lay, across the Atlantic. There was little danger to the homogeneity of the American Church from visionary schemes like those of Gallipolis and the Oneida Primacy; the real danger lay nearer, in the cities where the population was already growing.

³⁸ "O truly fortunate revolution in France, every true Catholic in this country may exclaim, which has brought us so many edifying and enlightened instructors! There is no part of the United States that cannot bear witness to their zeal and that should not be eternally grateful! Where is the youth of a liberal education, sincere piety and correct morals, who has not been formed by some one or more of the clergy of France, emigrants to this country? Where is the College or Catholic establishment that has not been or is not now under their direction? They have taught our youth, they have instructed and enlightened our people, they have directed thousands in the way of heaven . . . to say all in one word . . . for these twenty-five years back, they have contributed—principally contributed—to render the Church in this country what it now is." *Laitie's Directory for 1822*, p. 103.

Laws were needed to guide these groups of Catholics, priests and people, along the right way. Strict regulations were necessary if church discipline were to be properly established. The mind of the Bishop and of his clergy on mooted points of opinion had to be made known to the Catholic laity. Restraint in the privileges of the lay trustees was wanted in almost all the large Catholic centres. Dr. Carroll knew his country and his Church better than any Catholic in America at that time; but with his usual prudence, he studied the whole situation carefully before sending out the formal call to his priests to meet him in America's first Synod.



SEAL OF BISHOP CARROLL

CHAPTER XXIII
THE FIRST NATIONAL SYNOD

(November 7-11, 1791)

New Year's Day, 1791, found Bishop Carroll eager to begin the great tasks which were to be accomplished for Catholicism in the United States. The first of these was to ensure the establishment of discipline in the Church. Father Reuter had not yet aroused the spirit of schism in Baltimore, but in Philadelphia and in Boston the signs of discontent were plainly to be seen. Father John Heilbron's election to the pastorate of Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia, on March 22, 1789, by the trustees, "acting on their self-assumed right," precipitated a contest for spiritual supremacy which lasted a decade, with various periods of armistice, one of which was in January, 1790, when Dr. Carroll administered the Sacrament of Confirmation in the Church and reconciled Father Heilbron to ecclesiastical discipline.¹ That the bishop-elect foresaw the trouble which would ensue is evident from an account of the affair written to Antonelli on February 6, 1790.² The schism he predicted came later, and will form the subject of a separate chapter. It was especially the situation in the Church of Boston that gave Dr. Carroll anxiety during his absence from the United States. When he returned from England, the winter was well advanced, and the condition of the roads hardly warranted his making a personal visitation of his diocese. Apart from the stir caused by Father John Thayer in Boston, there was no need of an immediate Visitation.

The old division of the Church here into three Districts—Northern, Middle and Southern—was continued after his return. There is no document in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives to tell us whether any change was made in the reorganization of the

¹ [HERTKORN], *Retrospect of Holy Trinity Parish (1789-1914)*, p. 35. Philadelphia, 1914.

² *Propaganda Archives, Scritture originali*, vol. 893, not folioed.

diocese at this time. At the head of each District was a vicar-general, and there was a vicar-general for the whole diocese. In the printed *Statuta* of the first National Synod, Father Francis Fleming, O. P., is named as Vicar-General for the Northern District, (Pennsylvania and Delaware, the Jerseys, New York and New England) and Father Molyneux for the Southern District. It would appear that Bishop Carroll, then in residence at Baltimore, which was in the Middle District, acted without such an official. Besides these, there was a vicar-general for the whole diocese—Father Pellentz.³ This management furnished an easy and effective system of government for the Church in the original Thirteen States. For the territory beyond the Alleghanies, the first resident vicar-general appointed was Dom Didier. After his departure from Gallipolis, Bishop Carroll sent the Sulpician Father Levadoux to Kaskaskia (1792), as Superior of the Missions in the old Illinois Country and as vicar-general. When the English evacuated their garrisons in Michigan (1796), Father Levadoux was directed by Bishop Carroll to take up his residence in Detroit, and Father Rivet was appointed Vicar-General of the Illinois Country. After Father Levadoux was recalled to Baltimore (1801), Father Gabriel Richard was appointed vicar-general in his stead.

In all this vast territory, the one congregation which caused concern to Carroll was that of Boston. The scandal created in the Church there by the erratic and dishonest La Poterie was augmented, as we have seen, by the unfortunate adventurer, Rousselet. In his letters from London to Antonelli, Bishop Carroll had expressed his hope that the appointment of Father John Thayer, a native of Boston, would bring peace to the distracted Church in that city.

John Thayer, the first convert from the American Protestant ministry to the Catholic faith, was born of Puritan parents at Boston in 1755. After graduating from Yale College, he became a Congregationalist minister, and as such served as chaplain to Governor Hancock of Massachusetts. During the War of the Revolution, he assisted the troops in and around Boston, and

³ Father Frambach is also spoken of as "Vicarius Generalis pro tota diocesi," in the printed *Statuta*, but in the *Acta* of 1794 (*Propaganda Archives, Atti, anno 1794, ff. 442ss*), he is mentioned as pastor emeritus of Fredericktown.

when the war was over—he was then about twenty-seven years of age—he went to Europe for the sake of study and pleasure, “to learn the languages which are the most in use, and to acquire a knowledge of the constitution of states, of the manners, customs, laws and government of the principal nations, in order to acquire, by this political knowledge, a greater consequence in my own country, and thus become more useful to it.”⁴ He arrived in France towards the end of the year 1781, and remained there ten months studying the language and the system of government. He fell ill at this time and his first concern “was to forbid that any Catholic Priest should be suffered to come near me; such was my attachment to my own sect.”⁵ After visiting England, he went to Rome, by way of Paris and Marseilles. At Rome, he studied the principles of the Catholic religion “for the same reason that I should have wished to know the Religion of Mahomet, had I been at Constantinople.”⁶ A little book, entitled: *Manifesto di un Cavaliere Cristiano Convertito alla Religione Cattolica*, came to his hands, and a prayer at the beginning of the work pleased him so much that he began saying it. “When I received this book, I had a secret presentiment that it would give me the finishing stroke, and it was with extreme difficulty that I could prevail upon myself to peruse it.”⁷ The remarkable happenings when Saint Benedict Joseph Labre died in Rome so impressed him that he decided to become a Catholic, and he was received into the Church on May 25, 1783. The account of his conversion, written the following year, was printed in 1787, and was soon translated into French, Spanish and Portuguese.⁸ “I desire nothing more,” he wrote at the end of his account. “For this purpose I wish to return to my own country, in hopes, notwithstanding my unworthiness, to be the instrument of the conversion of my countrymen.”⁹ Thayer was advised

⁴ *The Conversion of John Thayer*, p. 94. (Copy used is in a little volume entitled *Catholic Tracts*, published by Cummiskey, Philadelphia, in 1837, in the Library of the American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia, 34.14-60.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁸ FINOTTI (*Bibl. Cath. Amer.*, pp. 240-247) has listed Thayer's publications. Among the acquisitions to the Connolly Library, at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., are six little copies of these accounts of his conversion, all contemporary, in various languages. (Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. v, pp. 436-437.)

⁹ *Conversion, etc.*, p. 115.

to go to Paris to begin his studies for the priesthood, and after four years at the Seminary of St. Sulpice, he was ordained in 1787. He is continually mentioned in the correspondence between Carroll and Antonelli from 1784 to 1790. For two years after his ordination, Father Thayer laboured in the London mission, and towards the end of 1789, he set out for Boston, where he arrived, *via* New York, early in January, 1790. Ten days later, he wrote to Bishop Carroll, the following letter, on the back of which Carroll wrote: "Sollicits the Superiorship of N. E. States":

Rev'd Sir: I troubled you with a letter from N. York, in which I gave you my idea of the chapel in the place. Things in this town are perhaps worse. The Catholics are exceedingly few, not above fifty or sixty at most & those are very poor for the most part. I am positive that they must have great difficulty to maintain a single priest, much less can they maintain two of us. Besides this, La Poterie (who is actually here and in poverty) has run the church so deeply in debt that it will be a long time before it will emerge from its present situation. I, therefore, wish you to place Mr. Rousselet in another parish as soon as possible or he will be in some measure useless here on account of his language; seems to be his own desire, as he has expressed it to another person tho' not to me. I suppose he will soon write to you on this head. I pray you to do this speedily or his long & tedious disposition of the exercises at chapel might be an obstruction to my zeal & to the good which I may produce in this place. The reception which I received from the Governor, from the ministers, from my family & in fine from all classes of people is the most flattering & is an omen perhaps of good success; tho' I am prepared for you to expect opposition. I wish you, Sir, to be kind enough to send me an express permission to duplicate at discretion, likewise, a directory as you've altered it—English one. . . .

I once more beg you not to put me in shackles by permitting any priest to officiate in the N. England States unless authorized by me. In this town especially one priest is sufficient at present. My reason for mentioning this so often is the fear lest religion, which is at present at an ebb—shall suffer from some intruder. I should wish for an authentic paper in Latin from you constituting me superior of the mission in N. England under you, which I might be able to show to every arriving priest. I suppose, Sir, you believe my intention so pure as not to wish this from desire of domination or superiority.

I've said, Sir, Mr. Rousselet is long & tedious in disposing his chapel exercises; e. g., on a week day of obligation, when people can hardly find time for a low mass, he'll say or sing two litanies, four prayers & give benediction in the morning, & in the afternoon he'll have vespers, benediction, & a spiritual reading, tho' only four or five people can attend

& cannot understand one word out of four which he says. Some have told him he keeps them too long in the cold, & he answers we might never think it too long to be in God's House.¹⁰

Hancock, whom he had served as chaplain, was again Governor of the State; and John Adams, who received Thayer at Auteuil in 1785, was President of the nation. The convert priest was at first kindly received by all, Catholics and non-Catholics. The city numbered about eighteen thousand inhabitants and of these his little flock was scarcely a hundred souls. Of his reception in his native city, we have his own description in a letter dated Boston, July 17, 1790:

My Dear Friend: I reached Boston on the 4th of January last, and have everywhere been received with the most flattering attention. My own relatives expressed the greatest joy at my return. The Governor of the state, whose chaplain I formerly was, has promised to do all in his power to forward my views, and favor the work for which I have been sent to Boston. I have received nothing but kindness and attention from the ministers of the town. Many of them have visited me and evinced a degree of cordiality which I had little reason to expect. The officers of the custom house have also carried their politeness so far as to unwillingly take anything for the many large boxes which I had procured from France and England, having looked upon their contents as things designed for sacred purposes.

On the first Sunday after my arrival, I announced the word of God and all flocked in crowds to hear me. A great deal of curiosity is manifested to become acquainted with our belief, and this fair toleration allowed here has enabled me to enter into a full exposition of it.

On every occasion the Protestants evinced the same eagerness to come and hear me but they content themselves with that. The indifference and philosophy which prevail here as much as anywhere else, are an obstacle to the fruit of preaching which it is exceedingly difficult to remove—an obstacle, however, which does not in the least discourage me. I have had the pleasure of receiving a few recantations, and my dear neophytes afford me great consolation by the sanctity of their life. About a dozen of them can attend Mass daily. I am engaged in instructing a few Protestants, whom I hope to restore to our Common Mother. I recommend our mission most earnestly to your prayers. We are in want of labourers for the cultivation of the immense field which has been so long abandoned in the United States.¹¹

¹⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8B-H1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. xxviii, pp. 99-100.

¹¹ Cited in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 116. Cf. *The First American Mission to non-Catholics*, in the *Researches*, vol. xviii, pp. 41-43.

But this joy was short-lived. Father Rousselet was in Boston at the time, and Father Thayer soon realized that the French priest's presence in Boston was detrimental to the good of religion. In his letter on the sea, of July, 1790, Bishop Carroll regretfully announced to Cardinal Antonelli the disturbed state of the Church in Boston. "When I left America," he writes, "things in that mission were not very tranquil, because one part of the congregation desired to retain Father Thayer, and another part, his predecessor, and it is impossible for the two of them to be maintained. Of the outcome of this controversy, I hope to be informed in Europe." In this letter, Carroll says that Rousselet was a man of excellent character and morals. He was unaware of the priest's unfortunate mode of conduct, until after his return to Baltimore. In November, 1790, Father Rousselet's followers, during Thayer's absence, called Dr. Parker, a Protestant minister, to read prayers over one of their number who had died, and on returning Rousselet said a Requiem Mass in Dr. Parker's church.

Father Thorpe had warned Dr. Carroll, in his letter from Rome, of August 11, 1790, that Thayer would bear watching. "It will be necessary to have a priest of friendly eye over Mr. John Thayer, of Boston; his passion for more independence than any Apostle in God's Church ever had or desired, may involve himself and others in great difficulties."¹² The newspapers of the day published letters in which Thayer figured as "John Turncoat," and in the conflict which had arisen between the French and Irish factions, charges and countercharges were made by the two priests, Thayer and Rousselet. On October 14, 1790, Thayer wrote to Leonard Neale, who was acting vicar-general in Dr. Carroll's absence, a strong reply to the accusations brought against him.¹³

After Dr. Carroll's return, the eccentric priest wrote describing the condition of affairs in Boston, and in January, 1791, Father Rousselet was suspended. From this time until the arrival of Father Matignon, August 20, 1792, Father Thayer was the only priest of the Diocese of Baltimore in New England. Early in 1791, at Thayer's request, Bishop Carroll went to Boston, where

¹² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8B-K6.

¹³ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xvi, p. 198.



RT. REV. LEONARD NEALE, D.D.

he succeeded in making peace between the French and Irish Catholics, when they accepted Father Thayer as their pastor.¹⁴ Bishop Carroll was welcomed with profuse cordiality on this, his first visit to Boston. His personal character and his national prominence alike recommended him to the patriotic inhabitants. Hancock attended Mass in the church, as a mark of respect, and the bishop was asked to pronounce the benediction at a banquet of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery.¹⁵ Boston was at that time, of all the cities in America, the most openly hostile to the Catholic Church, but Bishop Carroll's visit was the beginning of a better feeling. Had Father Thayer been more amiable and conciliatory, there is little doubt that his mission would have proved successful. In one of his letters, June 11, 1791, written before leaving Boston, Bishop Carroll says: "It is wonderful to tell what great civilities have been done to me in this town, where a few years ago, a 'popish' priest was thought to be the greatest monster in creation. Many here, even of their principal people, have acknowledged to me that they would have crossed to the opposite side of the street, rather than meet a Roman Catholic some time ago. . . . I am very sorry not to have here a clergyman of amiable, conciliatory manners, as well as of real ability."¹⁶ Father Thayer was gifted with genius of no mediocre quality, and was a scholar as well as a wit; but, as one writer has expressed it, "not a little of the uncompromising Puritan spirit clung to him to the end."

How pleased Dr. Carroll was with the courtesy accorded to him in Boston, can be seen by the following letter to Governor Hancock:

Baltimore, Aug. 28, 1791.

Sir,

I should have great cause to reproach myself, & would deserve the imputation not only of ingratitude, but absolute insensibility, if I neglected to make my warmest acknowledgments to your Excellency for your innumerable favours, & civilities, during my stay at Boston. They were such as both astonished and confounded me: and I should have paid much sooner the tribute, which I owe your Excellency, if I could have commanded the smallest leisure since my return to Baltimore. I knew that

¹⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-F1.

¹⁵ *History of the Catholic Church: New England States*, vol. i, p. 20.

¹⁶ Cf. *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. viii, pp. 149-150.

your Excellency was conspicuous for civility & politeness, as well as eminent for patriotism and public services; and I had always heard, that the town of Boston was distinguished for its hospitality: But every thing was far beyond my highest expectations. When my friends here ask me the particulars of my late journey, I feel myself incapable of conveying to them adequate ideas of the friendly, the cordial, the honourable treatment, which I received from the first magistrate of the Commonwealth, & from its respectable citizens: and now that I would testify to your Excellency the grateful feelings of my heart, I experience the same inability of expressing them, as strongly as they are impressed on me.

I must take the liberty of requesting your Excellency to assure Mrs. Hancock, that I retain for her the same sentiments; that her affability and condescension have made a lasting impression on me; and that I shall be anxious for the moment, when I may again renew to both of you every testimony of my respect and veneration.¹⁷

When Father Matignon reached Boston in 1792, Bishop Carroll recalled Thayer, and in 1796 granted him an *exeat* from the diocese. From 1792 until 1803, Thayer wandered from one part of America and Canada to the other, always in difficulties and yet serene in his brave but blundering endeavour to spread the truth. We hear of him in Limerick, Ireland, in 1805, trying to induce missionaries to go out to the States at his expense; in 1807, he was at La Trappe, and was reported to have written to Rome, urging new sees in the United States. He remained most of the time in Limerick, where he died in 1815.

Some months before Carroll's arrival, Father Thayer, in an advertisement dated November 24, 1790, announced that he would preach on the week-day evenings in the neighboring towns and would answer any objections his auditors wished to make, either publicly or privately, as the objectors desired. The Rev. Mr. George Leslie, a Congregationalist minister of New Hampshire, regarded this as a challenge, and a debate was arranged for January 26, 1791. Leslie grew tired of the controversy after the opening address; and after waiting a year for him to answer, Father Thayer published his *Controversy between the Rev. John Thayer, Catholic Missionary of Boston, and the Rev. George Leslie, Pastor of a Church in Washington, New Hampshire*.

In the early summer of 1791, it was reported to Dr. Carroll

¹⁷ Printed in the *Records*, vol. xviii, p. 389.

that Thayer had said he would refuse to leave Boston, if ordered to do so by Bishop Carroll, and with a promptness that was characteristic, Dr. Carroll wrote asking for a denial of the report. On June 13, 1791, Thayer sent the following declaration of obedience to the bishop:

The subscriber having been charged with saying that he would not obey the Bishop but place himself under the jurisdiction of the Pope in case he should be ordered by the Bishop to leave Boston, hereby declares that he does acknowledge and will submit to the authority of the Bishop in case his removal should be required by him and this shall be binding on him until a general regulation respecting the power of the Bishop in removing Clergymen be settled by common consent of the American clergy.

JNO. THAYER

Boston, June 13, 1791.¹⁸

In passing through New York and Philadelphia, Bishop Carroll had an opportunity of judging the state of the Church in these two centres. The appointment of Father William O'Brien, O. P., as pastor of St. Peter's Church in New York City, gave peace and organized Catholic life to that distressed congregation, while Father Nugent's forced retirement in 1790 removed any further cause for schism. For the next twenty years, Father O'Brien kept order and harmony in the Catholic body of the city and State. In Philadelphia, the three churches—St. Joseph's, St.

¹⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-O7; printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, p. 42; cf. Patrick Campbell to Carroll, Boston, August 31, 1791, *ibid.*, Case 2-F6. Apparently Thayer remained in and around Boston until 1794, when Dr. Carroll sent him to Alexandria, Va., where he said Mass in the house of Colonel Fitzgerald, Washington's aide-de-camp during the Revolution. Thayer's opinions on slavery were too adverse to render him very popular, and he realized that his usefulness was gone. In July, 1794, he applied for an *exeat*, but Bishop Carroll refused it, "while the diocese is in such pressing need of clergymen." In 1796, he was in New York, and a memorial from 121 Catholic laymen, requesting that he be appointed assistant to Father O'Brien was rejected by Bishop Carroll (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-L1). A long letter dated June 21, 1796, on the neglected condition of the Church in the metropolis came from his pen to Dr. Carroll (*Researches*, vol. xxviii, p. 24); it ends with a request for an *exeat*, which Carroll sent to the erratic priest on July 5, 1796, "wishing you more solid fortune than I have been able to procure for you." After this date we find him in Quebec, as we learn from a letter sent by Bishop Hubert to Dr. Carroll, under date of November 26, 1796: "I have not given him any encouragement to stay with us" (*Records* vol. xviii, p. 179). In 1798, Thayer was back in Boston, and the next four years he spent in the missions of Kentucky. Slavery again was his undoing, and in 1803 he set out for Europe (SPALDING, *Sketches, etc.*, pp. 80-81). Cf. Leonard Brooke to Carroll, England, January 31, 1807 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-B1).

Mary's, and Holy Trinity—were progressing in a way to give the Bishop encouragement.

During the rest of the year which followed his return from England, Bishop Carroll was busy preparing for the first National Council of the Church in his vast diocese. He had an opportunity while in Philadelphia, New York and Boston, to decide upon the questions which should be brought before that assembly. A short time after his return from Boston, he issued to the priests (October 27, 1791) the official notice of the coming Synod. Dr. Carroll wrote to his friend, Charles Plowden, at this time :

On the 7th of next month our clergy are to meet here in a diocesan synod. Then we shall discuss the mode of preserving the succession to the episcopacy of the United States. Instead of a coadjutor, I am much inclined to solicit a division of my diocese and the creation of another bishoprick. One only objection, of much weight, retards my determined resolution in favor of this scheme, and that is, that previous to such a step, a uniform discipline may be established in all parts of this great continent; and every measure so firmly concerted, that as little danger as possible may remain of a disunion with the Holy See. I am very fearful of this event taking place in succeeding time unless it be guarded against by every prudential precaution. Our distance, though not so great if geometrically measured, as South America, Goa and China, yet in a political light is much greater. South America, and the Portuguese possessions in Africa and Asia, have through their metropolitan countries, an intermediate connexion with Rome; and the missionaries in China are almost all Europeans. But we have no European metropolis, and our clergy soon will be neither Europeans nor have European connexions. There will be the danger of a propension to a schismatical separation from the centre of unity. But the Founder of the Church sees all these things, and can provide the remedy. After doing what we can, we must commit the rest to His Providence.¹⁹

On the day appointed for the opening session of this historic gathering, November 7, there were present at Bishop Carroll's house in Baltimore, the following priests:²⁰

Very Rev. James Pellentz, *Vicar-General of the Diocese.*

¹⁹ BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154.

²⁰ *Concilia Provincialia Baltimorensia habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1849.* Second edition, Baltimore, 1851. The first 24 pp. of this volume contain the *Statuta* of 1791. A contemporary copy of the *Statuta* of 1791 will be found in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Letter-Book*, vol. i. In the *Acti* of 1794 (*Propaganda Archives*) these names are repeated with the location of the parishes to which the priests were appointed.

Very Rev. Robert Molyneux, *Vicar-General of the Southern District.*

Very Rev. Francis Anthony Fleming, O. P. *Vicar-General of the Northern District.*

Very Rev. Francis Nagot, *President of St. Mary's Seminary.*

Very Rev. Louis de Lavau.

Rev. James Frambach.

Rev. John Ashton.

Rev. Henry Pile.

Rev. Robert Plunkett, *President of Georgetown College.*

Rev. Stanislaus Cerfoumont.

Rev. Laurence Graessl, *Promoter.*

Rev. Anthony Garnier.

Rev. Leonard Neale.

Rev. Charles Sewall.

Rev. Sylvester Boarman.

Rev. William Elling, *Promoter.*

Rev. James Van Huffel.

Rev. Joseph Eden.

Rev. John Tessier.

Rev. Francis Beeston, *Secretary.*

On November 10, Father John Bolton, Pastor of St. Joseph's Eastern Shore, and Father John Thayer of Boston came, the latter undoubtedly being the most observed man of the group.

On the morning of the seventh, all the clergy assembled at Bishop Carroll's residence. The bishop, in his pontifical vestments, with mitre and crozier, followed the procession of the priests, who were in cassock and surplice, from his house to the pro-Cathedral, where everything necessary for the Synod had been arranged. Bishop Carroll then formally opened the Sessions with a discourse upon the meaning of the assembly. Fathers Leonard Neale and William Elling were appointed Promoters of the Synod, and Father Francis Beeston was named Secretary.

The Second Session, November 7, was spent deliberating upon the adoption of rules for the administration of Baptism and Confirmation. Many Catholics had been found who were not certain of having received these Sacraments, and others who had been baptized privately or by non-Catholic ministers, were anx-

ious that their spiritual status be settled. Rules were made for conditional Baptism, wherever necessary, and the necessity of keeping baptismal registers was impressed upon the clergy.

The Third Session, November 8, was devoted to the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. After describing the neatness and cleanliness desirable around the altar and in the churches, the faithful were admonished of their duty to support the priests in their efforts to make the House of God worthy of the Sacrifice which takes place therein. Accordingly it was decreed that in every parish two or three men of known virtue and of standing in the community be chosen to act with the pastors as trustees of the Church. These men were to be chosen by the pastor or by the congregation. On Sundays and holy days of obligation the trustees were to have the duty of taking up the offertory collection. In parishes where no provision was made for the pastor's sustenance or for the poor, the offerings of the faithful were to be divided, according to an old custom in the Church, into three parts: one for the pastor's maintenance, another for the poor, and the third for the upkeep of the church. If the pastor and the poor were otherwise provided for, then all offerings were to go toward the church itself; for vestments and for sacred vessels. A cassock should always be worn in vesting for Mass so far as this could be done without great inconvenience. The cassock and surplice were to be worn in all other priestly ceremonies. Pastors were admonished that before admission to First Holy Communion, children should be fully instructed in Christian doctrine, and they should be urged to make a general confession of their lives up to that time. The time of First Holy Communion was not to be delayed too long, but it was thought inadvisable for children who had not reached the use of reason, to be admitted as communicants.

In the Fourth Session, November 9, the administration of the other Sacraments was considered. In order that perfect order and authority in the administration of the Sacrament of Penance be established, it was decreed that any priest within the diocese, exercising faculties for confession without the express approbation of the bishop, should incur suspension and should fall under censure; any whose faculties had been revoked, administering the Sacrament of Penance, except in grave cases of necessity, should

likewise fall under this censure. The faithful were to be warned that confessions to unapproved priests were worthless. A prohibition under pain of suspension was decreed against any priest who should leave his congregation and take up his residence elsewhere, without episcopal sanction. Stringent laws regarding the Sacrament of Matrimony, were then passed. Freedom to marry had to be proven in every case, and no one could be married until after the triple publication of the banns. No one was to be admitted to the Sacrament of Marriage unless he or she could give evidence of a passable knowledge of Christian doctrine; and in this matter, the Synod adopted the rules laid down by the council of the Church of Lima, Peru, held in the time of St. Turibius. The principal doctrines of religion which were to be known by the contracting parties, were: God the Creator and Redeemer of the world; eternal reward; the Trinity; the incarnation, death and resurrection of the Saviour; sorrow for sin; acknowledgement of God's commandments and of the Church's precepts; and love of God and of one's neighbour. Pastors were urged to exert every holy influence possible to prevent mixed-marriages. The Synod recognized the unavailability of mixed-marriages in the state of society then existent in America; and the following rules were passed to regulate these unions: (1) Catholics should be gravely and seriously admonished that great inconvenience frequently arises from such marriages, and they should be exhorted to show their Christian fortitude by restraining themselves from entering into such unions. (2) Where the pastor realized that his admonition was of no avail, he should diligently set himself to lessen the danger of perversion. (3) The non-Catholic party to the marriage should be required to promise that no obstacle to the practice of the Faith or to the rearing of the children in the true religion would be placed after marriage. (4) Pastors should proceed cautiously, for the Catholic party might be induced to have the marriage performed before a non-Catholic minister. (5) Where such seemed to be the probable outcome, the pastor was allowed to perform the marriage; but care had to be taken that no matrimonial impediment be overlooked, such as defect in baptism, consanguinity, etc. (6) These nuptials were, however, not to be blessed with the blessing prescribed in the Roman Ritual.

The Fifth Session, November 10, at which Fathers Bolton and Thayer were also present, was given to the formulation of regulations regarding divine services and the observance of holy days of obligation. Wherever possible, a *Missa Cantata* was to be sung on Sundays and holy days, and before Mass the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, to whom the diocese had been specially dedicated, was to be said. At the end of the Gospel of the Mass, the prayers prescribed for the rulers of the government and for the welfare of the republic were to be read;²¹ the Gospel proper for the day was to be read in the vernacular; notification of marriage banns, of coming feast days, and of other matters of parish interest was to be given. A sermon was then to be preached, and it should be such as would encourage and exhort the faithful to lead perfect Christian lives. In the afternoon, Vespers should be sung, and the service should be closed with Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament. This should be followed by catechetical instructions. Hymns in the vernacular

²¹ It was at this time that Bishop Carroll wrote his well-known *Prayer for the Civil Authorities of our Country*:

We pray Thee, O almighty and eternal God! Who through Jesus Christ hast revealed Thy glory to all nations, to preserve the works of Thy mercy, that Thy Church, being spread through the whole world, may continue with unchanging faith in the confession of Thy name.

We pray Thee, Who alone art good and holy, to endow with heavenly knowledge, sincere zeal, and sanctity of life, our chief bishop, N.N., the vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the government of His Church; our own bishop, N.N. (or archbishop); all other bishops, prelates, and pastors of the Church; and especially those who are appointed to exercise amongst us the functions of the holy ministry, and conduct Thy people into the ways of salvation.

We pray Thee, O God of might, wisdom, and justice! through Whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted, and judgment decreed, assist with Thy holy spirit of counsel and fortitude the President of the United States, that his administration may be conducted in righteousness, and be eminently useful to Thy people over whom he presides; by encouraging due respect for virtue and religion; by a faithful execution of the laws in justice and mercy; and by restraining vice and immorality. Let the light of Thy divine wisdom direct the deliberations of Congress, and shine forth in all the proceedings and laws framed for our rule and government, so that they may tend to the preservation of peace, the promotion of national happiness, the increase of industry, sobriety, and useful knowledge; and may perpetuate to us the blessing of equal liberty.

We pray for his excellency, the Governor of this State, for the members of the Assembly, for all judges, magistrates, and other officers who are appointed to guard our political welfare, that they may be enabled, by Thy powerful protection, to discharge the duties of their respective stations with honesty and ability.

We recommend likewise, to Thy unbounded mercy, all our brethren and fellow-citizens throughout the United States, that they may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Thy most holy law; that they may be preserved in union, and in that peace which the world can not give; and after enjoying the blessings of this life, be admitted to those which are eternal.

Finally, we pray to Thee, O Lord of mercy, to remember the souls of Thy servants departed who are gone before us with the sign of faith, and repose in the sleep of peace; the souls of our parents, relatives, and friends; of those who, when living, were members of this congregation, and particularly of such as are lately deceased; of all benefactors who, by their donations or legacies to this church, witnessed their zeal for the decency of divine worship and proved their claim to our grateful and charitable remembrance. To these, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, grant, we beseech Thee, a place of refreshment, light, and everlasting peace, through the same Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

were also prescribed for divine service. Where but one priest resided in the parish, he should carry out these regulations as far as possible. After Mass, the whole congregation should recite with devotion, in the vernacular, the *Our Father*, the *Hail Mary*, the *Apostles' Creed*, and the *Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity*. The children and others who needed the same, were to be kept after Mass for instruction in the catechism.

The next canon is worthy of record :

At the beginning of our episcopate, we have been impelled by an ardent desire of naming the Blessed Virgin Mary the principal patroness of our diocese, in order that, by Her intercession, faith and love of God, and sanctity of life among the people committed to our care may flourish and increase more and more. We were consecrated first Bishop of Baltimore on the feast of the Assumption, and led therefore to honour Her as our Patroness, we exhort our venerable confreres to venerate Her with a great devotion and often and zealously to commend this devotion to their flocks, so that by Her powerful patronage, they may be preserved from all evil.

The Sunday within the octave of the Assumption was made the principal feast of the diocese. In order to stimulate the devotion of the faithful, Bishop Carroll stated that he would ask of the Holy See abundant spiritual favours for all those who should receive the Sacraments of Confession and Communion on that feast.

The difficulty experienced by Catholic merchants and labourers in attending Mass on holy days of obligation was dealt with, and each pastor was asked to use his own judgment in arranging for Mass at a convenient time, if it was possible. Rules and regulations for clerical life were decided upon, and the clergy were ordered, according to the Tridentine canons, to wear clothes becoming their station. Black was the prescribed color. The ecclesiastical law regarding domestic life in the presbyteries was to be strictly enforced and the vicars-general were to see to it that this ruling be diligently observed.

On account of the increasing number of Catholics and their scattered condition in the diocese, the priests were called upon to perform almost heroic labours in order to minister to their people; this required abundant support for the maintenance of priests and of churches. The faithful were admonished, there-

fore, of their grave obligation in this respect. This obligation Bishop Carroll intended to treat in a separate Instruction or Pastoral, to be issued at the close of the Synod.

The Paschal precept was to be rigorously enforced, and all Catholics who failed to comply with the regulation of approaching the Sacraments during that season were to be refused Christian burial. Judgment, however, in all such cases, lay with the bishop or vicars-general, who were to be consulted. Where this could not be done, the pastor was to follow his own judgment and exercise all prudence in making his decision. All such cases were to be treated with the utmost charity and according to the circumstances peculiar to each case. The spirit of the Church was to encourage the living to follow the laws of God rather than to punish the dead.

The closing sermon, delivered by Father John Ashton, has never been published, so far as could be ascertained, and it is so truly a picture of the times, that it is given here, without change, from the manuscript copy in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives:

But be thou vigilant, labour in all things; do the work of an evangelist; fulfil the ministry, be sober.—II Tim., ch. IV, v. 5.

The injunction of St. Paul to his disciple Timothy, which I have just now cited, did not originate from an apprehension, or suspicion of any want of zeal, or deficiency of duty in the execution of the trust committed to him, but from a paternal solicitude on the side of ye apostle to have the great work of the ministry faithfully executed by all who were entrusted to that charge. He foresaw that "there would be a time, when mankind would not hear sound doctrine, but according to their own desires would heap to themselves teachers having itching ears; that they would turn away their hearing from the truth, but would be turned to fables." He well knew that the only preservative against such pestiferous doctrine, was the salutary and sound food of evangelical truth to be administered by his successors in due season. "Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season, reprove, intreat, rebuke with all patience and doctrine."

It is in the same sense, Rev. Gentn. and Brethren, that I address myself to you on the present occasion. If there ever was a time for the Pastors of Christ's flock to use extraordinary vigilance and care, it must be when we see those very times come, which the Apostle speaks of; when error has supplanted sound doctrine, when the fables of pretended philosophy have eclipsed evangelical wisdom, and mankind intoxicated with the enthusiasm of liberty will not submit to the sweet yoke of Xst. But as faith

without good works dies within itself, and becomes unprofitable, so will the preaching of the word of life be of no account unless supported by a virtuous and exemplary conduct, corresponding with the doctrine that he undertakes to inculcate into others. A teacher of divine truths has a double task, to accomplish the end of his ministry; he must make the truth known, and he must walk in the way that he makes known. He is the light and also the guide: and as Xst said, that he was the Way, the Truth, and Life itself, so must the minister be the way, by his example, the truth by his doctrine, and life itself by the expectation of the reward, which in Xst's name he promises to all them that follow his directions and admonitions. In two points of view therefore do I behold the whole duty of a minister of God's Church; he is to aim at his own sanctification, and he is to aim at the sanctification of his neighbour. These two duties are so correlative that the one gives assistance to the other; so that the means by which he advances in sanctity himself, help also to sanctify his neighbour; and by aiming at the sanctification of his neighbour, he necessarily advances in sanctity himself. Behold the subject of my discourse to you on this solemn occasion.

It is a truth, my Brethren, not to be called in question, that however lawful it may be on occasions, to expose our life to danger, there is no case in which it is ever permitted to hazard our salvation. "For what does it avail a man, says Xst, to gain the whole world if he comes to lose his own soul?" The eternal and unalterable law of Charity and wisdom therefore dictates to every man, whatever station of life he may occupy, to look first to his own safety before he provides for the safety of others. Though the Providence of God watches over them who are employed in his service, yet his goodness provides not only the means necessary to obtain the end we labour for, but also the assistance we stand in need of in the exercise of our duty; now this assistance which God gives us, are the graces by which he means to sanctify us in our state of life, and to which we must be ready to correspond, in the order in which they are distributed to us. The Ap. St. Paul, that gospel of election, chosen by God to carry his name before the nations and kings, was so sensible of this truth that he tells us with respect to himself, "that he should become a reprobate himself" by neglecting to subdue his passions and improve the stock of virtue which he had acquired. It was neither his learning, nor his gift of tongues, nor his knowledge in Prophecies, nor his faith if it had been such as to move mountains, that he depended on; for he was sensible that these were gifts for the benefit of others; but Charity he knew was a virtue that benefited himself; a virtue that included all other virtues, a virtue that has no bounds, a virtue that when duly cultivated produces fruits of justice, piety, sobriety, humility, mortification, patience, chastity, and obedience. These virtues, Rev. Brethren, are the ornaments of an Ecclesiastic, it is from such seeds that good fruits may be expected; for whatever we sow, the same shall we reap; if we are deficient in virtue, we shall be disappointed in our expectations; whoever sows sparingly will reap sparingly, but he who sows

in benedictions will reap in benedictions. It is a matter of great affliction to our Holy Mother the Church, that the ministers whom she employs, and who are daily occupied in the Divine Service, should be so little attentive, to this great point of sanctifying and perfecting themselves; I speak as I feel: and knowing my own deficiency in this point, I am willing to atone for my frailty by a public acknowledgment of my guilt. Pardon me, therefore, Rev. Gentlemen, for entering into a detail of certain points, to which for a few minutes I intend to draw your attention. In the first place therefore as St. Paul says to the Heb: "leaving the word of the beginning of Xst, let us go on to things more perfect." The chief duty and office of an Ecclesiastic; is as the same Ap. says to offer daily gifts and sacrifices, first for his own sins, then for the peoples. The dignity to which we are raised by priesthood, makes us mediators between God and his people; the sacrifice intrusted to our hands is of such infinite value and effect, that we cannot approach to it without the most reverential awe, and worthy dispositions: we hold the place of angels, who offer up incense and the prayers of the Saints at the throne of God, and like them, this sacrifice should go through pure and unstained hands. But the misfortune is that habit makes familiarity and familiarity is oftentimes accompanied with disrespect. The world, even the profane world, is our censor in this point and nothing is more offensive, than to observe a want of due decorum, an indifference, a hurry resembling pain but above all a species of traffic and gain made of that which is the price of our redemption. I allow that a reasonable oblation may be received from the faithful for our intentions in this point; it would be to contradict the practice of the whole Church to deny it; for if we administer to them spiritual goods, as St. Paul says—it is but just that we should share of their carnal goods. But what I condemn is an over-solicitude for these carnal goods, which might sometimes make it appear that we set more value on them than the spiritual goods, that we administer in return. The same observation I make on the administration of the other Sacraments, and the exercise of our priestly functions. Let every species of avarice be banished; let nobody evacuate our glory in this point. Let our public discourses be tintured as little as possible with what concerns our interest, lest it be observed that it is our own selves that we preach but not Jesus Xst, and him crucified: and lest the world that is so censorious, should have reason to ask, where is their God?

The next duty of an Ecclesiastic is that of mental and vocal prayer. This, I conceive, to be the source of those spiritual treasures, from which he is to deal out so abundantly to others. For what means can there be of convincing others of the eternal truths of our religion, unless these same truths have made a strong impression on our own minds by frequent and serious reflexion? How can we enflame the hearts of others to virtue, if we are cold and indifferent to it ourselves? Sooner will a thorn bear grapes, or a thistle bear figs, than will the words of a preacher produce fruits of piety and justice in the hearts of his hearers, unless his own is first inflamed with it, from the fire of holy meditation. This

made holy David say "that in the morning his meditation should kindle up like a fire." It was from this source that he obtained those heavenly communications, those divine secrets, those sentiments of compunction, of humility and gratitude to God, of zeale for the Divine worship and the salvation of his neighbour. Besides meditation, the soul must be relieved and nourished with vocal prayer. The Church has fixed this duty on all Ecclesiastics, so that no day is exempt from its obligation. The divine office associates us to the choirs of angels, who incessantly sing the praises of God in heaven, while we mortal creatures are paying him the homage upon earth which will entitle us to join the celestial choirs. Let not use and the daily repetition, Revd. Brethren, make this duty a mere task, but considering it as a relief to mental prayer, as the balance at one end may sink, let the other always rise in due proportion. Another important point in the life of an Ecclesiastic, is a gravity and decency of outward comportment. The Ap. in his first Epistle to the Cor, says "when I was a child I spoke as a child, I understood as a child; I thought as a child. But when I became a man, I put away the things of a child." The same may be said of the life of an Ecclesiastic; having consecrated himself to God, he is no longer to consider himself as a citizen of the world; he is no longer to share in the diversions, employments or concerns of the world; but a gravity of comportment, must show itself in his speech, dress and air. In short he must put away the old man of the world and put on the new man, renewed according to Jesus Xst. He must not only crucify the flesh with its vices and concupiscenses, but must renounce to the world with its vanities and follies. This is so conformable to the spirit of humility which Jesus Xst recommended so earnestly to his Apostles, to the sentiments of St. Paul, recommending sobriety and gravity to the ministers of Xst, that it may justly be called the distinctive mark of an Ecclesiastic. "In all things (he tells Titus) show thyself an example of good works, in doctrine, in integrity, in gravity." From whence it follows that all affectation of worldly vanity in fashions of dress, elegance of furniture and equipage, extravagance and sumptuousness of living, are wholly inconsistent with the character we bear; and that humility, frugality and moderation are virtues that add ornament to the character of a minister of God: whereas a levity of manners and spirit of dissipation, a fondness of diversions and dress, a love of company and good cheer, alienate our minds from the true objects of our ministry and render us no more than sounding brass, or empty vessels in the minds of others. I shall conclude this first part of my discourse to you, Revd. Gentlemen, after saying a few words, on the daily employment of our time.

As idleness is the source of many evils in every state of life, much more is it so in an Ecclesiastical state; for it is morally impossible for an Ecclesiastic living in the midst of the world without occupation to maintain the purity of his profession. How then must such a one spend the hours of the day, who is neither addicted to prayer, nor to the study of the Divine Sciences? In frequent visits, useless conversation, parties of

pleasure, in a soft and easy life, and by that means exposed to every temptation to which idleness infallibly leads him. If in a religious state, where time is so distributed between many occupations and the eyes of Superiours are a check on the subjects, idleness be found to be the most dangerous rock to their vocation, how much more so, when a clergyman is left to himself, the master of himself and his actions, having nobody but God to direct him, who is soon forgotten, and having no coercive restraint but his duty which is easily thrown aside. An office hurried over slightly, becomes soon the burden of the day, and his life resembles more that of a professed worldling, than a follower and minister of Jesus Xst. I have laid before you the means by which an Ecclesiastic is to aim at his own sanctification; I have now to show you by what means he is to aim at the sanctification of his neighbour.

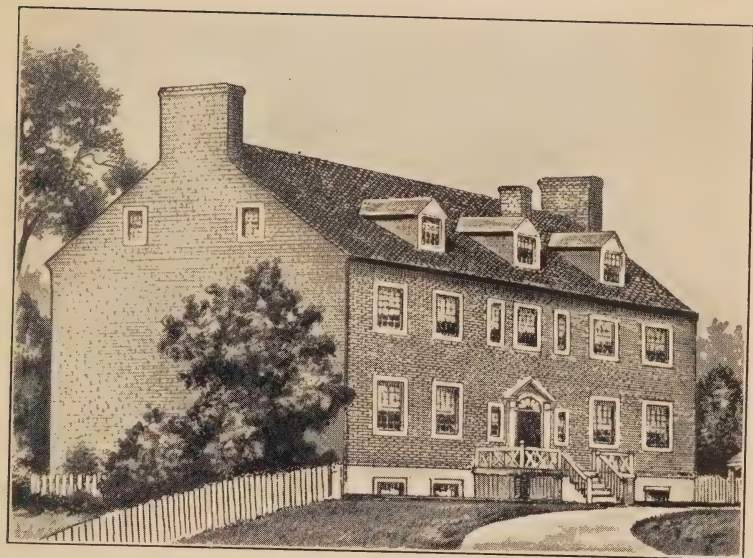
The difference between a religious state and a pastoral state (which is the one I now speak of) is that the one professing the former is thereby bound to aim at perfection, but the latter is engaged in the actual state of perfection. The nearer we approach to the example which Xst has given us, the nearer are we united to Him in perfection. Thus when Xst said to his Apostles come and follow Me, he called them to the same kind of life which he exercised himself; he not only invited them to imitate his poverty, his humility, his meekness and his sufferings, but he told them that he would make them fishers of men; that they should be associated to him in the ministry of the work which his Father had given Him to do, and should in reward thereof, sit on seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Behold, Revd. Gentlemen and Brethren, the excellency and dignity of your calling! This made a venerable Father and eminent Ecclesiastical writer not scruple to say: "That of all Divine things, the most divine is, to cooperate with God for the salvation of souls." It is an employment which God has not even trusted to his Angels, but by honoring human nature with his Divine Person, He has also honoured it, with a participation of his divine commission. A minister of God therefore thus dignified, and exalted, takes upon himself three essential obligations respecting his flock. He is to feed them; he is to lead them by his example, and cure them by his labours. As to the first, it has always been considered an indispensable tie on pastors, to instruct their flocks, in the duties and obligations of their religion; to teach them the principal points of their faith, to admonish them of their faults, and to prescribe such remedies to them as may serve to correct them. "Preach the Word," says St. Paul to Tim.: "reprove, intreat, rebuke with all patience and doctrine." And truly, what other means did Jesus Xst institute for perpetuating his doctrine than that of preaching: Is it not from thence that we derive the traditions of the Apostles? does not faith as St. Paul expressly tells us come from the hearing of the Word of Xst, and is not the Word of Xst made known to us by his ministers, whom he commands us to hear, saying, "he that hears you hears me?" Thus it was that the Apostles, in pursuance of Xst's command taught all nations, and we who have the honour to be their successors and depu-

ties, being intrusted with the same deposit of faith are to transmit it pure and uncorrupt to our hearers. But our ministry is not confined to the duty of preaching the articles of faith only; we are to inculcate a morality neither Pharisaically severe, nor Philosophically loose: a morality taken from the source of evangelical doctrine, supported, not by the persuasive words of human wisdom, but by the unerring spirit of God, and the practice of learned and virtuous men. Above all we must be disposed to submit our doctrine and opinions to the infallible judge, which Xst appointed to lead us into all truth. But what will our preaching avail, if not supported by example? "I have given you an example (says Xst) that as I have done so you may do also." It is not a duty in speculation, but it is a practical duty that we should preach; and to convince our hearers that it is practical, nothing will be so efficacious, as to see us practice it ourselves. Can Christian humility be taught by one, who is observed to seek praise and preferment? Can patience and forbearance be taught by one, who is observed not to bear the slightest reproach or contradiction? Can mortification be taught by one addicted to his ease and convenience? Can temperance be taught by one who is known to love company and good cheer? The same may be said of every moral virtue: But while we lay heavy burdens upon others, let it not be said that we have no inclination to stretch out a finger to support them ourselves. If virtuous example be so necessary to support the moral doctrine that we preach, how cautious must a preacher be, to avoid giving scandal or example to others. Many things are allowable to worldly people, which are totally unbecoming and forbidden an Ecclesiastic. To say nothing of those conditions in life, that are instituted for the mere purpose of worldly gain and advantage, there are certain places even, where it is scandalous for Ecclesiastics to be seen; such as houses of public diversion and entertainment; places of concourse and public gaiety; resorts of idleness; parties of pleasure and expensive entertainments. I say that the Clergy are not expected by the world to be seen at such places: Their minds are supposed to be taken up with other subjects; their time is judged to be too precious, to be so employed; their occupations are inconsistent with such worldly vanities. But if their presence alone in such places gives surprise, how cautious they must be, that neither their words nor actions give scandal to their neighbour! "Wo to the world because of scandals" (says Xst), and double wo may I add to that Clergyman, who when he should guard his flock against dangers and precipices, invites them by his example to a familiarity with them! "It were better for him (says our Lord) that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea."

Having mentioned what a Clergyman is to avoid for the edification of his flock, I have now to say something on the labours he is to undergo to preserve them in the way of eternal salvation: and I will venture to say, that in as much as he is diligent or remiss in this point of duty, in the same degree will he see his flock improve in virtue and piety. As the Sacraments are the great sources of Grace, instituted by Xst, for our

sanctification, so it must be through their means, that the faithful are to be conducted in the way to everlasting happiness. Nothing will contribute more to this, than for their pastors to inculcate strongly into them, from their early years, the advantage and necessity of receiving them often and with due preparation. It must be owned that the most painful and laborious part of a Pastor's life consists in his diligence and assiduity in this point; but at the same time, his pains are in no instance better rewarded. To draw sinners from the ways of perdition—to preserve the just from falling into those ways; can anything be more pleasing to God? can anything be more meritorious? It is cooperating with God himself in the work of our redemption; it is peopling heaven with souls that would otherwise be eternally lost; and it is adding an immense weight of glory to our own merits. But for this end much knowledge and prudence is required on our part; we must know how to be infirm with the infirm; to rejoice with them that rejoice; to weep with them that weep; we must know how to compassionate them that are in affliction; to bear patiently with some, to reprehend others in due season, to support their delays, to study their tempers, to watch the favourable moments; in short to endeavour whether by occasion, or any other means, to gain admittance into their hearts and to pour on them the sweet ointment of God's healing grace, entrusted to us. Thus the apostle tells us, that he became all to all, to gain all to Xst. In thus treating with our neighbours, we have two extremes to avoid; immoderate severity and too great laxity. Of the two evils I judge the former to be the most pernicious; because throughout the whole life of Xst, I do not find that he rejected one sinner making application to him; but that he frequently condemned the austere morals of the Pharisees, while their hearts were embittered with malice and deceit. But while I condemn immoderate severity I am far from approving of pernicious laxity. If the blind lead the blind, the consequence is, that they both fall into a pit together. But I am happy to have to address myself to such as from serious application and long experience have no need of an instructor on this point, but who having generously engaged to labour in the Lord's vineyard, have nothing so much to heart as to gain souls to Xst, and having to encounter many crosses and tribulations, are thereby hastening their journey to heaven.

Wherefore, Revd. Gentlemen and Brethren, give me leave to address you on the words of St. Peter: "Brethren, labour the more that by good works you may make sure your vocation and election" and again "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking care thereof, not by constraint, but willingly according to God: neither for the sake of filthy lucre but voluntarily." Behold from the Apostle the whole subject of my discourse comprehended in a few words: to labour for our own sanctification and for the sanctification of our neighbour. The same Apostle, as an encouragement to us, immediately adds, that "When the prince of pastors shall appear, ye shall receive a never fading crown of glory." Behold the end of all our labours. This was the end that we



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proposed when we first consecrated ourselves to God; this the object that we ever had in view, since we first engaged to labour in the Lord's vineyard; We have experienced the difficulties, we have encountered the dangers that have presented themselves to us in the course of our labours. "In journeys often, in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils in the City, in perils in the wilderness, in perils from false brethren; in labour and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in many fastings, in cold and nakedness." All these we have experienced and many more, but which we make little account of provided we can gain souls to Xst. But if there ever was occasion for extraordinary exertions to be made by the Pastors of Xst's flock, it must be at this present time, when "The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few." Let us, therefore, Revd. Gentlemen and fellow labourers, exert our talents, and assiduity in the employment that God has assigned to us. If he has multiplied our labour, he has also super-abundantly multiplied his graces for our assistance. If he has given us five talents instead of one, he expects that we shall improve them and gain five more; and in reward for improving them, we may rely on hearing those comfortable words addressed to us, by Xst, our Lord and Master. "Well done thou good and faithful servant, because thou has been a faithful servant, because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

We have now, Revd. Gentlemen and Brethren, with the blessing of God accomplished the business for which we were called to this Ecclesiastical Synod. Great thanks are due to our Most Revd. and Respectable Prelate, for the many useful regulations and points of discipline proposed for our consideration; but it is neither our concurrence nor acknowledgments that will be so grateful and acceptable to Him, as to see those same regulations carried into effect by the whole body of Clergy, committed to his care. We are happy in having a Pastor, whose whole solicitude is to preserve the flock, which Xst has entrusted to him, and whose example will be a guide to each one of us. Let us therefore benefit ourselves from so great a blessing, that by imitating his virtues and cooperating with his zeale, we may save the souls of many redeemed with the blood of Xst, and, in reward of our virtues and labours, shine like stars in heaven for perpetual eternities.²²

Before the close of the Synod, Bishop Carroll asked the priests present seriously to consider the advisability of petitioning the Holy See for a division of the diocese or for a coadjutor. "The question of the appointment of a Bishop as suffragan of Baltimore, or Coadjutor was discussed at this Synod," says Shea, "and all felt the necessity, so that in case of the death of Bishop Carroll there might be another Bishop to assume the charge of

²² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C-B1.*

the diocese, without waiting for long months to send a nomination to Rome and obtain an appointment. The long voyages and slow conveyance overland in those days, rendered communication with Rome very tedious and uncertain, and in Canada the Bishop always had a coadjutor for this very reason."²³ A few days after the last session of the Synod Bishop Carroll issued a Circular on Christian Marriage:

When Christ honoured the institution of marriage by raising it to the dignity and sanctity of a sacrament, he intended to create in all who were to enter into that state a great respect for it, and to lay on them an obligation of preparing themselves for it, by purifying their consciences and disposing them worthily to receive abundant communications of divine grace. He subjected thereby to the authority and jurisdiction of his Church the manner and rites of its celebration, lest any should violate and profane so holy an institution by engaging in marriage without due consideration of its sanctity and obligations. It is judged necessary to say this, because lately some of the congregation have been so regardless of their duty in this respect, as to recur to the ministry of those whom the Catholic Church never honoured with the commission of administering marriage. The persons here spoken of, and others who have followed their example, hereby rendered themselves guilty of a sacrilegious profanation of a most holy institution at the very moment of their marriage. It must be left to themselves to consider, whether they can expect much happiness in a state into which they entered by committing an offence so grievous and dangerous to their faith.

To prevent, as much as lies in our power, a renewal of such profanation and sacrilege, you are desired, Rev. Sir, as well as our other Rev. brethren, to make known to all that whoever have lately, or hereafter shall be guilty of applying to be married by any other than the lawful pastors of our Church, cannot be admitted to reconciliation and the Sacraments, till they shall agree to *make public acknowledgment* of their disobedience before the assembled congregation, and beg pardon for the scandal they have given.²⁴

Early in the next year, 1792, Bishop Carroll issued a letter on Lenten Regulations, and on May 28, 1792, he published a Pastoral on the Synod, making known to the Catholics of the United States the rules adopted by the Synod for the regulation of church affairs. A French version of this Pastoral is in the Catholic Archives of America, at the University of Notre Dame.

²³ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 397.

²⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-E2.

Two important and far-reaching events in American Catholic life had occurred in 1791; the founding of Georgetown College and the coming of the Sulpicians. These projects kept Bishop Carroll so busy both before and after the Synod, that it was not until April 23, 1792, that he had leisure to write a report on the Synod for Propaganda. The *Acta* were, however, sent to Rome shortly after the close of the Synod. Carroll's long letter is in reality a history of the Church here from 1785 down to 1792. We shall be obliged to refer to it constantly for guidance in judging the nature and the value of the various enterprises instituted by Bishop Carroll around this time. In the part dealing with the Synod of 1791, Bishop Carroll alludes to the holding of the Synod, *autumno lapsa*, at which twenty-two priests were present. The fact that so many were gathered at his house for the meeting gave him the opportunity of speaking with them, especially with the older priests amongst them, of the prudence of asking a coadjutor for himself, or of suggesting to the Holy See the wisdom of creating another diocese. "If anything should happen to me," he writes, "my successor could not be sent to Europe for consecration without great inconvenience and expense." After deliberating with the others, it was decided that he should ask the Holy See to create a new diocese, either in Philadelphia or New York, and the division of the two dioceses ought to be the Susquehanna River. Philadelphia was the larger of the two cities, containing more Catholics and more churches, and was preferred over New York. The priest's house there was large enough for an episcopal residence. At the end of this letter he returned to the question of the appointment of a second bishop, and advised the Cardinal-Prefect that the priests, as well as himself, desired the privilege of electing the occupant of the new see or, if Rome so desired, the coadjutor of Baltimore. The priests who attended the Synod had suggested that fifteen of their number be chosen as a nominating committee for this purpose; ten of these should be those who were longest in the American mission, and the remaining five were to be selected by Carroll himself from the more prudent and worthy priests of the diocese.

At a general congregation on American affairs, held at Propaganda, August 13, 1792, the *Acta* of the Synod and this Letter-

Report on the state of the diocese were deliberated upon, and a *Relatio* on the same was prepared for Cardinal Antonelli, the Prefect. This *Relatio* is divided into two parts: the first part, subdivided into chapters, treats of all the points mentioned in Bishop Carroll's Letter-Report of April 23, 1792; the second contains a series of notes by the archivist of Propaganda, which serve as a commentary on the chapters. Chapter seven is entitled *Sinodo diocesano*, and it gives a fairly accurate description of all that took place at the Synod. Chapter eight, on the *postulata* of Carroll's letter, treats first of all of the request for a coadjutor, lest in case of his death the Church in the United States be left without a chief shepherd. The response to this request was that it seemed preferable, in place of dividing the diocese and constituting a new bishopric at Philadelphia or in New York, that the priests of the diocese choose a worthy candidate as coadjutor for Bishop Carroll.

On September 29, 1792, Cardinal Antonelli wrote a long letter to Bishop Carroll, telling him that his letter of April 23 had been read before a general congregation of the Propaganda and that all were deeply impressed with the progress he had made in organizing the Church in the new Republic. The Holy See was willing to do whatever Carroll and his clergy desired in the way of lightening his own burdens, but the appointment of a coadjutor was preferable to Rome. The Holy See decided that it would be best to have the administration of the Church in the United States dependent upon one authority. Moreover, Antonelli said, a uniform method of ecclesiastical discipline would be more surely introduced into the United States under this central authority, and the clergy could be more easily ruled. Unity for the time being would be of much more value to the welfare of souls. Two bishops, each of equal dignity and jurisdiction, would only open the door to dissensions and misunderstandings. Antonelli advised Bishop Carroll that a coadjutor might reside in any part of the diocese, and in this way the central authority of Baltimore would be preserved.

Although it was rarely granted that the priests of a diocese elect their bishop, the Holy See was willing to allow the American clergy that privilege, lest, as Carroll had pointed out in his letter, any objection should be made by the American Govern-

ment or by those who were opposed to the Church. "This Sacred Congregation, therefore, with the express sanction of His Holiness, enjoins Your Lordship to consult with the older and more prudent priests of the diocese and to propose any priest in the American mission, whom you think fit and capable; the Holy Father will then appoint him coadjutor with all necessary and seasonable faculties."

If it were only for having gained for the American clergy for a second time the permission to select one of their own number as bishop, the Synod of 1791 would have a prominent place in the history of church administration in the United States. It is not because such freedom of choice was unknown to eighteenth-century Catholicism that the letter of Antonelli deserves attention; but rather the fact that the Holy See and the broadminded Prefect of Propaganda were as anxious as Carroll and his clergy to allow no overt act to occur which might embarrass the American clergy with the Government here. At the same time there was no cringing before the young and proud American Republic on the part of the world's oldest spiritual authority.

One further incident can be connected with the Synod. Bishop Carroll signed his name as "John, Bishop of Baltimore," at the end of the Pastoral of May 28, 1792. This signature brought forth an attack by "Liberal," in one of the newspapers of the day, and Bishop Carroll immediately prepared a reply which was published on November 21, 1792, under the title *An Answer to Strictures on an Extraordinary Signature*. The letter is interesting in this sense that it shows us the fighting spirit of the man: "The subject of this contention," he writes in conclusion, "is so trifling in itself, and it affords so much room for ridicule, that if 'Liberal' take up his pen again, he must appear with something more material to engage the further attention of John, Bishop of Baltimore."²⁵

A last reference to the Synod is found in Antonelli's letter to Bishop Carroll, dated August 10, 1794, in which he congratulates Carroll on the pastoral vigilance displayed by the Fathers of this first national Synod. Certain changes, however, were deemed necessary in the *Statuta*. In the statute on Baptism the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Case 10-Y4 (printed copy).

distinction between Catholic and non-Catholic midwives was to be omitted; infants in danger of death were to be confirmed; the *stipendia* for Masses were to be regulated according to the circumstances in America; marriages of persons coming from other parts should be carefully regulated, and the testimony of two witnesses, or of one upon oath, regarding the freedom of the parties should be exacted; in case these witnesses were unavailable, then the parties themselves should be put upon their oath as to their freedom to marry. In regard to ecclesiastical burial, the Roman Ritual was to be observed; authority was granted to dispense with the English supplement of the Missal and Breviary; and—an important fact—to remove all objections that might be made, the formula of the oath to be taken by bishops in the United States was changed, so that “in future all pretexts for carping and misrepresenting may be removed.” At the same time Bishop Carroll’s faculties were enlarged.

The Synod of 1791 has always been the object of admiration to the Catholic hierarchy of America. Years afterward, Bishop Bruté is reported by Shea to have written: “We must read over the Synod of 1791, for the form and its authority will be a good standard. In every line you see the Bishop. In all you see how extensively he had studied; and the spirit of faith, charity, and zeal in that first assembly, has served as a happy model for its successor.”²⁸ No higher tribute to the worth of this earliest American Catholic conciliar assembly could have been given than that by the Fathers of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829: “When we look back upon the circumstances of the times and conditions which existed at the period that the Venerable John Carroll, of happy memory, Bishop of Baltimore, held the Diocesan Synod of 1791, we greatly admire the zeal, prudence and learning, with which so many laws for the benefit of the Church were passed.” The value of the decrees of 1791 were of such a high nature that the Fathers ordered the *Statuta* of 1791 to be reprinted at the head of those passed by the Council of 1829.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 398.

CHAPTER XXIV
THE FOUNDING OF GEORGETOWN COLLEGE
(1789-1791)

To those who see a link between Bohemia Manor Academy and the venerable College and University of Georgetown, the half-century between the untimely end of the Academy and the founding of the college (1789) can easily be translated into a long series of plans and deliberations for the successful establishment of a school for the higher education of Catholic young men. In fact, few topics, with the exception of the legal incorporation of the clergy and the restoration of the Society, occupy a larger share in the documents from 1785 down to the year when Father Robert Molyneux, then the Superior of the restored Society of Jesus in the United States, became President of Georgetown College (1806). The three subjects (the College, Incorporation, and the Restoration) are inseparable.

It is with appropriate historic justice that the statue of John Carroll has been placed in front of the University of Georgetown; for, in spite of every opposition, even that of Father Leonard Neale, who was to become Georgetown's fourth President (1799-1806) and Carroll's successor in the See of Baltimore, Bishop Carroll carried his design for the college forward to completion. The history of the college, written by no less a master hand than that of John Gilmary Shea,¹ has its actual origin in Carroll's *Plan of Organization* of 1782, the purpose of which was the creation of ways and means tending to insure a succession of labourers in the American vineyard.² Such succession depended upon a college to train young men in the humanities, and upon a seminary to train those who should aspire to the priesthood.

¹ *Memorial of the First Centenary of Georgetown College, D. C., Comprising a History of Georgetown University and an Account of the Centennial Celebration.* Washington, 1891.

² HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 610-614.

"The object nearest my heart," he wrote Plowden, the following year, on September 23, 1783, "is to establish a college on this continent for the education of youth, which might at the same time be a seminary for future clergymen. But at present I see no prospect of success."³ Father Thomas Talbot, the Procurator of the ex-Jesuits in England, wrote to Carroll on September 21, 1784, evidently in answer to the latter's letter, and discussed provisions for a succession of workers. "I see only two ways possible," he says, "either by setting up schools and forming a seminary of your own, or depending on foreign assistance." Evidently, Carroll had inquired about the English Academy, founded at Liège in 1774 by the English ex-Jesuits, which had been erected into a pontifical seminary by Pius VI in 1778. "Liège," says Talbot, "will not be able to supply you with grown up and trained plants for the reason you allege: 'tis well if it can support long its own establishment."⁴

The prospect of a successful beginning at home was not encouraging. In his letter to Father Thorpe, February 17, 1785, Carroll's only hope of filling the depleted ranks of the clergy was to send Catholic boys to the non-Catholic colleges then being opened in several cities. He had every reason to hope, he said, "that amongst the youth trained in these different colleges, there will be frequently some inclined to the Ecclesiastical State." Carroll's *Relation* to Antonelli of March 1, 1785, refers to this plan: "There is a college in Philadelphia, and it is proposed to establish two in Maryland, in which Catholics can be admitted, as well as others, as presidents, professors and pupils. We hope that some educated there will embrace the ecclesiastical state." When the University of Pennsylvania was reorganized in 1779, Father Farmer became a trustee, under the regulation that the senior pastors of the six religious denominations in Philadelphia, should be members of the Board of Trustees. It was not long, however, before Carroll saw the inadvisability of sending Catholic boys to the non-Catholic colleges then being founded in the

³ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*; printed in HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 615.

⁴ HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 624. Strickland wrote to Carroll on July 25, 1786, that it would be impossible to create free burses at Liège for American students, and that none but English youths were to be granted scholarships. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-A2.)

United States. On March 28, 1786, Father Carroll was Chairman of a meeting held at Grant's Tavern, Baltimore, for the purpose of founding a non-sectarian college in that city. In order to provide better facilities for the education at home of the youth of the town in classics and mathematics, "a school for that purpose was established through the united efforts of Rev. Dr. Carroll, afterwards Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, Rev. Dr. William West, Rector of St. Paul's parish, and Rev. Dr. Patrick Allison, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. The venture did not prove successful, and before long was discontinued."⁵

The necessity of founding a Catholic college in the United States was generally recognized by the American clergy and laity. During the Revolutionary War, no students were sent to the Catholic colleges abroad, as formerly, and the English ex-Jesuits at Liège Academy took advantage of the peace which followed in 1783, to urge their former colleagues to send them students from America. Father Strickland wrote from Liège to this effect, and on September 13, 1786, Father Ashton, the American Procurator, replied: "I will give every encouragement in my power to well-disposed people to send their children to the Liège Academy, on the terms you propose; but as we are about to institute a school in this State, for the education of youth and perpetuity of the body of the clergy here, it may suit parents better to have their children brought up nearer to them, tho' their education may not at first be as perfect as what they would get abroad."⁶ But the cost of the voyage across the Atlantic and of the board and tuition at Liège was then too heavy for American Catholic parents. The usual aftermath of war-times, the scarcity of money and the high cost of living made it almost impossible even for families with sufficient means to incur so great an expense for the education of their sons. Father Ashton asks: "Would you for £200 sterling, one half advanced in hand, the other half at the expiration of six years, undertake to carry a boy through all his studies, and qualify him for the mission?"

⁵ HALL, *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, p. 47. New York, 1912; cf. SCHARF, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 243. Baltimore, 1874.

⁶ HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 658.

I mention this, because it may suit some people while they have the money by them; whereas, before the boy could get through his studies, by some turn of fortune or change of mind, the end might be frustrated” There were some Americans at Liège when this was written (1786), and there was a question whether the American Church should not continue to profit by the endowment of pious legacies and bequests which the Liège Academy possessed. The financial affairs of the English and American groups of the suppressed Society were in confusion at the time owing to the disturbances caused by the Revolution. After the War, few, if any, American young men went to Liège.⁷ There was but one way to secure higher education for them and that was the foundation of an American college. To men who had belonged to an Order famous for several centuries for its successful collegiate and Seminary training, it was natural that the thoughts of the American priests should turn towards the establishment of a house of higher studies. They were held back, however, by the fact that there would scarcely be enough Catholic young men ready to enter college and also by the more important question whether it was legal to use the revenues of the ex-Jesuit estates for this purpose. No mention of the proposed college seems to have been made officially at the First General Chapter of the Clergy (1783-84), but it was discussed informally, with the result that the priests present decided to postpone the establishment for a few years. Meanwhile they would depend upon the accession of priests from Europe to keep the congregations and missions supplied with pastors. The resolution was as follows: “That the best measures be taken to bring in six proper clergymen as soon as possible, and the means furnished by the Chapter out of the general fund, except where otherwise provided for.”⁸ Between this time and the Second General Chapter of the Clergy (Nov. 13-22, 1786), the plans for a college reached completion, and the Chapter offered a rather detailed scheme for its erection. The school was to be created “for the education of youth and the perpetuity of the body of the clergy in this country.” The plan was as follows:

⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 656-665.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 637.

1786, November 13-22.

Proceedings of the Chapter, 13-22 Nov., 1786.

(I) *Resolves concerning the Institution of a School.*

1°. That a school be erected for the education of youth and the perpetuity of a body of the clergy in this country.

2°. That the following plan be adopted for the carrying the same into execution.

(II) *Plan of the School.*

1°. In order to raise the money necessary for erecting the aforesaid school, a general subscription shall be opened immediately.

2°. Proper persons should be appointed in different parts of the continent, West India Islands and Europe, to solicit subscriptions and collect the same.

3°. Five Directors of the school and [of] the business relative thereto shall be appointed by the General Chapter.

4°. The monies collected by subscription shall be lodged in the hands of the five aforesaid Directors.

5°. Masters and tutors to be procured and paid by the Directors quarterly and subject to their directions.

6°. The students are to be received by the managers on the following terms—

(III) *Terms of the School.*

1°. The students shall be boarded at the parents' expense.

2°. The pension for tuition shall be £10 currency per annum, and is to be paid quarterly and always in advance.

3°. With this pension the students shall be provided with masters, books, paper, pens, ink and firewood in the school.

4°. The Directors shall have power to make further regulations, as circumstances may point out, necessary.

(IV) *Other resolves concerning the School.*

1°. The General Chapter, in order to forward the above institution, grants £100 sterling towards building the school, which sum shall be raised out of the sale of [a] certain tract of land.

2°. The residue of the monies arising out of the sale of the above said land shall be applied by the General Chapter to the same purposes, if required to compleat the intended plan.

3°. That the Procurator General is authorized to raise the said sum and lay it out for the above purpose, as the Directors shall ordain.

4°. The General Chapter orders the school to be erected in Georgetown in the State of Maryland.

5°. A clergyman shall be appointed by the Directors to superintend the masters and tuition of the students, and shall be removable by them.

6°. The said clergyman shall be allowed a decent living.

7°. The General Chapter has appointed the Rev. Messrs. John Carroll, James Pellentz, Rob. Molyneux, John Ashton, and Leonard Neale, Directors of the school.⁹

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 665-666.

After the close of the Chapter, this Committee of Five, who were the directors of the school, opened a subscription for the College. On January 12, 1787, Dr. Carroll informed Antonelli that the plan of the school which he and his fellow-priests had drawn up, could be put into execution, if they could depend upon the charity of their own people and the liberality of Catholics in Europe.¹⁰ In a long confidential letter to Plowden begun at Rock Creek on January 22, and finished February 28, 1787, Carroll discussed the "two great undertakings we have now on hand, for the success of which we stand in need of every support and best advice of the friends of Religion: we have resolved to establish an Academy for the education of youth and to solicit the appointment of a diocesan bishop." The important factor in the college foundation was

a fit gentleman to open, as Superintendent, the new establishment, which we hope may be next autumn, or at the farthest, this spring twelve month. How often have I said to myself: What a blessing to this country would my friend Plowden be! What reputation and solid advantage would accrue to the Academy from such a Director! and what a lasting blessing would be procured to America by forming the whole plan of studies and system of discipline for that institution, where the minds of Catholic youth are to be formed, and the first foundation laid of raising a Catholic ministry equal to the exigencies of the country! Could the zeal of a Xavier wish a more promising field to exert his talents?

Carroll realized that it would be impossible for Plowden to leave his friends in England, and he asks him to suggest some one capable of being the first director or president of the college—"I trust this important concern almost entirely to your management."¹¹ It is evident from the letters which passed between Dr. Carroll and his friend, Father William Ashton, then at Liège, that the Americans would have been very happy to have secured the learned English Jesuit. "I think Mr. Plowden," writes Ashton, "is a most respectable gentleman, a devout historian, a fine gentleman, a polite scholar, an accurate critic. I know nobody better calculated to be at the head of a college, particularly if he had a friend whom he respected as much as I know he

¹⁰ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture originali*, vol. 876, no. 13, f. 120.

¹¹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 672-673. The part of the letter quoted will be found in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 248-249.

does you, near him, to curb a lively imagination, and to raise his courage which is too easily dejected." ¹²

Ground had been given, and some slight subscriptions had come in, early in 1787, as we learn from Father Carroll's letter (to Mr. James Barry) dated Georgetown, January 25, 1787: "I have the pleasure to inform you that all your acquaintances are well and exceedingly glad to hear of your family being so. I sent to Mr. Frambach the proposals for our future academy to be communicated to you. I have the pleasure to inform you that we have flattering prospects for its encouragement. Col. Deakins & Mr. Trelkeld have joined in granting a fine piece of ground for the purpose of building." ¹³ This piece of land, a gift from Colonel Deakins and Mr. Threlkeld, was, and still is, one of the most romantic spots along the Potomac. A few benefactors sent money donations from England, and several amounts were given by the leading Catholic gentlemen of the United States. It was not, however, until Dr. Carroll appealed in person after his consecration to some English Catholic noblemen that the real endowment of the college began, and it is worthy of notice that the list of benefactors included many of the former English Jesuits. Father Charles Plowden's name is in the list for a very substantial sum. ¹⁴

Meanwhile, the opposition of some of the Southern District clergy had assumed threatening proportions, and on February 7, 1787, Carroll wrote to them from Baltimore:

Revd. Dear Sir,

The printed proposals accompanying this letter were to have been sent long ago; but Mr. Sewall [*Secretary*] could not meet with an opportunity. Be pleased to deliver one to each of our gentlemen and to those laymen who are appointed to solicit subscriptions; to whom may be added any others you judge proper. From the generous subscriptions already received, I had conceived the most flattering hopes; and persuaded myself of the active co-operation of all our Brethren in a measure, which has long been talked of amongst ourselves, and strongly recommended from

¹² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-B12. Ashton to Carroll, Liège, August, 13, 1787; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 247-248.

¹³ *Researches*, vol. x, p. 40 (*Georgetown College Archives*).

¹⁴ HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 809, note 12. Dominic Lynch was authorized to receive subscriptions for the College in the New York district (cf. *Researches*, vol. v, p. 75), and George Meade and Thomas FitzSimons, for the Pennsylvania-Jersey district (*ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 144).

Europe. But Mr. Sewall received a letter a few days ago from the gentlemen of your District, reprobating the resolve of Chapter for a school; and another yesterday from Mr. Diderick very injurious to the character of his Brethren in Chapter. The gentlemen thus censured will perhaps think proper to wipe off these aspersions. As soon as Mr. Sewall showed me your District circular letter, I wrote to Mr. Leonard Neale concerning the unexpected opposition to a school, and shall here transcribe those first effusions of my heart, which were drawn from me by the earnest desire of seeing a prosperous issue of an undertaking pregnant in my estimation, with the greatest blessings. Thus I write to Mr. Neale:

"When amongst you, I conversed on the subject of a school with every one of you excepting perhaps Mr. Roels; and it appeared to be the general and unanimous opinion, that it was an advantageous and necessary measure. Indeed, your letter excepts only to the extensiveness of the plan. . . . What added to my surprise at your opposition was, that it should come from those who, in a manner so exemplary and with an affection so constant, have devoted themselves to the exercises of, and preserved such an attachment to the Institute of St. Ignatius. For, amongst all the means prescribed by him for the salvation of souls, every one who considers the past services of the Jesuits, or the present decay of religion in Europe, so generally complained of amongst young people; the great scarcity of pastors and Priests (as related to Chapter by Mr. Pellentz)—whoever considers those things must acknowledge, that the Society rendered no service more extensively useful than that of the education of youth. . . ."

So far to Mr. Neale. The great objection to the school is the appropriation of property, which is considered as an alienation injurious to the Society and a violation of justice. But, in my humble opinion, whatever other objections may be against the appropriation complained of, that of violating justice is not well founded. Do not divines teach unanimously, that death extinguishes those rights in such a manner, that they do not revive, even if the former possessor should be brought to life? 2ndly, However this may be, the property applied, either absolutely or conditionally, to the school never was the property of the Society; the events by which it lapsed to the present successor happening many years after the Society ceased to exist. Here therefore was no breach of justice. 3rdly, Were the Society existing at this moment, and in possession of the property alluded to, and, if it had been granted to her without any particular destination from the benefactor, my opinion would be, that it could not be applied to a purpose more conducive to the end of the Society. I do not expect that these considerations will entirely remove the objections of our good gentlemen of your District; but I hope their private opinions will not hinder them from exerting their endeavors for, and recommendations of the school; for surely the resolutions of Chapter are binding in matters of this nature. . . . But I

cannot conclude this without observing that if Mr. Diderick sent any letter to St. Mary's [County] in the same style and with the same imputations as in that to Mr. Sewall and Boarman, he has not only conceived unfounded prejudices of, but has greatly misrepresented the proceedings in Chapter. He says the majority of Chapter had contrived the business beforehand, kept matters secret from the rest, and with cunning and worldly policy carried their measures. You know how contrary to fact, these allegations are; that it was universally known that the consideration of a school, of incorporation, and, I believe, ecclesiastical government, was to come before the Board. I wish you would refer to Mr. Ashton's letter of convocation; and I beg you to recollect that the subjects of deliberation were so much known, that Mr. Pellentz, not being able to attend personally, wrote his opinion on all these facts. I am satisfied that we all aim at the same good end.¹⁵

The objection to the school arose from the fact that it clashed with the hopes of some of the American clergy regarding the restoration of the Society of Jesus, and therefore with the complete restitution of all properties and moneys in their possession as ex-members of the Society. The Southern District opposition to the college and to the bishopric was based on the belief that both these projects involved alienation of the ex-Jesuit property. Carroll answered this objection in the letter referred to, but he saw no hope of removing the objections "of our good gentlemen of your District." The Chapter resolutions were binding upon the whole body of the clergy, and Carroll emphasizes the fact that no partial opposition would stop progress in the worthy project. On all other matters he was willing to suspend action, until "a general or nearly general harmony prevails amongst us," but the school project he was determined to carry to completion. At the same time, Fathers Digges, Ashton, Sewall, Sylvester Boarman, and the prefect-apostolic wrote a formal answer to their opponents (February, 1787): without a restoration of the Society of Jesus, there could be no "re-acquiring of its former property here," while the application of some part of the ex-Jesuit estates for educational purposes is one of the noblest uses to which that property might be put.

The re-establishment therefore of the Society in this country is a necessary preliminary for the re-acquiring of its former property here;

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 673-675.

and if any more effectual means of compassing that re-establishment can be devised than those adopted by the Chapter, and which you do except against, we shall be very ready to join you in preferring them. A school will certainly be a nursery from whence postulants can alone be expected; and an independent ecclesiastical Superior is principally, if not essentially, necessary to render the school competent to all the purposes of its establishment. The application of some part of our estate which may be spared to this purpose, and the honour of God and good of souls being the end of this Society and hereby intended, we hope will give it that blessing from heaven, which we all most earnestly pray for. . . . Schools and seminaries have generally been encouraged and protected by the Bishops, whether immediately under their own direction, or the direction of the Society, and, if she should be re-established in this country, in our life time, there is no doubt but, with the other property, the government of the school will likewise be surrendered into her hands.¹⁶

Father Carroll also foresaw what actually occurred in 1806, namely that in the event of the restoration of the Society, the college would "be surrendered into her hands." He quite understood the reasons for the opposition, as can be seen from his letter to Plowden, February 28, 1787: "They act from this laudable motive, that both matters will occasion some alienation of property formerly possessed by the Society, which they wish to restore undiminished to her at her reestablishment. . . . they positively assert that any appropriation to the school (tho' made by the representative body of the Clergy, as has been the case) of estates now possessed by us is a violation of the rights of the Society; thus supposing that a right of property can exist in a non-existing body; for certainly the Society has no existence here."¹⁷

The opposition yielded at once on receipt of Carroll's letter, and the school project was assured of success, if sufficient funds could be obtained to make a foundation at Georgetown.¹⁸ The first assistance came from Cardinal Antonelli. On February 18, 1788, Propaganda voted an annual subsidy of one hundred *scudi* for a period of three years, and on February 23, the Cardinal-Prefect announced this gift to Carroll.¹⁹ Sufficient

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 677-678.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 672.

¹⁸ Carroll to Plowden, March 29, 1787, in HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 680.

¹⁹ *Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1788) no. 3—in reply to Carroll's letter of July 2, 1787.

funds having been gathered, the building of the college was decided upon for the summer of 1788. A house of 63 or 64 by 50 feet was to be built as Carroll writes, "on one of the most lovely situations that imagination can frame. It will be three stories high, exclusive of the offices under the whole. Do not forget to give and procure assistance. On this Academy is built all my hope of permanency and success to our Holy Religion in the United States." How complete the plans were can be seen from Carroll's correspondence with Plowden:

In the beginning the Academy will not receive boarders, but they must provide lodgings in town; but all notorious deviations from the rules of morality, out, as well as in, school, must be subjected to exemplary correction, every care and precaution that can be devised will be employed to preserve attention to the duties of religion and good manners, in which other American schools are most notoriously deficient. One of our own gentlemen, and the best qualified we can get, will live at the Academy to have the general direction of the studies and superintendence over scholars and masters. Four others of our gentlemen will be nominated to visit the Academy at stated times, and whenever they can make it convenient, to see that the business is properly conducted. In the beginning we shall be obliged to employ secular masters, under the superintendent, of which many and tolerably good ones have already solicited appointments. The great influx from Europe of men of all professions and talents has procured this opportunity of providing teachers. But this is not intended to be a permanent system. We trust in God that many youths will be called to the service of the Church. After finishing the academical studies, these will be sent to a seminary which will be established in one of our houses; and we have through God's mercy, a place and situation admirably calculated for the purpose of retirement, where these youths may be perfected in their first, and initiated into the higher studies, and at the same time formed to the virtues becoming their station. Before these young seminarists are admitted to orders, they will be sent to teach some years at the Academy, which will improve their knowledge and ripen their minds still more, before they irrevocably engage themselves to the Church.²⁰

Printed proposals were issued about this time, and a Committee on subscriptions for the purpose of collecting funds was employed:

²⁰ Carroll to Plowden, March 13, 1788, in HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 695 (SHEA, *History of Georgetown University*, p. 11, gives the date of this letter as March 1, 1788).

Proposals

*for establishing an Academy at George Town, Potowmack River,
Maryland.*

The object of the proposed Institution is to unite the Means of communicating Science with an effectual Provision for guarding and improving the Morals of Youth. With this View the Seminary will be superintended by those, who, having had experience in similar Institutions, know that an undivided Attention may be given to the Cultivation of Virtue and literary Improvement; and that a System of Discipline may be introduced and preserved, incompatible with Indolence and Inattention in the Professor, or with incorrigible Habits of Immorality in the Student.

The Benefit of this Establishment should be as general as the Attainment of its Object is desirable. It will, therefore, receive Pupils as soon as they have learned the first Elements of Letters, and will conduct them through the several Branches of Classical Learning to that Stage of Education, from which they may proceed with Advantage to the Study of the higher Sciences in the University of this or those of the neighboring States. Thus it will be calculated for every Class of Citizens; as Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, the Branches of the Mathematics, and the Grammar of our native tongue will be attended to, no less than the learned languages.

Agreeably to the liberal Principle of our Constitution, the Seminary will be open to Students of *Every Religious Profession*. They, who in this Respect differ from the Superintendents of the Academy, will be at Liberty to frequent the Place of Worship and Instruction appointed by their Parents; but with Respect to their moral Conduct, all must be subject to general and uniform Discipline.

In the choice of Situation, Salubrity of Air, convenience of Communication and Cheapness of Living, have been principally consulted, and George-Town offers these united Advantages.

The Price of Tuition will be moderate; in the Course of a few Years it will be reduced still lower, if the System formed for this Seminary, be effectually carried into execution.

Such a Plan of Education solicits, and, it is not Presumption to add, deserves public Encouragement.

The Following Gentlemen, and others that may be appointed, hereafter, will receive Subscriptions and inform the Subscribers, to whom and in what Proportion, Payments are to be made: In *Maryland*—The Hon. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Henry Rozer, Notley Young, Robert Darnall, George Digges, Edmund Plowden, Esqrs., Mr. Joseph Millard, Capt. John Lancaster, Mr. Baker Brooke, Chandler Brent, Esqr., Mr. Bernard O'Neill, and Mr. Marsham Waring, Merchants, John Darnall and Ignatius Wheeler, Esqrs., on the Western Shore; and on the Eastern, Rev. Joseph Mosley, John Blake, Francis Hall, Charles Blake, William Matthews, and John Tuitte, Esqrs.—In *Pennsylvania*—George Meade and

Thomas FitzSimons, Esqrs., Mr. Joseph Cauffman, Mr. Mark Willcox and Mr. Thomas Lilly.—In *Virginia*—Col. Fitzgerald, and George Brent, Esqrs.—and at *New York*, Dominick Lynch, Esquire.

Subscriptions will also be received, and every necessary Information given, by the following Gentlemen, Directors of the Undertaking: The Rev. Messrs. John Carroll, James Pellentz, Robert Molyneux, John Ashton, and Leonard Neale.

*To all liberally inclined to promote
the Education of Youth.*

Be it known by these Presents that I, the undersigned, have appointed to receive any generous donation for the purpose set forth in a certain paper, entitled Proposals for establishing an Academy, at George-Town, Potowmack River, Maryland; for which will give receipts to the Benefactors, and remit the monies received by to me the aforesaid underwritten, one of the Directors of the Undertaking. Conscious also of the merited Confidence placed in the aforesaid I moreover authorize to appoint any other person or persons to execute the same liberal Office, as he is authorized by me to execute.
.....this.....day of....., 17.....

J. CARROLL.²¹

To one of his confidential advisers, Father Beeston, of Philadelphia, Carroll wrote on March 22, 1788, saying that the responses to his appeal were neither numerous nor generous, and that with all his determination to make a success of the venture, he saw the possibility of a failure. In case Georgetown College should not become a reality, the alternative was to send American boys to the Liège Academy, though "the expense of a Liège education at the advanced price of £40 per annum for young ecclesiastics renders it impracticable for many Americans to profit by that excellent Institution."²² There were four Americans at Liège at the time preparing for the priesthood, and some of the clergy, particularly Ashton, the Procurator, preferred Liège. It is not certain when actual building operations at Georgetown began, but it was probably in April, 1788, since we have Carroll's statement to Antonelli (April 19, 1788)—"the building of the school was begun a few days ago, but if it is to be brought to a happy completion, our principal hope is in Divine Providence.

²¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 306-309, from a copy printed in the *Georgetown College Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 46-50.

²² HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 616.

From this beginning I believe the conservation of religion in these lands depends, for without the school there will be no chance of establishing a seminary for the maintenance of the clerical body and the extension of our holy religion." ²³

The plans for the college were approved in a general congregation of Propaganda, held on June 18, 1787, and the interest taken by Cardinal Antonelli in the sending of two boys to Rome, kept the project constantly before the Sacred Congregation. Carroll told Antonelli on July 2, 1787, that he intended soliciting help in Europe for the college.²⁴ On August 8, 1788, the Cardinal-Prefect discussed in his letter to Carroll the use of the *Ratio Studiorum* in use in European colleges and seminaries, but he considered it wiser for Carroll to draw up a system of studies in keeping with the customs of America.²⁵

It was about this time that Father Robert Plunkett, a graduate of the English College at Douay, asked permission from his ordinary, the Vicar-Apostolic of London, to go to America. He had been for some years chaplain to the English Benedictine nuns at Brussels. The permission of the Holy See was necessary, on account of the Mission Oath taken before ordination. Antonelli mentioned Plunkett's wish to Carroll, March 13, 1789,²⁶ and there is extant a letter from Plunkett to the Holy Father, dated April 20, 1789, requesting this permission:

Beatissime Pater,

Robertus Plunket sacerdos alumnus collegii Anglorum Duaceni, in quo emisit solitum juramentum missionis etc. cum debita licentia Vicarii Apostolici Londinensis tanquam Ordinarii sui per plures annos confessarius monialium Anglarum Bruxellis, modo cum consensu eiusdem Vicarii Apostolici se offert missioni Americae Septentrionalis in Statibus Unitis, ubi major est penuria sacerdotum, paratus eo quamprimum transfretare; sed cum ista missio hodie non sit, ut olim fuit, sub jurisdictione Vicarii Apostolici Londinensis, humiliter supplicat ut Sanctitas Vestra benigne dignetur, annuere, ut etiam ibi ad normam juramenti possit laborare in vinea Domini.

Father Carroll had decided upon Robert Plunkett as the first President of Georgetown College, and when its doors were opened to the first students in the late autumn of 1791, Father

²³ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 367.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 787, no. 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 250, f. 444.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 253, f. 265.

Plunkett assumed charge of the institution. On October 12, 1791, Carroll wrote to Plowden describing the inauguration of the college: "The [Georgetown] Academy will be opened in a few days; but not so advantageously as I hoped. No president *pro dignitate loci*. I can hardly forgive my friends at Liège. Here was an opportunity for infinite services to the cause of God and His Church. Mr. Molyneux cannot be prevailed on; and indeed he has not the activity of body, nor the *vivida vis animi* for such an employment. I have recurred to Mr. Plunkett, but cannot get his answer yet" ²⁷

The Third General Chapter of the Clergy took up the college project, on May 15, 1789, and ordered that a special subscription be instituted throughout the United States to augment the general fund being gathered for the completion of the building.

Proceedings of the Chapter, 15 May, 1789.

May 15th. *Business of the Academy.*

Resolved,

1°. That a subscription be proposed to the general offices [officers?] and members of clergy to relieve the public exigencies, to which it is likely the general fund will not be adequate.

2°. That the present members of Chapter do circulate and encourage the aforesaid subscription among their fellow clergymen in their respective Districts, and the monies collected be paid into the hands of their [the?] Directors of the Academy.

3°. That the sum arising therefrom be applied to the finishing the Academy at George Town, and that the Procurator-General be authorized to apply all savings out of the Office, which may be made to the next sitting of Chapter, to the same purpose.

4°. That the Superior be requested by the senior member of Chapter to nominate a clergyman to superintend the Academy at George Town as soon as the schools shall be open for the education of youth, and that the said clergyman be presented to the Directors thereof and, if approved by them, be constituted Principal.

5°. That the income from a certain tract of land subject to the care of the Procurator-General be by him annually paid to the Principal for his support, as far as the amount of £100.00 current money, and that all deficiency to be made up to him out of the general fund.

6°. That the said Principal be *ex officio* one of the Directors of the Academy, and have a vote in all matters belonging to the government thereof, except wherein he is personally concerned.

²⁷ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 746.

7°. That the Principal shall be removable by a majority of votes of the other Directors.²⁸

Propaganda's encouragement never flagged,²⁹ but the truth is that the generosity of the American Catholics was of such a kind that very little hope of success was present. The gifts gathered by Bishop Carroll while in England in 1790 made the opening of the college, a reality. In his letter on the sea, July, 1790, Bishop-elect Carroll assured Antonelli that the completion of the school would be his first endeavour on his return, and on August 14, 1790, the Cardinal-Prefect wrote to Bishop Carroll that arrangements have been made with a merchant in Leghorn to transmit the subsidy of one hundred *scudi* to Baltimore. A complete history of Georgetown University would contain many other interesting references from the documents at our disposal.

The burden of maintaining the college fell upon the estates of the ex-Jesuits, and that support was given cheerfully during the régime of the first four Presidents—Plunkett (1791-1793), Molyneux (1793-1796), Du Bourg (1796-1799), Leonard Neale (1799-1806). When Father Robert Molyneux, S. J., the Superior of the partially restored Society became President in 1806, the college passed into the possession of the Jesuits, and thus it began its long career as the oldest and the greatest of all the Catholic educational institutions in the United States.³⁰

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 695.

²⁹ "De scholae institutione quam jamdiu in animo conceptam habes, nihil facere potes aut tuo zelo, praestantique virtute digni, aut pietatis et religioni propagandae accommodatius"—Antonelli to Carroll, July 11, 1789, *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 255, f. 349.

³⁰ The first student to matriculate at Georgetown College was William Gaston (1778-1844). After finishing his studies at Georgetown, Gaston entered Princeton, and then took up the practice of law. In 1813-1815, he was United States Senator from North Carolina, and in 1833 was appointed a Judge on the Supreme Bench of that State. (Cf. *Metropolitan*, vol. iv (1856), p. 585.)

CHAPTER XXV
THE COMING OF SAINT SULPICE

(1791)

For over two hundred years the aspirants to Catholic priesthood in the British Isles were trained in the colleges and seminaries erected in the different countries of Europe by English, Irish and Scottish Catholics after the fall of the Church in 1559. The process of preparing young men for the priesthood in these educational institutions was a long one and a costly one. During a century and more, it was as hazardous to send Catholic boys to the Continent to begin their studies as it was to bring them back grown men for their great and perilous work of keeping the Faith alive in hearts that had been broken on the wheel of penal brutalities. It took courage to be a Catholic priest in Great Britain and Ireland down even to the end of the first quarter of the last century. The freedom of the present day, especially in the United States, is apt to cause many to view in tolerant retrospect this anti-Catholic era of English history (1559-1829) and equally apt to lead some to forget that the whole of the colonial epoch in the thirteen English colonies was a period of ostracism, socially, and of imprisonment and death, legally, for all who were shepherds of Catholic flocks in the land. Too much credit, therefore, can never be given to that body of men, who, from the days of Father Andrew White, S.J., down to the end of the Revolutionary War, manned the Bark of Peter in this country. The Society of Jesus has many glorious pages in its record of four hundred years of intellectual and spiritual activity, but it has no page more vibrant with heroism than its century and a half of missionary success in English-speaking America (1634-1773). The Society was struck down at a time, when its power and influence were most needed in the civilized world; it was suppressed by the one power on earth

it had spared neither effort nor sacrifice to protect and support; and when the Holy See yielded to the politicians of Europe and disbanded the Jesuits, it practically left its own defences unguarded, its educational system in jeopardy, and its peace and prosperity at the mercy of every rising movement of lawlessness.

The world and the Church paid the penalty for that act of 1773, and nowhere else was the blow felt more acutely than in the new Republic. During the long epoch which followed Father White's first Mass at St. Mary's City, March 25, 1634, labourers for the American vineyard had been sent constantly from these Continental colleges and seminaries. With the Suppression and the Revolutionary War occurring almost simultaneously, the voyages of those who came with enthusiasm to work among the Catholics of the colonies ceased, and young men could not be sent abroad to prepare for that same purpose. Father Hughes has given us a list of the Jesuits who laboured in the Anglo-American Mission; many of these were born in America, chiefly in Maryland, and were sent to St. Omer's College, to Watten, Ghent, or Liège, and then returned to labour in their own country. During the period which followed the Suppression, this supply was cut off, and in Carroll's *Report* to Antonelli, the alarming fact is given that there were only twenty-five priests in the United States. We have seen that of these, two had passed their seventieth year, and several others were close to it. No fact weighed more heavily upon Carroll's heart than the lack of priests. He knew, as others knew, but he always had the courage to say it, that if the Church in the new Republic was to be left to the mercy of intruders, meddlers, and adventurers, or to the danger arising from racial groups under the guidance of the priests who accompanied the immigrants, then its future as a national body was seriously in doubt. The members of the suppressed Society can be readily excused during the eighteen years that separated the Suppression and Carroll's consecration for not taking more active steps to set up some sort of seminary training. There was always present in their hearts and in their prayers the possibility of a restoration of their Society. Father Carroll saw affairs somewhat differently. He knew that no restoration was possible until Rome had expressed its consent to allow the same. Meanwhile, his little band of priests

was being thinned by death, and intruders of an obnoxious kind were forcing themselves into prominence in church life in America. The only way to gain control of a fast demoralizing situation was to establish a Seminary in the United States for the training of American priests. Assistance from the Old World was uncertain and dubious. The establishment of Georgetown College, as has been mentioned already, was but one part of the design he had in mind; the other was the establishment of a house of philosophy and theology for ecclesiastical students. What Carroll's plans for a Seminary were before his consecration would be difficult to say. The founding of the college overshadowed everything educational at the time, and it was only when Georgetown became a certainty that he was able to consider the problem of clerical training.

The Bull *Ex hac apostolicae* of November 6, 1789, among other duties, imposed upon Bishop Carroll, emphasized the necessity of establishing "an episcopal seminary either in the same city [Baltimore], or elsewhere, as he shall judge most expedient." This injunction was in marked agreement with Carroll's views, as the historian of the Sulpicians in America tells us, and no doubt it inspired the prefect-apostolic with new energy to bring about the foundation of such an institution.¹ It has been stated that Dr. Carroll corresponded with various ecclesiastical authorities in Europe with a view to realizing the desires of the Holy Father and of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide. "Among the prelates whose aid he invoked," Herbermann writes, "was the Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, Monseigneur Dugnani." If this be correct, it is to be regretted that none of this correspondence has been found.²

The coming of the Sulpicians can hardly be attributed to Carroll's direct application to the superiors of the Society at Paris. Rather was the initiative due to the troubled conditions in France at that time. If it be remembered that Carroll's election to Baltimore occurred shortly after the fall of the Bastille (July 14, 1789), and that his consecration took place at a time when it was evident that nothing could save France from the

¹ HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians in the United States*. New York, 1917.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

terrible upheaval which dates from that outbreak, it will be easily understood why spiritual leaders such as Father Emery, the Superior-General of the Society of St. Sulpice, should seek a haven of refuge beyond the borders of France itself. Even the suggestion that a number of Sulpicians be sent out with the Gallipolis colony in 1790 met with a certain amount of approval. Fortunately, the Papal Nuncio at Paris made the happier suggestion that there was more need of a Seminary in the newly-established Diocese of Baltimore, and that Bishop Carroll, who was then about to be consecrated in England, would welcome the assistance of a body of men devoted to the special work of training young men for the priesthood.

The Society of St. Sulpice, founded by Father John James Olier at Paris in 1642, had opened the Seminary at Montreal in 1657. Its work was well known throughout Christendom, and its success in this important branch of ecclesiastical life so unprecedented, that to Carroll and to all who knew how badly such an establishment was needed in the United States, the offer of the Sulpicians to come to America was providential. There are indeed few events in the history of the Church in this country which show more plainly the hand of God.³

Father-General Emery communicated with Bishop Carroll and proposed that an American Seminary be begun at once. He offered Carroll the hospitality of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris, in case he intended passing through that city. Shea states that this letter was accompanied by a communication from Dugnani to Carroll, dated Paris, August 24, 1790, urging Bishop Carroll to come to Paris for a conference with the Sulpicians. "It would appear," Shea says, "that this generous offer did not at first impress Dr. Carroll very favorably, as he wrote for further information."⁴ There was undoubtedly some hesitation on Bishop Carroll's part, but it was wholly of a financial nature. No doubt the disturbed condition of France, as well as his desire to return home for the reorganization of his diocese, prevented

³ Cf. a contemporary document in the *Georgetown College Archives*, printed in the *Researches*, vol. xiii, pp. 41-44 (Foundation of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, at Baltimore). Cf. GOSSELIN, *Vie de M. Emery*. Paris, 1862; *Les Missions Sulpiciennes*, in *L'Université Catholique* (Paris), vol. vi, p. 570 (August 15, 1905).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 378.

Bishop Carroll from going to Paris, or to the scenes of his own long years as a student and teacher, St. Omer, Bruges and Liège; and in order to spare him the journey, Father Nagot, one of the Directors of the Paris Seminary, came to London to see the Bishop. Shea's "doubt or distrust" on the part of Carroll vanished when he met Father Nagot. He made it quite clear to the venerable Sulpician that it would be impossible for the new diocese to finance such an undertaking. Father Nagot explained that "interest had been excited in France, and that means had been placed at the disposal of the Sulpicians to enable them to found a Seminary in America." Carroll announced Father Nagot's visit in the letter of September 27, 1790, to Antonelli: "These past few days, at the request of the illustrious Nuncio, there came from Paris, the learned and worthy priest, Father Nagot, the Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice; with whom, after our conference, I decided to establish the episcopal Seminary of Baltimore. Certainly this is a wonderful mark of divine providence in our regard, that such excellent priests should be incited to confer upon us such valuable assistance. From this institution we are filled with hope not only for the increase of divine worship but also for supplying ministers of the sanctuary."⁵ Some few days before his departure (October 4, 1790), Bishop Carroll wrote to Lord Arundell from London:

We arranged all preliminaries, and I expect at Baltimore early in the summer some of the gentlemen of that Institution to set hand to the work; and I have reason to believe that they will find means to carry their plan into effect. Thus we shall be provided with a house fit for the reception of and further improvement in the higher sciences of the young men whom God may call to an Ecclesiastical state, after their classical education is finished in our Georgetown Academy. While I cannot but thank Divine Providence for opening upon us such a prospect, I feel great sorrow in the reflection that we owe such a benefit to the distressed state of Religion in France.⁶

⁵ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture originali*, vol. 893 (not folioed): "Hisce postremis diebus, Parisiis advenit, rogatu Excellentissimi Nuncii, praeclarus optimusque Presbyter Dominus Nagot, Superior parvi, ut vocatur, Seminarii Sti. Sulpicii, quocum, collatis invicem consiliis, statutum est Seminarium Episcopale Baltimori constituere. Maximum certe propitiae in nos divinae voluntatis indicium est, quod optimos Sacerdotes excitaverit ad tantum nobis conferendum subsidium, ex quo effulget praeclara spes non solum augendi decorem divini cultus sed etiam instituendi sanctuarii Ministros, qui tantae messi et abunde sufficient, et magno cum fructu illius curam habeant."

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C-R6.*

This group of pioneers from Catholic France was destined to have a large share in the organization of Catholic America. Father Nagot was then fifty-seven years old, and had been one of the directors of the Seminary at Paris for some years. He was the logical choice for the rectorship of the new Seminary at Baltimore. He had taught philosophy and theology, and was almost as well-known in the ecclesiastical circles of France as the Superior-General, Father Emery. Father Garnier was a young man of twenty-nine at the time, and was an able scholar and a linguist of wide reputation. He had taught theology at the Seminary in Lyons. Father Levadoux had directed the Seminary at Bourges, and Father Tessier, who was then about thirty-two years of age, had been professor at Viviers.

M. Emery was certainly happy in the choice of the priests whom he sent to America, but he did more for the new institution. As a seminary without students would be a paradox, and as it was very doubtful that Georgetown, Bishop Carroll's new academy, would be able to furnish students of theology for some years to come, he made vigorous efforts to secure such students in the French Seminaries under Sulpician guidance, and he was not unsuccessful. Five young Levites, all of them speaking the English language, volunteered to become pioneer students of the Baltimore Seminary. They were Messrs. Tulloh and Floyd, both natives of England; Perrineau, an English-speaking Canadian; Edward Caldwell, born at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, a recent convert; and lastly Jean de Montdésir, of the diocese of Chartres.⁷

One of Father Emery's friends had given him thirty thousand *livres* for the new foundation, and from a letter to Bishop Carroll, we learn that the Superior-General had decided to give one hundred thousand *livres* for the Seminary. The spirit of the enterprise is well displayed in the instructions given to Father Nagot, before starting out:

The priests of St. Sulpice sent to found a seminary at Baltimore, will endeavour, above all things, to be inspired by the loftiest ideal of their vocation. They will bear in mind that their seminary is the first and will be for a long time the only institution of the kind in the United States of America, that it is intended to educate in this seminary all the apostolic labourers who in the designs of Providence are destined to strengthen

⁷ HERBERMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Tulloh returned to England in 1792; both Plowden and Strickland write about him in 1792-1793. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-B1, 8-C2, 6-O6.)

Catholics in their faith, to bring back heretics to the bosom of the Church, to bear the light of the Gospel to the Redskins; in a word, to spread the kingdom of Christ and His Church in a country much larger than the whole of Europe. Therefore, they will do everything in their power to reach a high degree of sanctity, convinced that they will do more good by their holy lives than by their teachings and their exhortations. Let them often call to mind that they are destined to perpetuate the spirit of the name of their Society in the world; and let them always keep before their eyes the rules and practices of St. Sulpice, in order to be guided by them as far as possible. . . . Since it has pleased God to bless till now the work of the Society of St. Sulpice, experience convinces us that its spirit is good; and since its proper and characteristic aim is to concern itself only with the education of the clergy, the directors of the Seminary at Baltimore will confine and consecrate themselves entirely to this work; and if at the beginning and under unusual circumstances they find themselves compelled to take up duties foreign to this work, they must consider themselves to be under conditions out of their element, and not to be satisfied until they can return to their special mode of life. . . . The peculiar spirit of the Society, moreover, is a spirit of unworldliness. They will, therefore, have as little intercourse as possible with the world; and all of their pious practices, those to which they will especially devote themselves are meditation and their annual retreat. In order to strengthen themselves in their love of the inner spirit, they will adopt the festivals in honour of the inner life of Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin. . . . The Seminary at Baltimore will bear the name of St. Sulpice, will be under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin, and will also accept the other patrons of St. Sulpice. . . .⁸

The first party of ten priests and seminarians embarked at St. Malo on April 8, 1791. Three months later, on July 10, they reached Baltimore. After securing a house on the present grounds of the Seminary, they began their work about July 23, 1791, and on October 3, the Seminary was ready to receive students. When the spiritual retreat opened on December 10, 1791, the little band of five aspirants had been reduced to three, for the names of Tulloh and Caldwell are not found on the list of priests ordained at St. Mary's Seminary. Students came slowly to the institution—the first three being two Frenchmen, Messrs. Barret and Badin, the latter being ordained in 1793 as the first-fruits of the Seminary, and the Russian Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, who was ordained in 1795. From 1795 to 1797,

⁸ HERBERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21. Cf. *Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice, Baltimore, Md.*, pp. 3-4. Baltimore, 1891.

the Seminary was without students. The first American-born student, William Matthews, entered in 1797, and was ordained in 1800. The year 1792 saw the advent of two other groups of Sulpicians, many of whom were to exert a lasting influence on church affairs in the United States—Fathers Chicoisneau, David, and Flaget, who arrived on March 29, and Fathers Maréchal, Richard, and Ciquard, who came on June 24. In December, 1794, Father Du Bourg arrived and in 1795 was admitted to the Sulpicians. Without students to teach, all these priests could not be kept at St. Mary's; and with the consent of Father Emery, Bishop Carroll sent them to different parts of his diocese as missionaries. Father Levadoux and Flaget were sent to the Illinois Country; Father Garnier established St. Patrick's parish, at Baltimore; Father David went to the lower Maryland missions; Father Du Bourg organized the first parish at Baltimore for the colored; Father Ciquard was sent to minister to the Micmac Indians in Maine; Father Maréchal laboured on the Maryland missions until 1802, when he became a professor at Georgetown College. A later arrival, Father Jean Dilhet, was sent to the West, as a companion to Father Levadoux, while Father Gabriel Richard eventually settled at Detroit (1798) and left behind him a lasting memorial in the educational history of Michigan.

How highly Bishop Carroll appreciated the coming of these learned and devoted priests into his diocese is expressed in his letter of April 23, 1792, to Antonelli:

It is already known to the Sacred Congregation how singular a blessing has come to us from the disorders that threaten religion in France, since on account of the same has arisen the opportunity of sending thither some priests from the Seminary of St. Sulpice, at Paris. While I was in London, this matter was seriously considered as I have already made known to the Sacred Congregation; after my return to my diocese, the plan was fully decided upon, and in July of last year four priests with five clerics, students of philosophy and theology, reached this port, led by the Venerable Nagot, formerly Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. . . . The establishment of a seminary is certainly a new and extraordinary spectacle for the people of this country; the remarkable piety of these priests is admirable, and their example is a stimulant and spur to all who feel themselves called to work in the vineyard of the Lord. Such are the great and remarkable effects of God's bounty. But what is still more important is that, owing to the establishment of this seminary,

the clergy will be brought up in the purity of faith and in holiness of conduct. All our hopes are founded on the Seminary of Baltimore. Since the arrival of the priests of St. Sulpice, the celebration of the offices of the Church and the dignity of divine worship have made a great impression, so that, though the church of Baltimore is hardly worthy of the name of cathedral, if we consider its style and its size, it may be looked upon as an episcopal church in view of the number of its clergy.⁹

It must be remembered, however, that like every religious community in the Church, the ideal of the Society of St. Sulpice was a well-defined one. The Society was founded for a single purpose—the training of young ecclesiastics in the seminaries, in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent. This work demanded men of ability and of piety. At no one period was the Society a large one. Its members were carefully chosen from among the numerous applicants who presented themselves. Its work is the hardest the ecclesiastical life knows. How well the ideals of the Sulpicians had succeeded is evident from the fact that in 1791, when the French Revolution crushed all Catholic effort in France, the sixteen leading seminaries of France were under the direction of the Society. Missionary work was not included in its designs; not indeed, that the priests of St. Sulpice neglected any labour of this kind which came to their notice, but organized missionary effort, such as that undertaken by the Sulpicians who came to the United States in 1791-1794, was decidedly foreign to the spirit of their Rule. It is in this light that we must regard the first ten years of Sulpician history at Baltimore. Father Nagot, and still more, the Superior-General, Father Emery, saw that their spiritual subjects in the United States might drift away from the Sulpician standards, and, with the class-rooms of St. Mary's Seminary practically vacant during that time, it is not surprising that the Baltimore foundation should be viewed as a failure. The situation seemed hopeless in America, and indeed, was hopeless. In France, with the election of Napoleon as First Consul (1799) the worst period of the Revolution was over, and the leaders of the country set about organizing their distracted nation. Pius VI died in exile, at Valence, on August 22, 1799, and on March 14, 1800, Cardinal

⁹ Cf. HERBERMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Chiaramonti was elected, as Pius VII. In November, 1800, the negotiations began between the representatives of the Papacy and of Napoleon, and the Concordat agreed upon in August, 1801, was solemnly proclaimed in Notre Dame Cathedral on Easter Sunday, April 18, 1802. One result of the understanding between Church and State was the reopening of the seminaries in France. Father Emery was well-known to the First Consul, who held him in high respect, and on three occasions had offered him a bishopric, which the Superior-General declined each time, believing that his duty was to reorganize the scattered forces of the Sulpicians. It is easily understood, therefore, that the Superior-General should consider in all seriousness the situation of his priests then labouring in the American missions.

Naturally, his eyes wandered across the great western main, where so many of his brethren consecrated to clerical education were working hard, but working for ends which, however laudable, were foreign to the primary aims of the Society. All these considerations naturally tended to make him feel that he and his brethren were practically faithless to the very purposes of the Society and that the American St. Sulpice was betraying the cause of ecclesiastical education. He exchanged views with his dear old lieutenant, Father Nagot, and that gentle soul, who up to the age of sixty had devoted his time and his entire self to the work of the Sulpician Seminary, could not conceal from himself that the American Sulpicians, whilst strenuous workers in the Vineyard of the Lord, were not faithful disciples of the Reverend M. Olier.¹⁰

Practically every message from the Sulpicians in America contained a picture of failure, and Father Emery at last decided to recall his brethren to the more important tasks at hand in France. Gosselin, in his *Life of Father Emery*, has given us a portion of the correspondence which passed between Bishop Carroll and Father Emery anent the recall of twelve Sulpicians then in the Diocese of Baltimore. On August 8, 1800, Father Emery wrote to Bishop Carroll about the latter's disapproval of the founding of St. Mary's College in Baltimore, as a preparatory school to the Seminary.¹¹ The letter is a frank statement to the effect that unless the bishop can see a way towards a closer coöperation with St. Sulpice, the whole project will be in jeop-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 103-104.

ardy. In January, 1801, we have Carroll's answer, equally frank, but pleading with the superior-general to have patience—"I was frightened," he writes, "when I heard that for a short time you intended to recall them. I earnestly beg you to give up this thought and to feel that in the end they will fulfill the purpose of your Society and the views you had when you sent them here." Later in the year, when it was evident that Father Emery was determined to recall the American Sulpicians, Bishop Carroll wrote (September, 1801): ". . . I conjure you by the bowels of Our Lord not to take all of them away from us, and if it is necessary for me to undergo the trial of losing the greater number, I beg of you to leave us at least a seed, which may yield fruit in the season decreed by the Lord. . . ." When Father Emery insisted upon the return of the American Sulpicians, Bishop Carroll complained sharply against the entire suppression of an institution, on the lasting character of which he had always counted, and declared that if the Sulpicians went back to Europe the only monument they will leave behind them would be a college. In his reply (February 2, 1802) Father Emery justified his action:

. . . I come to the root of the matter; surely in the entire course of the French Revolution nothing was done similar to what we did for you and your diocese. A small Society like ours, in fact, the smallest Society of all, offers to establish a seminary in your diocese; it sends you quite a large number of members; it even sends you seminarians to enable you to start the seminary work at once; the Society sends them at its own expense; it undertakes to support these members, and, in fact, has ever since then supported them; it sacrifices to this institution the greater part of its savings and gives nearly 100,000 francs. What is the result of all this? At the end of ten years things stand as they did on the first day. At present there is no question of giving up the Baltimore Seminary, because that seminary, in truth, has never existed; there is question only of giving up the project of the seminary. From time to time promises were made that students should be sent there; we were made to regard this as a grace and favour; but the students did not come, and difficulties arose where we should have least expected them. You tell me, Monseigneur, that the Society will leave behind it no monument except a college. I hope that you will bear in mind to some degree all the services which its members have rendered you during ten years. If there is question of complaining, it seems to me that I have a right to complain, since at the end of a ten years' stay, and after many promises, we have done nothing and have been able to do nothing of

all that we meant to do when entering your diocese. However, I am very far from finding fault with you; we know that you have not been able to do what you wished, and we are always grateful to you for the kindness you have shown us.¹²

As a result of these orders received from Paris, Fathers Garnier, Maréchal and Levadoux departed for France in 1803. Father Nagot remained on account of ill-health. The result was that the Seminary seemed doomed. If it was saved at the time, credit must be given to no less a personage than Pius VII, who was then in Paris. His Holiness had journeyed to the French capital, in November, 1804, for the coronation ceremony of the Emperor Napoleon (December 2, 1804). About this time Father Emery asked the advice of Pius VII on continuing the Seminary at Baltimore, and the answer which has come down to us, is: "My son, let it stand, let that Seminary stand. It will bear fruit in its own time." Father Emery accepted the decision of the Pope, and allowed Father Nagot to continue as superior. In 1810, the venerable Sulpician resigned his post, and was succeeded by Father John Tessier, who directed the Seminary from that date down to the time of Archbishop Whitfield (1829). Growth was slow at first, the ordinations numbering but two or three a year. During Bishop Carroll's episcopate, thirty priests were ordained at St. Mary's.

The chief cause for the failure of St. Mary's Seminary during the first decade of its existence was the lack of students. With the opening of Georgetown College at the same time as the coming of the Sulpicians (1791), Bishop Carroll hoped to find a number of vocations to the priesthood grow out of the student body at the college. In this, he was disappointed; and if Georgetown was unable to furnish students prepared for philosophy, the Seminary in Baltimore was a useless expense. A way lay open to them; the creation of a *petit séminaire* or preparatory college at Baltimore. To this Bishop Carroll was strongly opposed, and no doubt, rightly so. Georgetown was in its infancy, and to deprive it of students by creating what would be a rival institution was out of the question. But the condition of the Seminary was too emphatic for delay, and Fathers Flaget and

¹² HERBERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

Richard gathered a few boys of the city around them in 1793 for academic instruction. After a year, Bishop Carroll interposed and the work was abandoned. Father William Du Bourg, who had come to America in 1794, as a secular priest, became a Sulpician the following year, and in 1796, he was appointed President of Georgetown College by Bishop Carroll. This position he resigned shortly afterwards, returning to the Seminary. It was evident that Georgetown had not reached that state of permanency which would insure a succession of ecclesiastical students. Another Sulpician, Father Babad, had conceived the idea of a college in Havana, and he was joined there by Father Du Bourg. The prospects seemed bright enough, but, after a year's trial, the college in Havana was closed by order of the Spanish Government, and Father Du Bourg returned to Baltimore (August, 1799) with three Spanish boys. Here he opened a college in a few rooms of the Seminary. Bishop Carroll was not in favour of the scheme, because of the danger the new foundation might prove to Georgetown. He agreed, however, to allow studies to be begun, on condition that no American students be accepted, while he limited the number of the foreign students. It was this opposition to St. Mary's College, which strengthened Father Emery's determination to recall the American Sulpicians altogether. "He seems," says Herbermann, "to have regarded the Bishop's opposition to a Sulpician academy as a bar to any plan of self-help on the part of his Society, and therefore as a kind of sentence of death to the seminary itself."¹³ The bishop soon saw the necessity of permitting St. Mary's College to continue, and in 1803, its doors were opened to all American students, day scholars and boarders, without distinction of creed. In 1806, the number of collegians was one hundred and six. There were only two other institutions of this kind in Maryland at the time: Washington College, at Chestertown, on the eastern shore, founded by Rev. Dr. Smith, in 1782, and St. John's College at Annapolis, begun in 1789. The two institutions were combined as the University of Maryland by the Maryland Assembly, but they were not well patronized and the union was soon dissolved by the state Legislature. The failure of these two colleges

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

was emphasized by the success of St. Mary's College, which was raised by an act of the Legislature in 1805 to the rank of a university. Father Du Bourg remained President of St. Mary's University until 1812, when he became Administrator of the Diocese of Louisiana; three years later he became Bishop of New Orleans. Among the presidents of the college were Archbishop Eccleston and Bishops David, Bruté and Chanche. For a half century, St. Mary's College held a high place in the educational progress of Maryland; but to the Sulpicians in France and to many of the American Sulpicians, it was looked upon as outside the scope of the Society's constitutions; and in 1852, the institution, then at the height of its fame, was closed permanently, its place being taken by Loyola College.

The Sulpician ideal was a purely clerical college, that is, one in which only those Catholic boys would be received who had aspirations for the priesthood. Not all, it is true, were expected to persevere up to ordination, but the rules of the Society were strict in this sense that the labours of the Sulpicians should be spent exclusively in the preparation of young men for the ministry. In 1792, when Father Emery sent the second party of Sulpicians to the United States, he impressed upon them the duty of founding preparatory Seminaries in the New Republic. Shortly after the University charter had been granted to St. Mary's College, Father Nagot, the first Superior of St. Mary's Seminary, gathered a group of boys around him at Pigeon Hill, Adams County, Pennsylvania. Father Nagot had spent one of his vacations on a farm at Pigeon Hill, and when the owner returned to France in 1803, the farm and property were left in his care. The superior of the Seminary saw an opportunity of establishing there a preparatory college, and one of the most remarkable of the Sulpicians who came from France, Father John Dubois, who was then pastor of Frederick, Maryland, and who later became a Sulpician, suggested that the school at Pigeon Hill be transferred to Emmitsburg, where a number of Catholic farmers were living. Urged by Father Du Bourg, who realized as well as his fellow-Sulpicians, the anomaly of St. Mary's College as a preparatory Seminary, and by Father Nagot, who saw in the little nucleus he had gathered at Pigeon Hill the beginning of such a founda-

tion, Father Dubois opened a school, under the title, Mount St. Mary's College, at Emmitsburg, in 1808-1809. The Pigeon Hill scholars were transferred to the new college, and that establishment, modest as it was in the beginning, then began its long career of usefulness to Church and State in this country. The Mountain, as it is affectionately called by its alumni, had sixty pupils in 1812. This same year Father Dubois was joined by an equally noted priest, Father Simon Bruté. Mount St. Mary's College remained under Sulpician direction during the rest of Carroll's lifetime, becoming a diocesan college in 1826.

The early history of these three Catholic colleges—St. Mary's, at Baltimore, Pigeon Hill, in Pennsylvania, and Mount St. Mary's, at Emmitsburg—is not known with all the accuracy of description and of chronology which is desirable. They prepared the way in days when the sacrifices demanded of teacher and pupil are almost beyond belief, and their success, as the years went on, only adds to our admiration for the bravery of these early scholars who came to the United States during the French Revolution with an ideal which they have never allowed to be tarnished.

CHAPTER XXVI

RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

It is a maxim in church tradition that no people can be said to enjoy completely the blessings of the Catholic Faith until its sons and daughters seek a means of following the evangelical counsels in the life of perfection offered by the religious Orders that have existed in the Catholic Church almost from earliest times. As an integral part of Catholicism, the primary purpose of the religious Orders, Congregations, and Institutes, is personal sanctification. But it is a fact admitted by all historians that the members of these religious communities have never been idle members of society. In the passage of time it has happened more than once that individuals and sometimes whole houses have proven recreant to their ideals; but the story of religious life is so thoroughly a part of the history of civilization that there are few scholars today who fail to recognize the value of these communities in the moral and intellectual advance of humanity. No one but a stranger to the religious life could make the mistake nowadays of accepting the position held by the reformers of the sixteenth century in regard to the utility of these Orders and Congregations. There is no aspect of human need, no work of charity, no phase of education, in which they have not taken a great share. Their care of the sick and the dying; their custodianship of the orphan and of the delinquent; the consoling attention they pay to the aged and the infirm; and especially their devotion to the cause of education—these alone give to the men and women who enter the religious life within the Church the surety of appreciation from all who rejoice in practical evidences of man's love for his fellow-men.

When John Carroll became Bishop of Baltimore in 1790, no Catholic institution embracing any one of these ideals of Christian charity existed within the borders of what was then the United States. There was no Catholic home for the aged, no

Catholic hospital, no Catholic orphanage. Catholic education, both primary, secondary, and ecclesiastical, had to be built up from the foundations. The want of these educational establishments in colonial days had caused Catholic parents to submit their children to the risk of the long, arduous and perilous journey to the Continent of Europe for Catholic instruction. From Maine to the frontiers of Florida and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, no convent or monastery existed wherein young men or young women, called to a life of perfection, might find refuge from the world. Only the broken remnants of that community which had founded the faith in the thirteen original States and had evangelized the Indians and the colonists for a hundred and forty years were to be seen. The great work of the Company of Jesus lay scattered by a blow from its commander-in-chief, a blow dealt in the dark and as fatal in its consequences as the disbanding of an army in the thick of the battle; and the Church in the new Republic was robbed of its strongest defence. During the three and thirty years of the Suppression in the United States (1773-1806), one by one, the old Fathers of the Society of Jesus were dropping off and were being laid alongside the Jesuits of the former days, who had spent their all in keeping the flame of the Faith bright and clear in the colonies.

Outside the frontiers of the United States, only one community existed—the Ursuline nuns at New Orleans. Antedating the birth of John Carroll by seven years, the foundation of the first Ursuline Convent within the present territory of the United States (1727), was the outcome of Governor Bienville's plea to the Ursulines of Rouen to undertake the education of girls in the little settlement of New Orleans. On February 22, 1727, ten Ursuline nuns from various convents of the Order in France, set sail for New Orleans on the *Gironde*, accompanied by two members of the Society of Jesus.¹ The nuns were under the direction of Mother Marie Tranchepain, of the Rouen convent.

¹ *The Ursulines in Louisiana (1727-1824)*. New Orleans, 1886; *Relation du Voyage des premières Ursulines à la Nouvelle Orléans et de leur établissement en cette Ville*, par la Rev. Mère St. Augustin de Tranchepain, Supérieure, avec les lettres circulaires de quelques unes de ses Sœurs, et de la dite Mère. Translated by SHEA in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. i, pp. 28-41. Cf. *Records*, vol. xxiii, pp. 125-128.

The account of the voyage, as contained in the pages of Sister Stanislaus Hachard's diary

reads in these days like a romance. . . . The ship encountered terrible tempests, and several times seemed on the point of going down. Once she struck upon a rock. Corsairs got on her track again and again, and on one of these occasions, when capture seemed to be inevitable, the Sisters were stowed away in the captain's cabin. To add to their sufferings, the captain treated them at times with brutal harshness. Five months were thus consumed, and everybody both at home and in the colony had given them up for lost. Finally, reaching the mouth of the Mississippi, the *Gironde* stuck fast in the mud, and the Sisters were forced to make their way up the river as best they could in small boats and dugouts, going ashore at night and sleeping in the forest.²

Two weeks after the wreck of the *Gironde*, they reached New Orleans (August 7, 1727).³ A hearty welcome was given to the Sisters, and within a short time, they began convent life. With the opening of their school—the first Sisters' school in the United States—an educational record was begun which today is one of the glories of the Church in America. Burns has given us a detailed description of the school life of the Ursulines during this first century of their Order here. The school day was a short one—only four hours. The vacation period lasted three weeks. Reading, writing and arithmetic, with Christian doctrine and manual training, made up the programme of the day. "Some features of the Ursuline system of teaching," he writes, "were surprisingly modern, and throw a new light upon the educational ideas and methods of the period." One of these interesting features was the employment of pupil-teachers, called in the Rules *dizainières*, thus antedating by many years the Lancaster-Bell system. The monitors were selected from among the brightest and best-behaved girls, and their duty was to assist the teachers in class-work and in the maintenance of discipline.

. . . . Each *dizainière* had her group of ten or so to look after. She admonished them of their faults, of which she was not, however, to inform the teacher, except it became necessary for their correction. . . . Another interesting feature of the Ursuline method of teaching was specializa-

² BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Cf. DEHEY, *Religious Orders of Women in the United States*, pp. 23-25. Chicago, 1913.

³ Cf. *Records*, vol. i, pp. 214-243 (VOGEL, *The Ursuline Nuns in America*).

tion. . . . A great deal of time was devoted to industrial work. This was a feature of the Ursuline school everywhere. The pupils began by learning to knit and to stitch, and were taught gradually how to mend and make their own garments, as well as various articles of utility in the household. . . . While the pupils were engaged in this work, the Sister in charge, or one of the pupils, often read some interesting and instructive sketch or story.⁴

The Ursuline day-school and academy were supported by the French Government, and when the Spanish Government assumed control of Louisiana in 1769, the same support was continued. The Ursulines survived all the changes, political and ecclesiastical, which followed one another so quickly in the province. After the cession of Louisiana to Spain, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Quebec was transferred to Santiago de Cuba, and the Capuchin, Cyril de Barcelona, was made vicar-general of the province (1772). In 1781 he was consecrated Auxiliary-Bishop of Santiago, with residence in New Orleans. Six years later, when the Diocese of Santiago de Cuba was divided and Havana erected into a separate see, Louisiana was placed under the latter diocese. Bishop Joseph de Trespalacios became first Bishop of Havana, and Bishop Cyril of Barcelona continued as auxiliary to the new ordinary. The Holy See erected Louisiana and the Floridas into a separate diocese on April 25, 1793, and Bishop Louis Peñalver y Cardenas was appointed its chief shepherd. The new bishop arrived in New Orleans on July 17, 1795, remaining until 1801, when he was made Archbishop of Guatemala. From 1801 until October 1, 1805, the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, with New Orleans as the chief ecclesiastical centre, was governed by vicars-general; on that day Bishop Carroll assumed jurisdiction as administrator. De Laussat, the Commissioner of the French Republic, had formally transferred Louisiana to the United States on December 20, 1803, and Bishop Carroll was to all intents and purposes the sole head of the diocese, down to August 8, 1812, when he sent Father Du Bourg to New Orleans as administrator-apostolic. Du Bourg was consecrated Bishop of Louisiana, on September 24, 1815, about three months before Archbishop Carroll's death.

⁴ BURNS, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79. Cf. GAYEERE, *History of Louisiana*, vol. i, p. 248; FAY, *History of Education in Louisiana*. New Orleans, 1890.

During these many changes, the Ursulines continued to prosper, but there were constant rumors of confiscation by the French and the Spanish governments; and after the cession of Louisiana to the United States these rumors became more serious. "So little was the genius of the American government understood by her latest acquisition, that friends of the nuns, supposed to be well-informed, declared that the utmost concession they could expect was leave to remain in their monastery which, at the death of the last of them—they were forbidden to take novices—would be seized, with their lands in the city and suburbs, which were very considerable, by the American Government."⁵ The United States even after a quarter-century of constitutional life had not lived down, it would seem, the sad legacy for intolerance the English colonies had bequeathed to the new Republic. With the danger of confiscation in mind, the Reverend Mother Farjon wrote to Bishop Carroll informing him of the condition of affairs in New Orleans, on November 1, 1803.⁶ Bishop Carroll replied on February 14, 1804, that he had sent her letter to James Madison, then Secretary of State. On April 23, 1804, the Ursulines wrote to President Thomas Jefferson describing their uncertainty in a city where, as Father Bodkin told Dr. Carroll in a letter, dated New Orleans, January 3, 1804, "the Spanish, French and the American flags were flying" side-by-side.⁷ On July 20, 1804, Madison replied to Carroll as follows:

I have had the honour to lay before the President your letter of the 14th of December, who views with pleasure the public benefit resulting from the benevolent endeavours of the respectable persons in whose behalf it is written. Be assured that no opportunity will be neglected of manifesting the real interest he takes in promoting the means of affording to the youth of this new portion of the American dominion, a pious and useful education, and of evincing the grateful sentiments due to those of all religious persuasions who so laudably devote themselves in its diffusion. It was under the influence of such feelings that Governor Claiborne had already assured the ladies of this monastery of the entire protection which will be afforded them, after the recent change of Government.⁸

⁵ *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, p. 32.

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-06.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Case I-19.

⁸ *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, p. 32.

In reply to Mother Farjon's letter, Jefferson wrote in his admirably courteous way, on August 22, 1804:

I have received, Holy Sisters, the letters you have written to me, wherein you express anxiety for the property vested in your institution by the former government of Louisiana. The principles of the Constitution and Government of the United States are a sure guaranty to you that it will be preserved to you sacred and inviolate, and that your institution will be permitted to govern itself according to its own voluntary rules, without interference from the civil authority. Whatever diversity of shade may appear in the religious opinions of our fellow-citizens, the charitable objects of your institution cannot be indifferent to any, and its furtherance of wholesome purposes by training up its young members in the way they should go, cannot fail to insure it the patronage of the Government it is under. Be assured it will meet with all the protection my office can give it.⁹

The authoress of *The Ursulines in Louisiana* writes:

Certainly Bishop Carroll himself could not write with more respect and appreciation of the Ursulines, and their high vocation as teachers of youth, than did the President of the United States. For years the nuns felt somewhat unsettled, as, indeed, did most of the inhabitants of Louisiana. Having changed masters three times in less than a month, many hoped, or, at least, expected, to be restored to their ancient rulers, and were indignant at being handed about from one Government to another, like so many head of cattle. Besides, owing to these frequent transfers of the Church of Louisiana, from Havana to New Orleans, to Havana, again to Quebec, and, finally, to Baltimore, religion was in a deplorable condition, and a large infusion of lawless and dangerous classes from all parts of the country did not lessen the existing evils. In 1812, Bishop Carroll sent Rev. William Du Bourg to rectify abuses, but he encountered so many obstacles from those who should have aided him, that he was compelled to place New Orleans under an interdict. For several years the cathedral was closed, and Mass was celebrated in the Ursuline chapel alone, by the only priest who had faculties, Abbé Olivier, who was over eighty years old.¹⁰

During the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, the classrooms of the Ursuline school were turned into a temporary hospital for the American soldiers, who were nursed by the Sisters. When the battle was raging between these untrained American troops and the English veterans, led by Pakenham,

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

one of Wellington's experienced generals, the ladies of New Orleans, gathered in the chapel of the Ursuline Nuns before the statue of Our Lady of Prompt Succour,¹¹ and their pious hearts "ascribed to her intercession the exercise of the Power that turned the tide of battle from their firesides and homes."¹² Jackson's victory has always appealed to the people of New Orleans as something bordering on the supernatural. With 6,000 young recruits he faced the flower of the British army. From the windows of their convent, the Ursulines watched the progress of the battle, and everything seemed to point to the hopelessness of the American position. Pakenham's promise of "booty and beauty" to the English soldiers could have only one meaning to the nuns, and it was that vile promise that sent them to their knees in prayer. Jackson had threatened to destroy the city which lay behind his trenches, in case of defeat, and the little Ursuline chapel was filled with the weeping wives, mothers, sisters and children of the town. On the morning of January 8, 1815, Father Du Bourg, then the administrator of the Diocese of Louisiana, offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the success of the Americans, and the nuns made a vow to create a Thanksgiving Day in perpetuity, if the Americans won. The Mass was not yet finished when the good news came that Jackson was the victor, and Father Du Bourg ended the services with a *Te Deum*.

Jackson himself, though not overburdened with piety, acknowledged to Du Bourg on January 9 that he regarded the victory as a sign of God's action in his favour: "The signal interposition of Heaven in giving success to our arms requires some external manifestation of the feelings of our most lively gratitude. Permit me, therefore, to entreat that you will cause the service of public thanksgiving to be performed in the Cathedral, in token of the great assistance we have received from the Ruler of all events, and of our humble sense of it."¹³ In compliance with this noble request, Father Du Bourg celebrated a solemn

¹¹ This remarkable statue was brought from France by eight Ursulines, who arrived in Philadelphia, on June 8, 1810, bound for New Orleans, which city they reached on December 30, 1810. (Cf. *Researches*, vol. xviii, p. 32.) The Ursulines of New Orleans publish a periodical, *The Messenger of Our Lady of Prompt Succor* (1919—), which contains many valuable historical sketches of old Louisiana.

¹² SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 672.

¹³ LATOUR, *Historical Memoir of the War*, p. 68. Philadelphia, 1816.

Mass of Thanksgiving in the Cathedral, on January 23, 1815, and, in receiving General Jackson at the door of the Cathedral, he thanked him publicly for his recognition of the "Prime Mover of your wonderful success." The same day, General Jackson with his staff visited the Ursulines to thank them for their prayers.¹⁴

In a few short years the Ursuline Academy will celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of its foundation. The history of their heroic voyage across the Atlantic in 1727 in order to take up their labours in Louisiana will then be told in all its details. Under the flags of France, of Spain, and of the United States, this oldest institution for the education of girls in the United States has succeeded where many similar institutions, erected since that day, by Catholics and non-Catholics, have failed and perished. Through many serious vicissitudes they lived, carrying on admirably their work of educating the young girls of New Orleans and of Louisiana. The consecration of Bishop Du Bourg in 1815 gave them great hopes for the future. It would seem from a note in the Propaganda Archives that they had written to Rome urging that Father Du Bourg be encouraged to remain in Louisiana. Propaganda replied in September, 1815, that there was no danger of Du Bourg's returning to France, as they feared, for he had been consecrated bishop of the territory, and was about to return home. Bishop Du Bourg was then in Rome, trying to secure several additional Sisters for the work at New Orleans. On May 2, 1815, the nuns wrote to Pope Pius VII asking for permission to return to France. His Holiness replied (October 16, 1815):

Madame,

Your letter of May 2, reached us only towards the end of September. We are very sensible of your good wishes for our preservation and the success of our enterprises, always directed to the glory of God and the advantage of the Church. As to the inquietudes that agitate you regarding your spiritual direction, they cannot last, for M. Du Bourg has received from us Bulls, and has been consecrated at Rome, by our order, Bishop of the Diocese of New Orleans, to which he will soon return. You may, then, be tranquil as to your future, and give up the project of going to France; you can do much more for religion where

¹⁴ Later, as President of the United States, Jackson had the rare privilege of entering the cloister of the convent; cf. *Records*, vol. i, pp. 240-242.

you are. Therefore, we exhort you to redouble your zeal for young persons of your sex, and for the eternal salvation of your neighbour. We have your community continually present to our mind, especially in our prayers to obtain for you all the graces you need, and we give you, with effusion of heart, our Apostolic Benediction.¹⁵

For some years after Bishop Du Bourg's return the situation of the school and academy was precarious, but little by little the Ursulines regained their old-time vigour and were soon on the road to the prosperity and success they have enjoyed ever since that troublous time.

In the Baltimore Cathedral Archives there are many letters to Bishop Carroll from the superiors of convents in Europe asking for a welcome to the Diocese of Baltimore. As early as July 28, 1789, the Ursulines of Cork had gained such popularity with their parochial schools that some of their friends urged them to send a band of teachers to the United States,¹⁶ and the effort made by Father Thayer after his return to Ireland in 1803 to secure a group of ladies for his proposed Ursuline Convent in Boston deserves mention in this chapter. The young ladies in question came after Father Thayer's death (1815), and founded the convent at Charlestown, Mass., which was burned down by a mob in 1834; three of the nuns took refuge with their Ursuline Sisters in New Orleans. A group of Ursulines from Cork came to New York in 1813 at the invitation of Father Anthony Kohlmann, S. J., the Administrator of the Diocese of New York. On April 7, 1813, Kohlmann informed Dr. Carroll of their safe arrival "after the remarkably short passage of twenty-two days."¹⁷ They opened a free school and an academy and were incorporated by a special act of the New York Legislature in 1814. In leaving Cork, their superiors conditioned their stay in New York. Unless they should succeed in obtaining a sufficient number of novices within three years, they were obliged to return to Ireland. Not meeting with success, they sailed for Ireland in the spring of 1815.

During the eighteenth century the English Carmelite Convent at Hoogstraet, Belgium, had attracted a number of American

¹⁵ *Ursulines in Louisiana*, p. 34.

¹⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-J10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Case 4-L13.

girls, and, at the close of the Revolutionary War, its superioress was an American lady, Mother Bernardine of St. Joseph, known in the world as Ann Matthews. Mother Bernardine was born in Charles County, Maryland, in 1732. At the age of twenty-three she received the veil at Hoogstraet on December 3, 1755. She was elected prioress of the Carmelite convent there on April 13, 1774. There were with her at Hoogstraet her nieces, Sister Mary Aloysia (Ann Theresa Matthews), and Sister Mary Eleanor (Susanna Matthews), both of whom accompanied her to Port Tobacco in 1790. Two other American ladies, Mother Ann of Our Blessed Lady (Ann Louisa Hill), Bishop Carroll's cousin, and Sister Mary Florentine (Ann Mills) remained at Hoogstraet. The disturbed condition of religious life in Belgium (1781-1790) due to the Gallican reform movement instituted by Joseph II, the "Sacristan Emperor," and the general threat of the advancing forces of the French Revolutionists were felt by all religious houses in the Austrian dominions. It is not certain whether the decree of 1789 by which the Emperor suppressed all the Carmelite houses in the Low Countries included the English nuns of that Order. No doubt this general disorder, together with the fact of American Independence, induced Mother Bernardine to come to America in 1790. Father Ignatius Matthews, her brother, had written to Mother Bernardine, urging her to come to the United States, and the confessor at Hoogstraet, Father Charles Neale, offered the nuns a farm at Port Tobacco, Maryland, for the support of the proposed American convent. The Lanherne (England) Carmelite archives contain several letters from Mother Bernardine describing the voyage across the Atlantic. While in London, Dr. Carroll had been informed by his cousin, Ann Louisa Hill (Mother Ann of Our Blessed Lady), in a letter dated Hoogstraet, August 8, 1790, that Father Neale, their confessor, had left for Maryland with three or four Carmelites to found a house in the new Diocese of Baltimore. With the approbation of the Bishop of Antwerp, four nuns had already left (April 19, 1790). It was at this time that Mother Ann wrote the words which have already been cited: "I must acknowledge that it is a subject of joy to me to hear our Holy Faith and Religion flourishes so much in my native country, and that Religious are permitted to make estab-

lishments there, and live up to the spirit of their Holy Institutes. I am glad our Holy Order is the first."¹⁸

Bishop-elect Carroll had no doubt been informed by Father Ignatius Matthews of the project, but there is no mention in Carroll's correspondence on the matter.¹⁹ One writer states that "his first act after his appointment was to invite the Carmelites to his vast diocese to pray for the American Missions."²⁰ The little band was composed of Father Charles Neale, Father Robert Plunkett, the first President of Georgetown College, Mother Bernardine Matthews, prioress of the new community, Sister Clare Joseph Dickinson, an English nun from Antwerp, subprioress, and Sisters Mary Aloysia and Eleanor Matthews. They reached New York on July 2, 1790, some few days after Carroll's departure. The journey was a trying one, from several causes, not the least of which was the captain, "a poor, little, mean-spirited, stingy Scotchman, who had provided very slender provisions or necessaries for passengers." They left New York on July 4, reaching Norfolk on the ninth. The following day they arrived "at Mr. Bobby Brent's Landing, which is about a mile from my nephew Ignatius's House."²¹ Difficulties arose

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Case 6-G4; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 251-253. Father Charles Neale, S.J., was a novice at Ghent in 1773. He was teaching the grammar class at Liège in 1776. Father Neale had been their Chaplain in Belgium, and he continued to be their Spiritual Director, until his death in 1823. (Cf. *Records*, vol. xix, p. 245.)

¹⁹ Cf. the introductory note to Coghlan's edition of the *Address of the Roman Catholics of America to George Washington* (London, 1790).

²⁰ DEHEV, *op. cit.*, p. 31. There is no record of this in Carroll's correspondence. SHEA (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 383) states that letters passed between Carroll and the Bishop of Antwerp.

²¹ GUILDAY, *English Catholic Refugees, etc.*, pp. 372-374, from the Archives of the Carmelite Convent at Lanherne, England: "The account of the journey to the American Foundation, 1790, from the Revd. Mother to the Confessor at Hoogstraet: I believe it will be agreeable to hear of our safe arrival in Maryland & the particulars of our journey: After we left the *Texal*, which was the first of May (I wrote from thence the day we sailed & sent the letter by the Pilot to Amsterdam to be put in the post) we had a good voyage & not very long considering the course we passed: the Captain deceived us, saying that he was bound for New York & Philadelphia, but we found afterwards he did not intend going to Philadelphia, but had taken in a parcel of goods to deliver at Tenerif one of the Canary Islands belonging to Spain, at a Town called Sancta Cruce, which we knew not when we engaged with him, he sailed down the southern Latitudes, which made it very hot, & was 3000 miles further than we should have gone had he sailed direct for America. We put to the coast of Normandy, crossed the mouth of the Bay of Biscay, had a short calm on the coast of Spain, passed the Cape of St. Vincent, by the Straits of Gibraltar, saw the Port of St. Julian, where the poor Jesuits suffered so much, passed by Morocco in Barbary, off the coast of Africa. On the 20th of May we saw the Canary Islands, on the 22nd saw the Island of Tenerif, the 23rd Whit-Sunday, entered the Port of Sancta Cruce,

over the location of the convent, and, in Bishop Carroll's absence, they were advised to settle near Port Tobacco in a house on the Brooke estate. On October 15, 1790, St. Teresa's day, this first house for contemplative religious in the United States was dedi-

where we cast anchor & lay there till Thursday evening following, from thence we sailed the course called the Trades & had good winds and weather, only one or two slight storms & arrived at New-york the 2nd of July, our passage was very disagreeable on account of the passengers, a man and his wife with 3 little children, who were crying almost from morning till night & the man and his wife very disagreeable people, who were often wrangling and quarreling, the Captain a poor little mean spirited stingy Scotchman, who had provided very slender provisions or necessaries for passengers, his bread from the first was mouldy & not fit to eat & so little of it, that he put his men to allowance as soon as we had left Santa Cruce, where he had an opportunity of furnishing his ship with fresh bread & other provisions if he would, but he was so stingy, although his crew had threatened to leave him if he did not provide better, he only took in one barrel of flour, & a quarter or two of poor Beef with a old sheep, indeed if we had met with bad weather to have detained us longer on the voyage, we should have been in danger of perishing for want of provisions, the water was so bad that it was not fit to drink, we were obliged to strain it through a cloth & let it stand a day to sweeten before we could drink it, we were all very sea-sick excepting Mr. Neale, mine did not last long, but the others were sick as often as the weather was rough all the passage, & Mr. Neale had a bad fit of gout, that he could get no rest hardly for 14 days: I wrote to the Nuns from New York, which we left on the 4th of July Sunday, & arrived at Norfolk on Friday morning the 9th where we hired a vessel, to pursue our journey, & sailed from thence the same day in the evening: & on Saturday evening the 10th we arrived safe to Mr. Bobby Brent's landing, which is about a mile from my Nephew Ignatius's House, it was then too late to land our baggage, but we met with a man who was going out to fish, & we prevailed on him to return to shore with a letter to Mr. Brent & Ignatius, to inform them of our arrival, to desire them to come to us early in the morning. Ignatius came off immediately, & came on board our vessel about 10 o'clock on Saturday night, my Nephew returned on shore that night & came to us again on Sunday morning about 5 o'clock, when we landed with all our baggage & went up to Mr. Brent's, where Mr. Neale said Mass about 8 o'clock, we dined there & in the evening went over to Barry's house, intending to make that our habitation till a more convenient place could be provided, we remained there 8 days: it was then judged more proper that we should come to Mr. Neale's house by Port Tobacco, which was much larger & not inhabited, we put on our Habits the 2nd day after our arrival here & keep our regularity as well as we can, a place was agreed on for our Convent, much to our satisfaction in St. Mary's County, but some difficulties arose about it & Mr. Carroll being in England about 3 weeks before our arrival, his Vicar thought proper we should chuse another place, & Mr. Baker Brooke has made us a present of his own dwelling, with several acres of land round about it to make a Convent of. Mr. Plunket parted from us at New York & travelled the rest of his journey by land, he came to see us since our arrival & is now on the Mission. There went to America The Revd. Mother of Hoogstraet, Prioress, Sister Clare Joseph, Dickenson of our Comty, Sub-prioress. Sister Mary Aloysia & Sister Eleanor Mathews, (2. Young Professed of Hoogstraet,) Nieces of the Revd. Mother & our Confessor Mr. Charles Neale, all natives of America, except our Sister Clare." The fourth member of the little band of Carmelites who settled at Port Tobacco was Sister Mary Clare Joseph, who was a Miss Dickinson, from the English Convent at Antwerp. It is not stated whether she was English or American, but most probably she was English, because there is no mention of any American novices in the Lanherne Annals. (*Lanherne Annals*, ff. 81-84.)

cated. On his return to Baltimore, Bishop Carroll lost no time in welcoming the little community to his diocese.

In his letter to Antonelli, of April 23, 1792, he said: "The Carmelite nuns, who emigrated from Belgium nearly two years ago, have obtained a site in Maryland, on which a house and farm were given to them by the pious liberality of a Catholic gentleman. Four nuns came here, and others have since been admitted for probation. They are a salutary example to the people of the vicinity, and their singular piety has moved even non-Catholics to admiration. Their convent would be a far greater benefit in the future if a school for the training of girls in piety and learning were begun by them." This suggestion was discussed in a general congregation at Propaganda, on August 13, 1792. It was acknowledged that the nuns would be of a greater advantage to the Diocese of Baltimore, if they were to establish a school for the training of young girls in religion and in the domestic arts. No decision was given, but on September 29, 1792, Antonelli replied: "We have rejoiced exceedingly that the Carmelite nuns, recently arrived in Maryland from Belgium, have been enabled through the generosity of pious friends to find a home for themselves. While they are not to be urged to undertake the care of young girls against their rule, they should be exhorted not to refuse this work, which will be so pleasing to God and which is badly needed on account of the great scarcity of workers and lack of educational facilities." Bishop Carroll made this known to Mother Bernardine on March 1, 1793, telling her permission to start a school had been granted:

I had letters lately from Rome; I had given in mine an account of your settlement, and of the sweet odor of your good example, and had taken the liberty to add that, in order to render your usefulness still greater, I wished that it were consistent with your constitution to employ yourselves in the education of young persons of your own sex. The Cardinal-Prefect of the Propaganda, having laid my letter before his Holiness, informs me that it gave him incredible joy to find that you were come hither to diffuse the knowledge and practice of religious perfection, and adds that: considering the great scarcity of labourers and the defects of education in these States, you might sacrifice that part of your institution to the promotion of a greater good: and I am directed to encourage you to undertake it; and now, in obedience to his direction I recommend to your Reverence and your holy Community, to take it

into your consideration. I am exceedingly pleased at the increase of your most religious family; every addition to it I look upon as a safeguard for the preservation of the diocese. Praying Almighty God to grant His choicest blessings on yourself and your pious community, I am, with fatherly affection and high esteem, honored Madam, your most obed't serv't in Christ.²²

The Carmelites were unwilling, however, to change their Rule in this respect, because the principal object of the community was contemplation and prayer. The bishop himself, trained to a religious life and feeling as the great blow of his life the decree which exiled him from it, could not press these pious women to adopt a course repugnant to them, for he regarded the community as a safeguard for the preservation of the diocese.²³ The Carmelites had come to pray for the American Missions, for the clergy and for the Church in general. The life of a Carmelite nun is a distinctly contemplative one. Active work, such as nursing the sick or teaching children, is outside the scope of a cloistered community, where the day is spent in prayer and meditation and the ordinary work of the household. The Port Tobacco community preserved the strict observance of the cloister. In Maréchal's day they numbered twenty-three nuns, and he reported to Propaganda that they were being well cared for by the Catholics of that vicinity. "They lead such holy lives," he writes, "these virgins of St. Theresa, that I can scarcely believe there exists in the whole Catholic world, a house of their Order where piety and monastic discipline are better observed."²⁴ In

²² Cf. *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 25 (From the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-J2); cf. CURRIER, *Carmel in America*. New York, 1901.

²³ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 386. "Your American Carmelites are indeed to blame for neglecting the education of children of their own sex and probably no other nuns fit for that duty will emigrate to you. If they are guided by Mr. C. Neale I am not surprised that they are inflexible. I used to think that gentleman the most unaccommodating and uncomplying man of virtue that I have ever known. The spirit may belong to some degree to the family and I apprehend that the uneasiness which you express about the college and Seminary may originate from the Brothers of that name." (Plowden to Carroll, January 26, 1801, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-Q2.)

²⁴ Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, p. 442. In a letter to the writer, the Prioress of the Carmelite Monastery, of Baltimore, explains this situation as follows: "As for your first and second questions, in a letter written by Bishop Carroll to Mother Bernardina, dated March 1, 1793, His Lordship merely states that a young exiled Religious wished to associate herself with the Carmelites, and keep up her work of teaching. The Bishop added that while sending an account of the Foundation to Rome, he took the liberty to obtain for them permission to teach, as it was difficult

1830, the nuns decided to seek a more convenient place for their house and they came to Baltimore, the following year.

To share in the trials as well as in the triumphs of the Catholic Church has been the privilege and the fate of all religious Orders. Wars, and especially the so-called wars of religion, revolutions of various kinds, and the covetousness of governments have more than once in the Church's history wrought havoc in monastic institutions. Few among the religious communities in modern times have suffered more than the Second Order of St. Francis, or, as they are popularly known, the Poor Clares. The Order which began with St. Clare herself in 1212, numbered in 1630 about 925 monasteries of nuns, with 34,000 sisters under the direction of a minister-general. By some chroniclers the entire congregation at the time of the Thirty Years' War is given as 70,000 sisters.²⁵ With the gradual lessening of religious fervour in the sixteenth century, this wonderful growth began to show signs of decline, and when the French Revolution dispersed the religious Orders of Europe, many of the houses were disbanded and the nuns forced to return to secular life. America was a land of refuge for some of these persecuted women, and, in 1792, three heroic nuns, Mother Mary de la Marche, Abbess of St. Clare, Mother Céleste de la Rochefoucault, and Mother St. Luc, attended by a lay brother, came to Baltimore. They attempted first to start a house of their Order at Frederick, Md. In 1801, they bought property in Georgetown, where they opened an academy for girls, and here Miss Lalor and her two companions,

to obtain Religious instructors for the young in those days. He advised them to give the matter prayerful consideration, but there was absolutely no authorization to do so.

"The Nuns did not avail themselves at that time of the dispensation, because the Order being strictly enclosed and solely devoted to contemplation, it was deemed more proper for the cradle of the Order in the United States to develop and foster the true spirit, that it might be bequeathed untarnished to future generations. There was no real need, for negotiations were even then going on to introduce Active Orders into the United States, and the Carmelites had come to pray for the American Missions, for the Clergy, and for the Church in general.

"It was not until the year 1832 that the Nuns were forced by the direst poverty to take up teaching in order to earn their subsistence, being fully justified by a clause of our Rule which reminds us that 'necessity knows no law.' They discontinued teaching within a few years, and, I may add, they had few facilities for teaching even when they were obliged to; far less were they prepared for the work when it was suggested to them by Bishop Carroll."

²⁵ HEIMBUCHER, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, vol. ii, pp. 478-480. Paderborn, 1907.

who were later to found the first Visitation Convent in America, taught for some time. When Abbess de la Marche died in 1805, the other Poor Clares gave up the struggle and returned to Europe. The school opened by the Poor Clares had the distinction of being the first conducted by Sisters within the original United States.

The academy established by the Poor Clares at Georgetown was destined, however, to continue and, as the first Convent of the Visitation Order in the United States, it became eventually one of the best-known of all the educational institutions founded in the United States for the training of young girls. The actual founder of the Visitation Convent and Academy was Archbishop Leonard Neale.²⁶ Leonard Neale was descended from an old and distinguished Maryland family, and was one of seven sons, six of whom either entered the Society of Jesus, or applied for admission after their studies at St. Omer's, Bruges, or Liège. On the Suppression of the Society, Father Leonard Neale went to England where he was engaged in pastoral work for five years. He was then sent to Demarara in British Guiana. His health failing, he returned to his home in Maryland (1783), after twenty-five years' absence, and Bishop Carroll, then Prefect-Apostolic, appointed him pastor of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia. When Father Laurence Graessl, Coadjutor-Bishop-elect of Baltimore, died in October, 1793, Bishop Carroll with the consent of his clergy chose Father Neale as his Coadjutor *cum jure successionis*. This choice proved acceptable to the Holy See and the necessary Bulls were issued on April 17, 1795. It was not until 1800 that these official documents reached Carroll, and the consecration of Leonard Neale as Bishop of Gortyna did not take place until December 7, 1800. It was during this period of waiting that Miss Alice Lalor came from Ireland to Philadelphia with her parents. She and her two companions had long desired to devote themselves to the religious life, and it was evident to Father Neale, to whom they came for direction, that they might be able to carry out a plan of long-standing in his mind, namely, to found a convent of the Visitandines in this country. The three ladies formed themselves into a community under his care. There

²⁶ LATHROP, *A Story of Courage*. Boston, 1895.

was indeed great need of devoted women in Philadelphia at the time, for the yellow fever, which decimated the population of the city in 1793, had broken out again in 1797, and in the summer of 1798 the plague carried off a fourth of the inhabitants of the city. A third lady from Philadelphia joined the little band, but the community lost the other two companions of Miss Lalor by the plague, and the project of a permanent convent in Philadelphia was abandoned. On March 30, 1799, Neale became the fourth President of Georgetown College, and he invited Miss Lalor and her companions to become teachers in the Poor Clares' Academy which Mother de la Marche had founded. This arrangement not proving satisfactory, Father Neale purchased a house near the College, and the "Pious Ladies," as they were known, opened a school for girls. A Rule similar to that of the Society of Jesus was adopted for the time. When the Poor Clares left Georgetown for France in 1805, Bishop Neale purchased their property. Among the books in their library, he found the Constitutions of the Order of the Visitation drawn up by St. Francis de Sales. An attempt was made to induce some members of the Order in France to come to America in order that Miss Lalor and her companions might be rightly prepared for their religious life, but this failed, and for a time it looked as if the little community might be forced to merge with the Carmelites at Port Tobacco. But Bishop Neale turned a deaf ear to these offers. Bishop Carroll wrote to Charles Plowden on February 12, 1803, asking him to urge two of the nuns under his care to come to Maryland for the purpose of organizing the religious life of the community:

My Coadjutor, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Neale, has formed under the conduct of four or five very pious Ladies, a female Academy at Georgetown, and has acquired for them a handsome property of lots and houses. These ladies, long trained to all the exercises of an interior religious life, are exceedingly anxious to bind themselves more closely to God by entering into an approved religious order, whose institute embraces the education of young persons of their own sex, poor and rich. Mr. Byrne and others have given information here of your having under your care a house of religious women, whose useful and exemplary conduct has gained general esteem and confidence. Now the prayer of Bishop Neale and, I may add mine, too, is this: that you would choose and if possible, engage two of those Ladies, fully approved by you, to leave their country

and sisters and friends to establish here a house of their order. One of them ought to be fit to become immediately the superior and mistress of novices, and the other to preside in the female academy. The two principal ladies of this institution are natives of Ireland, and both women of exemplary and even perfect lives. I know not whether one of them, whose name is Lalor, be not known to you. Bishop Neale hopes that Mr. Byrne will return and take them under his care; and he will be answerable for all their expenses.²⁷

Various other attempts were made to induce the Visitandines in England to send several of the nuns out to America with the object of beginning aright the religious life of the "Pious Ladies" of Georgetown.²⁸ Dr. Carroll wrote to Dublin and to Brussels but failed to secure volunteers for the work. On June 11, 1808, Father Strickland informed Dr. Carroll that the Visitation nuns of Acton were seriously considering the proposal, and Father Plowden, who had written as early as July 30, 1792, on the problem, still hoped to induce the Visitandines, then at Hammer-smith (London), to go out to Georgetown. Hardly anything occupied so much of Neale's time as Coadjutor-Bishop of Baltimore (1800-1815) as the founding of the Convent at Georgetown. Difficulties never ceased with the community, and it was not until 1813 that Bishop Neale permitted the "Ladies" to take simple vows as Sisters of the Order of the Visitation. When he succeeded as Bishop of Baltimore in December, 1815, one of his first official acts was to apply to the Holy See for canonical power to erect the community into a religious house of that Order. By an Indult dated July 14, 1816, Pius VII granted this petition, and on December 28, 1816, Mother Teresa Lalor and the two oldest Sisters pronounced their solemn vows and were clothed in the Visitation habit. On January 6, 1817, the white veil was given to seventeen sisters, and eight days later the rest of the community, then numbering thirty-five, were received as nuns of the Order of the Visitation. Archbishop Neale died at the convent on June 18, 1817, and was buried in a vault beneath the chapel.²⁹

²⁷ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 503-504.

²⁸ Sister Theresa Hurard to Carroll, Acton, England, June 2, 1807. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-G7.)

²⁹ Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, pp. 381-386. [M. S. PINE], *A Glory of Maryland*. New York, 1917.

Bishop Carroll mentions in a letter to Bishop Hubert of Quebec, April 24, 1795, the presence of a Minim Sister of the Order of St. Francis de Paula (Felicity Gerard) who had fled from France on account of the Revolution, and he asked that an arrangement be made with the Ursuline nuns of Quebec to receive her into their community. This nun had accompanied several Capuchin nuns from Amiens and Tours, refugees from the persecution of the day. They remained for a while with the Carmelites at Port Tobacco, and then returned to Baltimore, where Dr. Carroll placed them with a Catholic lady. The Capuchin nuns set out for Illinois where they hoped to find a place in one of the French parishes, but later they went to New Orleans. It is not certain what happened to Sister Felicity Gerard, but she was probably received into the Diocese of Quebec by Bishop Hubert. A long letter, of the same date as Dr. Carroll's, from her pen explains her plight. She arrived in Baltimore on February 9, 1793 "auprès de Monseigneur l'évêque de Baltimore qui a bien voulu m'honorer de sa protection et de ses bontés." Canon De Lavau, who had accompanied the Sulpicians to Baltimore, advised her to apply to the Bishop of Quebec for permission to enter the Ursulines there.

There are also in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives several letters from a Sister Elizabeth Saladin of the Daughters of St. Geneviève, who arrived in Baltimore about this time in the same plight as Sister Felicity. Dr. Carroll seems to have been worried over their presence in his diocese, for we find him writing to Propaganda on July 3 and October 21, 1793, asking for advice in regard to these refugees. Propaganda replied on August 10, 1794, urging Dr. Carroll to find them a refuge either in Canada or in Louisiana. Sister Elizabeth found a place in the West Indies, and wrote occasionally to Dr. Carroll to assure him of her progress.

The foundation of the first distinctly American congregation of religious women, the Daughters of Charity, is due to Archbishop Carroll's personal influence with Elizabeth Bayley Seton and to his constant encouragement in the decade of trials and afflictions which followed her conversion to the Catholic faith in 1805.

There are few lives among the saintly women of America who have consecrated themselves in religion to the service of their neighbor, that deserve to be known better by all the citizens of this land, irrespective of creed, than that of Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton. She was in reality an ideal woman, as described in Holy Scripture, in the best and highest sense of the word. She was a devoted wife, a tender mother, and a true religious; and both by her virtues, the sublimity of her love of God, as well as by her prudence and her practical grasp of affairs, her life has a charm all its own and is enhanced with the number of great personages, both civil and ecclesiastical, who shared in her plans and projects.⁸⁰

Chief amongst these was John Carroll. He was not alone, however, in the realization that Elizabeth Seton was destined in the providence of God to be the foundress of Catholic elementary education in the United States. The Catholic parochial school training of the present day may justly be said to have been organized by her. The prominent ecclesiastics of the day—Bishop Carroll and Fathers Cheverus, Matignon, Du Bourg, David, Dubois, and Bruté, all eminent educators, saw in her conversion and in her devotion to the training of the young the solution of the educational problem which dated back to the earliest Jesuit schools in Maryland. The letters which passed between Bishop Carroll and Mother Seton give us an unusual insight into the saintly character of these two pioneers of the Cross in the new Republic. It is this correspondence, together with her work for the sanctification of souls, which caused the late Cardinal Gibbons, in 1880, to urge that steps be taken for Mother Seton's canonization.

Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton was the most noted convert to the Church during Bishop Carroll's lifetime. Her father, Dr. Richard Bayley, was the first professor of anatomy at Columbia University, New York City, where Elizabeth was born on August 28, 1774. At the age of twenty, on January 25, 1794, she was married to William Magee Seton, a merchant of the metropolis. Five children blessed the union—William, Richard, Anna Maria, Catherine, and Rebecca. Born and reared a devout Anglican, Mrs. Seton spared no effort to raise her own children and the children of her father by a second marriage, in strict accord with the Anglican faith. Her husband's health failed in

⁸⁰ McCANN, *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters*, vol. i, pp. 12-13. New York, 1917.

1803, and they made a voyage to Italy, at the earnest invitation of the Filicchi family in Leghorn, with whom Mr. Seton had business relations. Unfortunately Mr. Seton received no benefit from the sea voyage, and died at Pisa, on December 27, 1803. Elizabeth became ill about the same time, and during her convalescence, she began to study the doctrines and the history of the Catholic Church. On her return to New York, in 1804, it soon became known that she contemplated asking admission into the Church, and the prominence of her family and that of her husband made the project of her conversion a widely discussed subject. Effort was made to dissuade her from taking a step which was so unusual at that time. Through her friends, the Filicchis, she was introduced by letter to Father Cheverus and to Bishop Carroll. After some months spent in prayer and study she was received into the Church by Father Matthew O'Brien, in St. Peter's Church, Barclay Street, in March, 1805.³¹

Left almost penniless by the death of her husband, Mrs. Seton first opened a home for the boys of a Protestant school, near St. Mark's Church, but her influence in the conversion of her sister-in-law, Cecilia Seton, aroused so much resentment that she was obliged to close the house. Mr. Filicchi advised her to settle in Montreal, where she could place her children in a convent school and pay for their education by teaching. About this time, she made the acquaintance of Father Du Bourg, who had founded St. Mary's College in Baltimore the previous year (1805). Their friendship, begun at this time, turned the current of her life towards the fuller consecration of herself in religion. Father Du Bourg suggested that she come to Baltimore and found a school for Catholic girls near St. Mary's College. On November 26, 1806, Mrs. Seton wrote to Bishop Carroll, asking his advice and direction "in a case of the greatest moment to my happiness here, and to my eternal happiness."³² There is no doubt that Father Du Bourg, together with her other counsellors, Fathers Cheverus and Matignon, saw in Mrs. Seton the possible foundress of a community of women who would devote themselves to the training of the young, in schools,

³¹ Cf. *Questions anent Mother Seton's Conversion*, by SOUVAY, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. v, pp. 223-238.

³² The Carroll-Seton correspondence used by White, McCann and others is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 7-M4-10, N1-15.

asylums, and orphanages. The project seems to have been neglected for a time, probably owing to the attitude Bishop Carroll had assumed regarding the college in Baltimore; but finally in June, 1808, Mrs. Seton set out by packet for Baltimore, reaching the episcopal city on June 15. A few days afterwards, she brought her two sons, William and Richard, whose education at Georgetown College was being provided for by the Filicchis, to St. Mary's College, so that they might have the advantage of her motherly influence. Bishop Carroll had no hesitation in warmly seconding Mrs. Seton's plan to begin a school for Catholic girls in the city and in September, 1808, the institution was opened for classes. Only the children of Catholic parents were admitted, the main object of the school being to impart a solid religious instruction together with the elements of learning. "Her pupils said morning and evening prayers in common, recited the Rosary together, and assisted at daily Mass. The course of studies embraced the usual branches of a young ladies' academy, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, plain and fancy needle work, and the English and French languages, to which was added Christian Doctrine, which she impressed deeply on their minds." ³³

The thought of founding a religious community for this important work gradually took possession of her mind, and when it became known that such was her intention, other ladies expressed a desire to join her at Baltimore. Her first companions were: Cecilia O'Conway, "Philadelphia's first nun," ³⁴ who came on December 7, 1808; Maria Murphy, a niece of Mathew Carey, the publisher of Philadelphia; Mary Ann Butler; Susan Clossy; Mrs. Rose White; and Catherine Mullen. Father Du Bourg drew up a code of rules for the religious life of the tentative community, the members being at first known as the Sisters of St. Joseph. There was at this time in St. Mary's Seminary, close to which the little school was begun, a Virginian, Samuel Cooper, a convert and a gentleman of means who was preparing for the priesthood.³⁵ Mrs. Seton gained his interest and good

³³ WHITE, *Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Seton*, pp. 210ss. New York, 1853.

³⁴ Cf. FLICK, *Mathias James O'Conway*, in the *Records*, vol. x, pp. 257-299; SMITH, *Philadelphia's First Nun*, *ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 417-522.

³⁵ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xv, pp. 178s.

will in her project, and the generous sum of eight thousand dollars was set aside by Mr. Cooper for the new community. In choosing a home for her sisters in religion, Mother Seton was influenced by Mr. Cooper's choice, the now well-known St. Joseph's Valley near Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. Bishop Carroll gave his approval to this plan, and Mother Seton took possession of a little house in the Valley, offered to her by the Sulpicians, on July 30, 1809. The Sisters continued to live under the temporary rule drawn up by Father Du Bourg until 1810 when Bishop Flaget obtained in France a copy of the constitutions which St. Vincent de Paul had drawn up (1663) for the Sisters of Charity. These were carefully studied by Mother Seton, Archbishop Carroll and Father Du Bourg.

After careful consideration and study, it was determined to adopt as far as possible the rules of the Daughters of Charity. The principal point on which the rules were changed in order to adapt them to American conditions concerned the activities of the Sisters in the schools, for the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent devoted themselves entirely to the service of children unable to pay for their education. This could be done in France because the nuns had an assured income from other sources. In the United States, on the contrary, Mother Seton's Sisterhood had no income whatever, and the Sisters must therefore earn their daily bread in part by their teaching activity. However, from the beginning, Mother Seton's community devoted themselves largely to the education of the poor, and in later years this has been their principal work. Father Dubois (then Superior), therefore, felt obliged to recommend to Bishop Carroll a change in the rules so as to allow the American Sisterhood to take charge of schools for pupils who should pay for their tuition. Another proposed change was temporary. This permitted Mother Seton, notwithstanding her vows, to remain the legal guardian of her children.³⁰

These changes were approved by Father Jean Tessier, the Superior of St. Sulpice, who had been deputed to examine them, and the Rule was then formally adopted by Archbishop Carroll in September, 1811. He had visited the community at St. Joseph's Valley, on October 20, 1809, and several times afterwards, and continued to show an unfaltering interest in Mother Seton's work until his death. Mother Seton was elected Superior of the Daughters of Charity, as they were then known, and remained in the post until her death, January 4, 1821. In one of his

³⁰ HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians, etc.*, p. 224.

letters to Mother Seton, dated September 11, 1811, Archbishop Carroll said:

Assure yourself and your beloved Sisters of my utmost solicitude for your advancement in the service and favor of God; of my reliance on your prayers; of mine for your prosperity in the important duty of education, which will and must long be your principal, and will always be your partial, employment. A century at least will pass before the exigencies and habits of this country will require and hardly admit of the charitable exercises towards the sick, sufficient to employ any number of the Sisters out of our largest cities; and therefore they must consider the business of education as a laborious, charitable, and permanent object of their religious duty.³⁷

At this time there were twenty Sisters in the institution at St. Joseph's Valley, and with such excellent spiritual guides as Father David, who succeeded Du Bourg, and Father Simon Bruté, who had been appointed to assist Dubois in the work of Mount St. Mary's College, and Father Dubois himself, the little community began its long and active life of devotion to educational and charitable works. In 1810, the Sisters opened a free school in Emmitsburg for the poor children of the neighbourhood, and this, together with the Academy, kept the little band busy from morning till night. By June, 1809, forty pupils, thirty of whom were boarders, were in attendance in the school. Before Mother Seton's death, the Sisters had opened other free schools at Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, and had founded orphan asylums in the same cities. The community numbered fifty members in 1821.

Another community, the Sisters of St. Dominic, contemplated the foundation of a house in America. Plowden wrote to Carroll on July 30, 1791, of a convent of Dominican nuns at Calais, whose prioress "Mrs. Gray, highly commended by all here, wishes to transport herself and some of her nuns to your coast. Do you approve of it? The object is to establish a convent expressly for the education of girls." Dr. Carroll no doubt wrote encouraging the nuns to come, for he was most anxious to provide for the education of American Catholic girls. The Carisbrooke (England) Annals tells us that the Dominican

³⁷ WHITE, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

nuns of Brussels, after their flight to London in 1794, were visited by Father Edward Fenwick, the founder of the Order of St. Dominic in the United States and the first Bishop of Cincinnati, and with him the nuns discussed the advisability of going to America:

I went lately to see our sisters, the nuns of our Order who have also [? thought] of following me to America as they do not think they can prosper and increase in England. The Rev. Mother desires me to mention this to you and request your opinion and advice; meanwhile I desired them to recommend the case to Almighty God who will dispose of all in good time, and promised that I would, after being settled myself, look out and calculate for them and when I find a place will inform them. The novice there, Sr. Dominica about whom you have been consulted, requests you will again consult the General and give advice as Bishop Stapleton died before he decided the case. Moreover they were not in his jurisdiction but that of Bishop Sharrock of the western district. If the General and you should judge advisable for our Nuns to go to America which I sincerely wish, in case I can possibly provide for them, will you please to write to them, or to the Confessor Mr. Brittain on the subject.³⁸

Two other communities of nuns, distinctly American in origin and in scope, were founded during the last years of Archbishop Carroll's life: the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross, established by Father Nerinckx in 1812, and the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, founded by Bishop David, the same year. These two Sisterhoods for a time confined their educational and welfare work to Kentucky.

The one name which stands out as preëminent in this band of women devoting themselves to the highest ideals of religion and of charity during Dr. Carroll's episcopate (1790-1815) is that of Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton. Mother Seton is the typical American woman of her day—energetic, gentle, resourceful, unafraid of great undertakings, and profoundly religious. "She brought a new ideal into American life—the ideal of a band of women devoted to the care of their neighbours, through the same channels so well known in our own day: education of the children, asylums for the orphans, and hospitals for the

³⁸ GUILDAY, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-420.

sick." ⁸⁹ No Catholic woman of America has received the universal praise Mother Seton has been given during the century which has elapsed since her death; and her place in American Catholic history as one of the pillars of God's Church during Dr. Carroll's episcopate may yet be consecrated in a more solemn manner by the Holy See, if the process for her canonization reaches its legitimate fulfilment.

⁸⁹ McCANN, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 18. For a succinct account, cf. McCANN, *Religious Orders of Women of the United States* in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi (1921), pp. 316-331.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE RISE OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS FOR MEN IN THE UNITED STATES

Refugees from religious houses visited this country from Europe at various epochs of the later colonial period, and, especially during the worst years of the French Revolution. Their presence in the United States deserves only a passing mention; and a distinction must be kept between this "strolling clerical fraternity" that came here, with or without permission, and to whom Dr. Carroll sometimes gave faculties as, for example, Paul de St. Pierre, Whelan, Nugent, Reuter, Fromm, the two Heilbrons, Smyth, Roan, Ryan, the O'Briens, the Harolds and others, and those members of religious communities abroad who were sent here for the express purpose of founding houses of their respective Orders in the United States. The difficulties created by so many of the intruders in the reconstruction period of Carroll's prefecture-apostolic did not heighten the value of the religious Orders in the eyes of priests and people; and the founders of the religious communities of men found strong prejudices and little support when they first proposed to establish this important branch of Catholic life in the United States.

Four attempts of this nature were made:—the Augustinians under Dr. Carr, in Philadelphia; the Franciscans, under Dr. Egan, in the same city; the Trappists, under three separate leaders; and the Dominicans, under Father Edward Fenwick, O. P. Only the first and the last of these attempts met with success.

The story of these four efforts at religious life for men in the United States, with the exception of the rise of the first Dominican province, can not be adequately told, since the documents for the same are either lost completely or are unavailable. Father O'Daniel's recent study of Bishop Fenwick's life has brought to light an astonishing group of materials, all of

which are of value for the history of the institutional growth of the Church during Carroll's episcopate.¹ The Central Archives of the Franciscan Order, and the Franciscan Archives in Dublin have few letters about the province projected by Bishop Egan in Philadelphia.² The Trappists have found a chronicler of high ability in Dr. Lawrence Flick;³ but in the burning of St. Augustine's Church and Monastery by the anti-Catholic mobs of Philadelphia, in 1844, all the documents for the foundation of the Augustinian Order were destroyed.⁴ Meagre as all these sources are, the history of the rise of these religious communities is a valuable page in our early annals; and the story of these projects, shorn of all the legends which have gathered about them, deserves a place in Carroll's biography.

Bishop Carroll saw full well that in consequence of the wreck of the religious Orders in France, those among their members who retained the spirit of their institutions would look forward to the days when the houses that had been suppressed or destroyed, would be revived. The United States, he believed, would present a good opportunity for carrying out their desires of maintaining their communities intact until the restoration of order. But, unless they came with the necessary funds, Carroll was strongly of the opinion that it was far better for them to remain at home. Land was being offered to him in various parts of his diocese where religious communities could be established, providing their founders came with money to build. Moreover, he believed it was useless for communities to arrive here, with all their members ignorant of the English language, or knowing so little that they would not be acceptable to the people. Above all else, such men would require "to be educated in so liberal a manner as to be above the meanness and servility which, unfortunately, characterize too many of those who have been habituated to depend almost entirely on their talents for interesting or importuning the charity of others. Men of this

¹ *Life of the Right Reverend Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P., Founder of the Dominicans in the United States: Pioneer Missionary of Kentucky, Apostle of Ohio, First Bishop of Cincinnati.* Washington, D. C., 1921.

² Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 230-231.

³ *French Refugee Trappists in the United States*, in the *Records*, vol. i, pp. 86-116.

⁴ Letter to the author from Rev. Dr. Middleton, O.S.A., Villanova, Pa., September 9, 1921.

latter cast, or the institutions that are calculated to form them, are not fit for the present state of this country." ⁵

Among the first to arrive with proper credentials was the Rev. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., from St. Augustine's Monastery, Dublin, who came to America with the hope of founding an Augustinian province in this country. Dr. Carr was a man of native refinement of taste, of superior scholarship, and of the worthiest aspirations which a priest could have, for the welfare and the advancement of our holy Religion. He had a marked versatility of gifts, was a theologian of no mean character, an erudite scholar and an accomplished musician. Coming into a community, composed largely of persons who were opposed both to his creed and country, he must have possessed a special magnetic power in person and address, to receive the recognition of men of all beliefs and prejudices. He succeeded in what he essayed and helped very materially to give a respectable and honored position to Catholicity in Philadelphia and to enlist the sympathies of the rich and the influential in behalf of his struggling countrymen and co-religionists. His personal priestly life was most estimable, and tradition tells us that it would have been very difficult to have found in Philadelphia a clergyman more beloved by his flock for his dignity and gifts, and more admired and respected by his separated brethren. In the eyes of all he was a model of courtesy and kindness. There was always sunshine in his heart, which, great, noble and generous, was filled to overflowing with love for his fellow-men. Because of his intellectual attainments and his fondness for study, Dr. Carr was thought by many to be aloof from the humble and the lowly. Nothing could do his character greater injustice; for he was the very impersonation of the old adage that courtesy costs nothing. While he esteemed, loved and laboured for his charge, he was most liberal to all—Protestants and Catholics—meeting all on the broad ground of American citizenship, widening each day the circle of his action until he had broken down

⁵ Carroll to Troy, Baltimore, May 25, 1796; printed in MORAN, *Spicileg. Ossor.*, vol. iii, p. 521. Cf. the attempt of the Premonstratensians of Bois-le-Duc to come to America (Abbot Beckers to Carroll, August 15, 1807, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-G2).

unconsciously the barrier of prejudice and hate for his faith and his race.⁶

Dr. Carr was joined in the project of founding St. Augustine's Church by Rev. Michael Ennis, who was stationed at St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, and Rev. John Rossiter, stationed near Wilmington, Del., where Dr. Carr at first thought of starting his community, who is said to have been an officer in Rochambeau's army, returned to Ireland after the victory of Yorktown and joined the Augustinians. Not long after Carroll's return, he came back to America. In 1796, however, the present plot of ground occupied by St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia, was bought, and in September of that year, the cornerstone of the church was laid.⁷ Bishop Carroll was very much encouraged over the project of an American province of this great Order, although he would have preferred to see the Augustinians go out to Kentucky or Ohio where so many Catholics were falling away for want of the Sacraments. He writes to Archbishop Troy, on May 25, 1796:

Messrs. Carr and Rossiter are commissioned by their brethren in Ireland to endeavour to form an establishment for their Order in these States, in which endeavour they shall have every encouragement and aid in my power. I wished, indeed, that they would have directed their views for an establishment towards our great Western country, on and contiguous to the river Ohio, because if able and apostolical men could be obtained to enter on that field, it seems to me that it would become a most flourishing portion of the Church of Christ, and there the means of future subsistence may be secured now for a very trifling consideration. I have made known to them my opinion, leaving them, however, at full liberty to determine for themselves, and Philadelphia seems now to be the place of their choice—*quod felix faustumque sit*.⁸

On August 26, 1796, Bishop Carroll wrote to Father Carr congratulating him on the successful beginning of the new com-

⁶ McGOWAN, *Historical Sketch of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 19-20. Philadelphia, 1896. Archbishop Troy announced to Carroll on February 15, 1795, that Fathers Carr and Ennis were preparing to leave for the United States (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-M1-2).

⁷ Among the contributors to the fund for erecting St. Augustine's Church and Monastery were President George Washington, Governor Thomas McKean, Hon. Thomas FitzSimons, Commodore John Barry, Viscount de Noailles, the brother-in-law of Lafayette, Don José Viar, Spanish Consul at Philadelphia, and Stephen Girard. (Cf. McGOWAN, *op. cit.*, p. 24.)

⁸ MORAN, *Spicileg. Ossor.*, vol. iii, p. 520-521.

munity, and appointing him vicar-general for the northern part of the diocese.⁹ When he was assured of sufficient support, Father Carr applied to Rome for the requisite canonical authority to establish the new monastery of his Order, and an indult to that effect was sent to Dr. Carroll, on May 27, 1797, stating that the same could be erected canonically with his permission. Owing, however, to the danger of a long delay in the correspondence, Propaganda presumed that Carroll's consent would be given and so had already granted the indult, and the same was confided to Dr. Carroll for transmission to Father Carr. This was immediately forwarded to Father Carr, and thus the little community at Fourth and Vine Streets became the Mother-house for the Province of Our Lady of Good Counsel (now known as the Province of St. Thomas of Villanova). In his letter of May 27, Cardinal Gerdil, the Prefect of Propaganda, expressed in the name of the Congregation the great consolation all in Rome felt at this signal mark of divine predilection for America. With Europe in disorder and with so many deplorable calamities destroying religion, the progress of the Faith in the United States stood out like a beacon light of hope to the harassed head of the Church.¹⁰

Dr. Carr's missionary labours until his death (1819), form an integral part of the history of the Church in the Diocese of Philadelphia, and as Vicar-General of the Diocese of Baltimore before Bishop Egan's consecration (1810), he was practically the head of the Church in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. His community began very humbly, but from the inception of monastic life at old St. Augustine's, the Order attracted to itself some of the most learned and capable men in the priesthood of that day. Among the best known members of the Augustinians during these early years were: Father George Staunton, O.S.A., who came to the United States about 1799, and remained until 1809 or 1810; Father Philip Stafford, O.S.A., who was assistant at St. Joseph's and St. Augustine's Churches from 1800 to 1817; Father Philip Lariscy, O.S.A., the first priest to preach in Irish in the United States, who assisted at St. Augustine's from 1818 to 1824; and Dr. Michael Hurley, O.S.A., (1778-1837), one of

⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-A6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Letter-Books*, vol. ii, p. 119.

the most brilliant clergymen of the time.¹¹ Dr. Hurley is said to have been born in Philadelphia. He was sent by Dr. Carr to Viterbo, Italy, to complete his studies, and on his return, probably in 1803, he was appointed as assistant at St. Joseph's and St. Augustine's Churches. Few Catholic priests enjoyed a wider popularity with the people of Philadelphia. It is highly regrettable that all the documentary material for the history of these early years of the Augustinians was destroyed during the Native-American Riots of 1844. Only eighteen letters are extant in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, and they are mostly of an administrative nature dealing with the Church in Philadelphia under Dr. Carr, as Vicar-General of Baltimore.

There were Franciscans of the three branches (Friars Minor, Conventuals and Capuchins) in this country from the time of Carroll's prefectship (1784), down to the coming of Father Michael Egan, O.F.M., about 1799. Many of these were unfitted for such a sacred undertaking as the foundation of a province of their Order, and it was not until after his appointment as pastor of St. Mary's, Philadelphia, in April, 1803, that Father Egan placed this cherished project before the Holy See. On December 11, 1803, he addressed the Vicar of Rome, Cardinal della Somaglia, whom Dr. Carroll and Father Egan believed to be Prefect of Propaganda, asking for the requisite authority to found a Franciscan province in the United States. Father Egan called the attention of the cardinal to the fact that previous to his coming to America, he had been Guardian of St. Isidore's in Rome, and had spent several years in Ireland before taking up missionary work in Pennsylvania. The letter then continues:

The congregation here is both numerous and respectable, but I'm sorry to say there are many places in this extensive country, where the faithful are destitute of pastors, and deprived of the bread of life. To remedy this evil in some manner, application is made to your Eminence (with the concurrence and approbation of the Right Rev. Dr. Carroll of Baltimore), and is, that you would be pleased to procure for me, from the Superior of the Order of Ara Coeli, power of receiving and professing novices, and of forming a Province distinct and independent of that of Ireland, subject, however, to be called out and serve when and where the Right

¹¹ WESTCOTT, *A Memoir of the Very Rev. Michael Hurley, D.D., O.S.A.*, in the *Records*, vol. i, pp. 165-212.

Rev. Doctor Carroll or his successors may think proper to send them. An institution of this kind has been formed here by a gentleman of the Order of St. Augustine; the effects whereof are already felt; and, as the Franciscan Order is more numerous, it is to be hoped the benefit resulting to religion will be more extensive.¹²

Father Egan then explained to Somaglia that, owing to the strictness of the Franciscan Rule, the Holy See would be obliged to grant a dispensation to the members of the Order in the United States to acquire and hold property. As pastors of churches, they were the legal heads of the corporation made up of the church trustees, and they would be forced to hold church property legally to protect it from alienation or mismanagement. After several months, not hearing from Rome, though we know that Cardinal Somaglia, who was Vicar of Rome, handed the letter to Propaganda, Father Egan sent a duplicate of the letter to Propaganda, on March 4, 1804. Bishop Carroll heartily concurred in the petition for the Franciscan province, and addressed Cardinal Somaglia on December 11, 1803, to that effect:

The Rev. Mr. Egan, having communicated his letter to your Eminence, and desired me to certify that its contents are agreeable to me, I take the liberty of adding that they have my entire approbation, and that I shall esteem it as a singular favour of Divine Providence to see, before the close of my life, the measure, which he proposes, carried into effect, because it would afford to me a reasonable hope, that there [would be] a provision made for supplying a portion of this extensive diocese—with worthy and edifying priests, to perform the services of our holy Religion. As I believe that your Eminence is a member of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, I request most humbly the favour of having an answer sent to the many urgent letters, which have been sent to me during the past years; and am with the greatest respect and veneration, etc.¹³

This petition was answered on June 24, 1804, and Father Egan was told that the Sacred Congregation would take the matter up with the superiors of the Franciscans in Rome; if it met with their approval, the project would be placed before the Holy Father, Pius VII. On June 30, 1804, Propaganda communicated by letter with the Commissary General of the Order,

¹² HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 969.

¹³ *Ibid.*, l. c., p. 970. (*Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 287, ff. 312-314.)

then in residence at the Ara Coeli, giving him at the same time copies of Egan's and Carroll's letters. The Secretary of Propaganda finished his letter with the statement that the erection of a Franciscan province was considered by the cardinals of the Congregation of such great importance that he trusted the general would give it his most earnest and immediate consideration. Permission from the head of the Franciscan Order was readily granted, and in a special audience before Pius VII on September 23, 1804, the Congregation requested papal approbation for Egan's design. There was no objection on the part of His Holiness, and on September 29, a decree to that effect was drawn up by the Propaganda officials and was despatched to Dr. Carroll, with a letter stating that Father Egan might proceed at once to erect a Franciscan province in this country, distinct and independent of the Irish Province ("a provincia Fratrum Minorum Hiberniae penitus distinctam atque independentem"). The strict rule of poverty of the Friars Minor made it necessary to issue an exemption to the members of the American province, but they were forbidden by the general of the Order to hold property in their own name; they were to have all property belonging to the Order vested in the name of Bishop Carroll or of some one not a member of the Franciscans.¹⁴

On the receipt of these documents, Father Egan wrote to Bishop Carroll (January 8, 1805), thanking him for his assistance and for his just and prudent observations relative to the establishment of the Province. It would seem as if Dr. Carroll had suggested to Father Egan, as he had also done to Father Carr, the superior of the Augustinians, the great good he might do if he established his Order in the Kentucky-Ohio regions where priests were so badly needed. A Mr. Gallagher from Kentucky was in Philadelphia in 1805, and there was talk of transferring the church property at Frankfort, Ky., to Father Egan, who makes mention of the offer in his letter of January 8, 1805 to Dr. Carroll.¹⁵ The offer was not accepted; no doubt, for the reason that Bishop Carroll had already obtained the consent of the Dominicans to go out to the Kentucky Missions.

¹⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 220-221; printed in HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 971. (Cf. *Records*, vol. xxi, p. 171.)

¹⁵ SPALDING, *Flaget*, p. 108.

Father Egan found a patron in the wealthy Catholic landowner of Pennsylvania, Mr. Joseph Cauffmann, who conveyed (August 9, 1806) to his son-in-law, Mark Willcox, and Father Carr, O.S.A., some three hundred acres of land in Indiana County, Penna., which was to be used for establishing a Franciscan monastery. In case the Order failed to accept the gift, it was to be turned over to the bishop of the diocese for church purposes.¹⁶ On September 5, 1810, Mr. Willcox and Father Carr conveyed the land to Bishop-elect Egan. The disturbed condition of the Church in Philadelphia during Dr. Egan's episcopate (1810-1814), due to the Harolds and to the trustee schism, gave the bishop no opportunity of carrying out his plans for the establishment of the American province of the Order, and after his death (July 22, 1814), his heir, Father Michael Du Burgo Egan conveyed the land (August 23, 1823) to Bishop Conwell.¹⁷

The Franciscans had a long history of activity within the present borders of the United States when their project of establishing a distinctly American province of the Order was abandoned by Bishop Egan. They had been the first to begin permanent missions in this country, and the list of missionaries, confessors of the Faith, and martyrs whose names are recorded in the Book of Deeds of the American Church, begins with that of Father Juan Suárez, O.F.M., who came to Florida with Narváez in 1528, and continues down to Egan's own day, when Fathers Junipero Serra, de Lasuén, and Tapis were founding those glorious relics of a vanished civilization—the Missions of California (1769-1823).¹⁸ In 1672, members of the English Franciscan province were at work in the Maryland Missions, and here and there throughout the country down to Egan's death, were to be found Franciscans of merit—pioneers such as Father Theodore Brouwers, O.F.M., who owned a large estate in Indiana County, Pa., and Father Van Huffel, O.F.M., who came to the United States in 1789, took part in the Synod of 1791, and

¹⁶ GRIFFIN, *Life of Bishop Egan*, p. 13; cf. *A Projected Franciscan Convent in Western Pennsylvania (1804-1810)*, in the *Records*, vol. xxi, pp. 170-176.

¹⁷ "I have not traced the conveyance farther. Is any part of the land now used for religious purposes?"—GRIFFIN, *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁸ ENGELHARDT, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, 4 vols. San Francisco, 1911-1915.

returned to Europe in 1805.¹⁹ But the failure of Bishop Egan's plan seems to have brought an end to the project of a Franciscan province. It was only after immigration from Germany and Austria to the United States had reached its highest point that the Franciscans were enabled to carry Bishop Egan's plan to completion.

The history of the Trappists in the United States begins with the exodus of the monks and novices from La Trappe, France, at the outbreak of the French Revolution, when Dom Augustin de Lestrange, the master of novices, sought a refuge in Switzerland with his community. Later, owing to the difficulty of finding a permanent home there, they wandered over different parts of Europe, and in 1802, Lestrange decided to send a group of Trappists to America. Under Dom Urbain Guillet, twenty-four members of the Order arrived at Baltimore, on Sept. 25, 1802. On July 10, 1804, Propaganda wrote to the Superior of the Trappists at Cività Castellana promising him that the Sacred Congregation would warmly recommend Dom Urbain and his companions to Bishop Carroll. There is a letter to this effect addressed to Carroll in the Propaganda Archives, dated July 14, 1804. They attempted a foundation at Pigeon Hill, but this was deserted in 1805, for Kentucky, where Father Badin gave them a hearty welcome. Meanwhile, Dom Augustin had sent out to the United States a second group under Dom Mary Joseph. The two bands of Trappists united, but in 1809 their monastery at Pottinger's Creek, Ky., was destroyed by fire, and they went to Florissant, Mo., where the community was re-established. The manner of religious life embraced in the severe rule of La Trappe was wholly unsuited to the rough pioneer conditions in Kentucky, and many cases of serious and fatal illness occurred by reason of their adherence to certain foods little calculated to give them the strength necessary for the hard life around them.

Their short stay in Kentucky was not devoid of benefit to that struggling portion of the American Church, for the school they

¹⁹ Thorpe writes to Carroll (April 7, 1789) that Van Huffel, who was then setting out for America, "seems to have nothing of what is meant here [Rome] by the name of *Frate*" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-J6). His departure is recorded in a letter from Carroll to Troy, November 9, 1805 (*ibid.*, Case 8-P7).

established was the beginning of Catholic education among the pioneer families of the then Far West, and the rigorous religious life they led had its corresponding influence upon the people. Spalding writes:

While in Kentucky, the Trappists relaxed in nothing the rigor of their institute. They observed a perpetual silence. They slept on boards, with nothing but a blanket for their covering, and a coarse canvas bag, stuffed with straw for their pillow. They gave but four hours in the twenty-four to repose—from eight o'clock p. m., until twelve. . . . They never ate meat, butter, eggs, nor fish; their food consisted of the coarsest bread, and of vegetables plainly dressed. On Good Friday, they took nothing but bread and water. Their life was thus a continual penance and prayer. But, in the climate of Kentucky, these rigid austerities were not compatible with health. The constitutions of many of the monks were greatly impaired; and five priests and three lay-brothers fell victims to disease. . . . these afflictions and the ardent desire which Father Urbain had conceived of labouring for the conversion and civilization of the Indian tribes, together with the aspiration after still greater solitude, determined him to emigrate with his Order still farther Westward.²⁰

And thus began the strangest and saddest odyssey in American annals. The monks built a flat-boat and with it set out on the Ohio, in the Spring of 1809, towards the Mississippi. On reaching the mouth of the Ohio, they camped for several months, in order to build a boat for the rest of the journey. At length they reached St. Louis, and fixed upon a site near Florissant, now called Monk's Mound, where they set up their establishment and renewed their strict religious life. Here again they met with almost insuperable difficulties, and, in 1812, the call came from the general of the Order for them to return to France. Father Urbain sold the property at Monk's Mound and returned to Maryland with his community. There he found that a third group had been sent out by Dom Augustin from Bordeaux, and had reached Boston on August 6, 1812, under the direction of Dom Vincent de Paul. This group consisted of three Fathers of the Order, one nun (Trappistine) and two lay brothers.²¹ Father Vincent's intention was to bring out five Sisters with

²⁰ SPALDING, *Sketches*, pp. 168-169.

²¹ Cf. *Memoirs of Father Vincent De Paul*, translated from the French by Pope (Charlottetown, P.E.I., 1886), printed (in part) in the *Researches*, vol. xxii, pp. 360-367; cf. *ibid.*, vol. x, pp. 170-173.

which to found a Cistercian convent in this country, but the French Government would permit only one nun to go. In August, 1813, he visited Bishop Egan at Philadelphia, and then went to Pike County to examine some land near Milford, Pa., which had been offered to his community. Not finding the place suitable, he returned to Philadelphia in October, 1813. In the meantime, Dom Augustin himself took refuge in the United States,²² but, after Napoleon's abdication, he resolved to take his monks back to France and reëstablish his community at La Trappe. Two groups of the monks left New York in 1814-15, one under Dom Augustin's care, the other under that of Dom Urbain. A third group started under Father Vincent de Paul, but the ship was detained at Halifax. Whether by accident or design, Father Vincent was left on shore when the boat sailed, and he devoted the rest of his life to missionary work in the Diocese of Halifax. Father Marie Joseph Dunand remained in the West and was given charge of the parish of St. Charles, Mo., and several of the lay-brothers remained in Kentucky.²³

The correspondence between the leaders of these groups of Trappists and Archbishop Carroll is one of the most numerous in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives; and the references to their life and missionary activities in the letters of Fathers Badin and Nerinckx are so many as to give the impression that in Kentucky in those days little else was discussed.²⁴ Fathers Nerinckx and Badin, the pioneers of the Church in those regions, while in generous sympathy with the ideas of La Trappe, realized that the monks would be of small service in the vineyard.²⁵ The

²² Dom Augustin to Carroll, Dunkirk, March 21, 1803, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8B-M5; same to same, Bordeaux, June 6, 1811, *ibid.*, M6.

²³ Father Vincent De Paul founded (1825) the monastery of Petit Clairvaux which, up to 1916, flourished at Tracadie, in the Diocese of Antigonish, N.S. (Cf. GAILLARDIN, *Histoire de la Trappe*. Grande Trappe, 1898; O'BRIEN, *Memoirs of Bishop Burke of Halifax*. Ottawa, 1894.) The *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec* contain numerous letters on the Trappist projects, eighteen being from the pen of Father Urbain to Bishop Plessis. For Father Marie Joseph Dunand, cf. FLICK, *Diary of Father M. J. D.*, in the *Records*, vol. xxvi, pp. 328ss.

²⁴ MAES, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, pp. 108-112. Cincinnati, 1880. These letters are in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Cases 1, 8, 9 and in the 2nd vol. of the *Letter-books*.

²⁵ On February 9, 1807, Father Badin wrote to Bishop Carroll that Father Urbain had sent fourteen of the monks in the severest weather of that winter to the plantations he had bought on Green River. They went by wagon and had to cut a road through the forests and the snow-drifts. "The good Father seems to ask for miracles," he added. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 1-H6.) Badin himself had seriously

American Church was not prepared to receive religious who followed the rule of contemplation. Thirty years later, when Catholic life was better organized, the Trappists of Melleray, France, sent out (1848) a group of monks and lay-brothers who established the monastery at Gethsemani, Kentucky.

The history of the first American province of the Order of Friars Preacher is so intimately connected with the Diocese of Bardstown that here only the beginnings of the province need to be detailed. The founder of the Dominican Province of St. Joseph, Bishop Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P., was born at the homestead of the family, in St. Mary's County, Md., on August 19, 1768. He was the fourth of the family of eight children: six boys and two girls. As the son of prominent Catholic parents, he was probably educated at home under private tutors, as was the custom with the Catholic families at that time; at an early age, he was entered at Holy Cross College, in Bornheim, Belgium, an Academy for the education of boys founded by Cardinal Thomas Howard, O.P. (c. 1758). Edward Fenwick was in his twentieth year when he finished his studies at Bornheim, and on September 4, 1788, he entered the Order of St. Dominic, the second American of whom there is any record to become a Dominican.²⁶ To his baptismal name of Edward, he added that of Dominic in honour of the sainted founder of the Order. After his profession (March 26, 1790), he began his studies for the priesthood, and was ordained in 1793. The approach of the French army at this period of the Revolution caused the superiors at Bornheim to place the college property in his hands, hoping that his American citizenship would save the institution. This fact was not, however, respected, for he was arrested and the property was confiscated, even though it had previously (1793) been protected by General Eustace, an American, who led the French troops. Father Fenwick was eventually released and went to England, where the English

considered joining the Trappists at this time (letter of February 17, 1807, to Carroll, *ibid.*, Case 1-H7), and he feared that Nerinckx might be tempted to join the monks. "Raro sanctificantur qui peregrinantur," Badin sarcastically remarks two years later when the monks were setting out for Missouri. Father Urbain's letters to Carroll (*ibid.*, Case 8-Q1-10) are filled with alternate hope and despair at each stage of the wanderings of his community.

²⁶ O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Dominicans had established a house at Carshalton, in Surrey, some twelve miles from London. Their prospects were not very encouraging. O'Daniel writes:

Fenwick himself was nearing middle age. Accordingly, he felt that the time was come when he could and should take steps towards putting his pious project into execution. In fact, although we have found no express assertion of his to that effect, the good priest seems to have regarded such a thing as so sacred a duty, that one is inclined to believe that he had taken a vow, if the permission were granted him, to establish his Order in the United States. . . . The prospects of success for the undertaking were the more propitious because the property left the humble friar by his father was situated in Maryland, and he had been able to obtain but little proceeds from it during his residence abroad. This could now be used in aid of the establishment Father Fenwick had so much at heart. Another circumstance in the good priest's favour was the presence in Rome of a learned Irish Dominican, who had long taken a keen interest in the missions of the United States, Father Richard Luke Concanen, then assistant to the Superior-General of the Order, and later the first Bishop of New York.²⁷

Father Fenwick secured the permission of the English Provincial, to begin negotiations with Dr. Concanen and Bishop Carroll. It was Dr. Concanen who urged Fenwick to establish a distinct and independent province of the Order, rather than a succursal house or friary dependent upon Carshalton. Father O'Daniel has printed the correspondence which ensued between Fenwick and Concanen, and there are stirring pages in his *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, describing the American's difficulties in persuading the English Provincial to allow Father Wilson to join him in the project. When the Master-General, Very Rev. Joseph Gaddi, authorized the undertaking, Fenwick wrote to Bishop Carroll, on January 12, 1804, that preparations were then being made for the proximate departure of the Dominicans for Maryland. Another letter to Bishop Carroll, dated Carshalton, May 5, 1804, states that he was awaiting "an obedience or formal order from the General's own hand," so that there would be no recriminations after he and the other Dominicans had departed.²⁸

In September, 1804, Fenwick and Father Angier, his colleague at Bornheim, set out from London, and after a tedious journey of

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

almost three months, reached Norfolk, Virginia, towards the end of November, 1804. On November 29, 1804, Fenwick wrote to Bishop Carroll, announcing the arrival of his companion and himself. Dr. Carroll replied on December 5, welcoming the two Friars, and offered them the Kentucky missions as a field for their activity. Bishop Carroll had very likely spoken to Fenwick's relations about his desire to see the new community established in Kentucky; but, in his answer of December 15, 1804, Father Fenwick emphasized the fact that the true object of his presence in Maryland was to establish a convent of his Order there. He believed at first that Carroll's plan would nullify this permission. His design "had always been to found his Order in his native Maryland, which he loved with the affection akin to that of a son for a mother. Keen, therefore, was his disappointment on learning that Bishop Carroll desired that Kentucky should be the first sphere of apostolic labour for the Friars Preacher. But he was too zealous a priest to hesitate to go wherever his services were most needed, as well as a religious too thoroughly trained in obedience not to submit readily to the voice of authority."²⁹ The nearness of the two Catholic colleges at Georgetown and Baltimore rendered the success of a third institution precarious.

When the winter of 1804-5 was over, Father Fenwick decided to go out to Kentucky to view the prospects there. He was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Nicholas Young. Father Stephen Badin welcomed the zealous priest and it was settled between them that he should return to Baltimore and accept Dr. Carroll's offer. Father Badin wrote to Dr. Carroll on May 15, 1805, that he would willingly coöperate in the establishment of the Dominican monastery and College which Father Fenwick had in view. Badin asked that Dr. Carroll allow him the liberty of transferring the ecclesiastical property vested in his name, as well as two hundred and twenty acres of land belonging to himself, to the new community. "As Mr. Fenwick and his brethren," he writes, "will assume the obligation of fulfilling the duties of the mission as well as myself . . . I do humbly request and confidently hope that you will give me leave to be

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

associated to St. Dominic's family. I conceived this wish as well as the other resolution within two days after Mr. Fenwick's arrival, and have never varied."³⁰ Father Fenwick returned to Maryland with this letter; after his arrival, he wrote to Dr. Concanen an account of all that had taken place, adding that Bishop Carroll "applauds and consents to it." The church lands, it is true, which Badin wished to transfer to the Dominicans, were of minor value at that time, and the log presbyteries which had been built on them were of the type common to frontier towns.

Shortly afterwards there arrived as Father Badin's co-worker in the fields of Kentucky the great Belgian missionary, Father Charles Nerinckx (July 18, 1805). The presence of this valiant soldier of the Cross gave such hearty encouragement to Father Badin that his desire to become a Dominican disappeared for a time, and he wrote to Dr. Carroll (October 5, 1805) repudiating his offer. This letter is the first in a long series which deal with one of the most unfortunate episodes in Catholic American annals, and it is difficult, with all possible desire for impartiality, not to see in Badin's sudden change of policy the influence of his *confrère*, Charles Nerinckx. "Since I have made my proposals to Mr. Fenwick," Badin wrote on October 5, 1805, "I have evidently seen that not only it would not be advantageous, but it might prove very detrimental to religion to surrender the whole ecclesiastical property to one Order, exclusively, which in time will probably claim besides, privileges and exemptions from the jurisdiction and control of the Ordinary."³¹ There is little doubt that the Kentucky missions were a grave problem to Dr. Carroll. After receiving Badin's letter of May 15, 1805, offering all ecclesiastical properties and himself to the Dominicans, Bishop Carroll wrote to Badin concurring in the project of the property transfer. What occurred between May and October can easily be conjectured, and it is hard to acquit the two Kentucky missionaries of bad faith, when we find Badin writing to the effect that: "I really thought that Mr. F [enwick] at the very time I was writing my proposals was, with modesty, however, showing a grasping disposition: for he was not satisfied with one only

³⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 1-G9; printed in O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Case 1-G10; printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, pp. 68-71.

of the church livings; but as two days before I had show'd a cheerful disposition to part with everything to establish the Order, he insisted on possessing everything: knowing and expressly mentioning that such a disposition should be submitted to your corrective, I acquiesced although but little edified." Father Badin's "change of mind" precipitated a situation which was to last all through Carroll's episcopate and to inaugurate a series of letters from the two Kentucky priests—Badin and Nerinckx—which had much better never have been written. The virulent denunciations sent to Bishop Carroll against the Dominicans have left an unpleasant echo in Kentucky annals. Father O'Daniel has given us a detailed history of this unpleasantness. He says that it deserves no more than a casual reference in the life of the founder of the Order in this country, Father Fenwick; but, unfortunately, the biographers of Father Nerinckx have not been careful in their use of the documentary material at their disposal. One of them, at least, has suffered somewhat from what historians call "Froude's disease." The result has been that a one-sided presentation of the episode has passed into Catholic American annals and has been given a place of acceptance in the pages of John Gilmary Shea. The most charitable explanation of this depressing event in the history of the American Church is that given by Father O'Daniel: "Father Badin was a Frenchman; Father Nerinckx a Belgian. Three of the Dominicans were British. The other was an American; but he was of English origin, and had spent the greater part of his life abroad with Englishmen. Nearly all the people of Kentucky were Americans, but of English descent."³² If one adds to this the fact that the two pioneer missionaries of Kentucky—Badin and Nerinckx—had been trained in a more rigid school of theology, which savoured greatly of the Jansenistic spirit then prevalent in French and Belgian ecclesiastical circles, we shall be able better to approach the problem of interpreting these years of conflict between the two seculars and the Dominicans. The American Church has been free to a great extent from these theological discussions of laxism and rigorism, and it is well for the history of our Church that the leader of the

³² *A Long Misunderstood Episode in American History*, by O'DANIEL, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, p. 22.

Dominicans during this controversy, Father Wilson, was a man of wide learning, affable, and retiring. Spalding calls him one of the most learned divines who ever emigrated to America. Throughout the whole *affaire* the Dominicans wrote but seldom, and then only to defend their good name against charges that would arouse the spirit of any good priest. Fenwick refers to the matter only once in his correspondence with Dr. Concanen, and then it is to say a charitable word about both his enemies.

Meanwhile, the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide had issued (March 11, 1805) the formal decree authorizing the founding of the American province of the Dominican Order. On June 22, 1805, the Master-General, Father Gaddi, appointed Father Fenwick Provincial. These two documents were sent to Bishop Carroll, who received them early in October, and then forwarded them to Fenwick, at Piscataway, Md. Fathers Wilson and Tuite, two other Bornheim Dominicans who had arrived in Maryland, were immediately ordered by the Provincial to proceed to Kentucky. Family affairs detained Father Fenwick until the following year, and it was not until July, 1806, that he joined his brethren. "Here he found that the former generous dispositions of Father Badin had been supplanted by an attitude void of all sympathy, if not positively unfriendly. The plan of conveying the various parcels of church land to the Friars had been cancelled . . . It was fortunate, therefore, that Bishop Carroll had given Father Fenwick, before he quitted Maryland, the option of locating his convent and college in whatever part of Kentucky he should judge best suited to his purpose." ³³

With his own patrimony, Father Fenwick purchased a farm of five hundred acres and a brick house, about two miles from Springfield, and there St. Rose's Priory was established before the close of the year. The next project was to found a college for the instruction of boys. Bishop Carroll had given Father Fenwick an open letter of recommendation to the Catholics of Kentucky before his departure, and this letter was now printed as a broadside and an appeal made for funds:

The Rev. Mr. Edward D. Fenwick and other Rev. Clergymen connected with him, having proposed for themselves the establishment of

³³ O'DANIEL, *Fenwick*, pp. 106-107.

a College or Academy in Kentucky, for the education of youth, I not only approve of, but greatly rejoice at their having formed such a resolution, which, if carried into effect, cannot fail of producing the most beneficial effects for improving the minds and morals of the rising generation, and fortifying their religious principles. Believing that God in his beneficence inspired this design into their minds, I take the liberty of recommending to, and exhorting all my dear brethren and children in Christ to grant to it every encouragement they are able, and thus co-operate to the success of a work undertaken for the glory of God and their own advantage.

✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Baltimore*.³⁴

In those days money was scarce in Kentucky, all debts being paid in barter. Business and trade were carried on in this fashion. In May, 1807, a small college was opened with twelve boys, who paid one hundred dollars per annum, and with ten poor boys gratis. Six of these became postulants in the Order and some were soon capable of taking a place in the teaching staff of the college, to which was given the name of St. Thomas Aquinas. In October, 1807, Father Wilson became provincial and Father Fenwick was left free to tour the country on horseback, visiting the Catholics of that section and ministering to them. St. Rose's Church, the mother-house of the Dominican Order in this country, was completed in 1809, and in 1812, the College of St. Thomas Aquinas, through a legacy of two thousand dollars left by Bishop Concanen, was finally finished. The Dominicans ministered to a Catholic population of about twenty thousand souls. Father Fenwick's many journeys through Ohio had made him familiar with that territory, and it was but logical when the Diocese of Cincinnati was erected (1821), that he should be chosen its first bishop. After Father Wilson's death (1824), Bishop Fenwick again became Provincial of the Dominican Province of St. Joseph, and held this post until his death (September 26, 1832).

The Church in the United States, during Carroll's episcopate, did not reach a stage of progress which warranted the successful founding of religious houses, especially for men. Many years were to pass before this essential factor in Catholic spirituality would be able to survive the harsh conditions of American life

³⁴ Cited by O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The communities which were able to continue—the Augustinians and the Dominicans—waited several decades before they ventured to multiply their activities; and, indeed, it was well on towards the middle of the last century that their real development began.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE RESTORATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN THE UNITED STATES

(1806-1815)

From August 16, 1773, until August 7, 1814, the Society of Jesus was outlawed by the Church of God. The execution of the fatal order of Clement XIV was left to the individual bishops throughout the world. With the exception of Prussia and Russia, where the sovereigns refused to destroy the Society, confiscation and suppression were carried out to the letter. The English ex-Jesuits had obtained in 1778, papal sanction by the Brief *Catholici Praesules* for their Academy at Liège, where they remained until 1794, when the masters and scholars migrated to Stonyhurst.¹ The Liège School was the last oasis in an educational desert created by Bourbon hatred and papal acquiescence. Its continuance under ex-Jesuit control is one of the remarkable pages in Jesuit history. Most of the American clergy—all Jesuits in 1773—had, like Bishop Carroll, passed through Liège to their ordination and final profession. The same enmity which left no stone unturned to suppress the remnant of the Society in White Russia, was in evidence as the English Academy at Liège progressed. It is not difficult to surmise what would have been the ultimate condition of the Society today, had not the Suppression reacted upon the very courts that had so insolently demanded it from the Holy See.

The Interim (1773-1814) is synchronous with the collapse of Bourbonism in Europe. Throughout the world, during these forty years of Suppression, the members of the Society looked to the White Russian Province as a link with their great past, in case the future should warrant the restoration of the Society; and foremost among those of the Society who were determined

¹ HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus, etc.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 683, note 33.

to profit by every advantage were the English ex-Jesuits. After their migration to Stonyhurst, the Abbé de Broglie, representing the Paccanarists, came to London, in 1797, for the purpose of urging the English ex-Jesuits to join the new union. Among those who became members of this group was Father Charles Forrester, who had been present at Carroll's consecration.² The movement met a strong opponent in Carroll's life-long friend, Father Charles Plowden, who preached his consecration sermon. "There was much to recommend a junction between the ex-Jesuits and the new society," writes Ward, "their anomalous position would have come to an end, and they would have found themselves members of an Order of similar aims and rules resembling those to which they had been so long voluntarily adhering."³ The English ex-Jesuits wisely refrained from taking part in Abbé de Broglie's project, for in 1801, Pius VII formally approved by the Brief *Catholicae Fidei* the existence of the Society of Jesus in Russia. On May 27, 1803, the English ex-Jesuits succeeded in obtaining oral permission from the same pontiff for the aggregation to the Russian Province.⁴ Father Gruber, the General, appointed Father Marmaduke Stone, then President of Stonyhurst College, superior of the affiliated English Jesuits. All that was asked of the former members of the Society was to perform a spiritual retreat and to renew their vows. Father Stone's authority was indeed based upon the celebrated *vivae vocis oraculum*, understood to have been granted by Pius VII to Father Gruber's agent in Rome, Father Angelioni. Bishop Milner tells us in a letter to Archbishop Troy (February 27, 1805) that "my friend, Charles Plowden, stood out for a time, saying that without a public instrument under the Pope's hand, it might be disavowed and overturned in a moment. At length, however, he complied and accordingly pronounced his vows on August 15, 1804."⁵ A regular novitiate was opened at Hodder, near Stonyhurst, in a house given to the Society by Mr. Weldon, and Father Charles Plowden

² Forrester to Carroll, Lulworth, May 6, 1803 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-08).

³ WARD, *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, vol. i, pp. 208-209. London, 1911.

⁴ Plowden to Carroll, London, July 19, 1803. Such an application had been made and the English ex-Jesuits expected permission to proceed as they desired in the matter (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*. Case 6-Q3).

⁵ Cited by Ward, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 210. (From the *Archiepiscopal Archives* of Dublin.)

became first master of novices. Henceforth they were able to live as Jesuits, although the permission granted by Pius VII was of a private nature and was to be kept secret. Even Cardinal Borgia, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, which was the administrative court for England and America, was not told of this partial restoration.

It was impossible, however, to keep the matter a secret, and Cardinal Borgia wrote rather vehemently to Bishop Douglass, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, on December 3, 1803, protesting against any recognition of the Jesuits in England. He requested him to notify confidentially the other vicars-apostolic that the Society existed only within the confines of Russia, and then only because the Holy See was powerless before the Empress Catherine, who protected the Jesuits. On March 17, 1804, the Cardinal-Prefect wrote in the same vein to Bishop Milner. Cardinal Borgia acknowledged that he had become aware of the general opinion that Pius VII had restored the Society and that houses might be begun wherever a sufficient group of Jesuits might be gathered. He called Bishop Milner's attention to the fact that the permission granted by the Holy See on March 7, 1801, was "*intra Russiaci Imperii fines dumtaxat et non extra.*" Wherefore, the General of the Society had no right to revive the Society outside the Russian frontiers and likewise had no right to aggregate those living in other countries to the remnant existing in Russia. The Cardinal-Prefect then added in no unmistakable terms that the *vivae vocis oraculum* was false. Bishop Milner was warned not to allow the ex-Jesuits of England to affiliate themselves to Russia, but to consider them as secular diocesan priests.⁶ Later in 1804, Bishop Gibson had written to Father Stone, giving him the message contained in Borgia's letter, but the English Provincial was too well acquainted with the actual position of the Society in the eyes of the Holy See to be misled by Borgia, who was an acknowledged opponent of the Society. Father Stone stood firmly upon the permission granted in the *vivae vocis oraculum*, "for he had received repeated assurances from the Father-General that the Holy Father had approved all that the English Jesuits had so far done, and he was aware that

⁶ From the *Birmingham Diocesan Archives*. The original Latin letter will be found in WARD, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 287-288.

the Holy Father might have reasons for not communicating his will even to Propaganda."⁷

In spite, therefore, of Cardinal Borgia's hostility, the English Jesuits continued with their work at Stonyhurst and at Hodder. There were continual difficulties for the next twenty-five years, not the least of which was the fact that the presence of the Society in England was made an obstacle to Catholic Emancipation by the antagonists of that measure.

The English Jesuits did not receive the full benefit of the Bull of Restoration of 1814 until January 1, 1829, when Leo XII declared it to have force in England. The Catholic Emancipation Bill, which received the royal assent on April 13, 1829, contained a penal clause against the existence of the Jesuits in England, but it was never enforced. "The sons of the Society in England," writes Father Pollen, "probably suffered less under the Suppression than did the Jesuits of any other country in Europe. In England, the Society had always been remarkably popular, and the proportion of the Jesuits in the total number of the clergy had always been unusually high."⁸ There were strong adhesive forces active among the Fathers in England as well as in the United States during the Interim, and the English Jesuits were the first, the American Jesuits the second, to request aggregation with Russia. Both branches of the Society were to be allowed to reorganize on the old lines.

The history of the English Jesuits during this period (1773-1814) is an important background for the study of the Restoration of the Society in the United States. Every aspect of the Interim in England had its direct reaction upon the ex-Jesuits in America. Father John Carroll was one of the very few English-speaking Jesuits who were at Rome during the period immediately preceding the Suppression. When, on January 23, 1772, he wrote from Rome to Father Ellerker, S. J., one of the English professors at Liège, that "our catastrophe is near at hand, if we must trust to present appearances and the talk of Rome," he knew that the Society was doomed; and his letters of this period show how poignant was his grief at being obliged to hide his identity in Rome, even when travelling with so prominent a person

⁷ POLLEN, *An Unobserved Centenary*, in the *Month*, May, 1910, p. 361.

⁸ POLLEN, *l.c.*, p. 362.

as Lord Stourton's son. John Carroll never forgot those days of anguish at the centre of Christendom, and that fact must be remembered when in later years, as Bishop of Baltimore, he apparently showed reluctance at the prospect of restoring the Society.

When Bishop Challoner (October 6, 1773) forwarded to America the Brief of Suppression, the Jesuits here submissively signed and returned the document which destroyed not only their solidarity but also placed the ban of the Church upon that sublime religious ideal for which they had sacrificed their home ties and their fortunes and by which they had regulated their lives from youth to manhood and, in most cases, to old age. There was no vicar-apostolic around whom they could rally for safety, as their brethren in England were able to do; and only upon the uncertain authority which remained to their veteran leader, John Lewis, could they base their future activities; but the thought and the spirit which dominated these men, from 1773 onwards, was the restoration of the Society, at least in their own land of America. In spite of the Revolutionary War (1775-1783), they managed to keep in touch with the former English Jesuits, and every step made towards the reorganization of the Society in England had its corresponding effect upon the hopes of the Americans.

The decree of Suppression allowed the ex-Jesuits who submitted, the privilege of remaining in the parishes where they were, but under the jurisdiction of the local bishops. This no doubt amused the despoiled Americans, for there were no resident priests in the country, except ex-Jesuits, and no bishops nearer than London, Quebec, or Santiago de Cuba.⁹ That they felt the injustice of the "Ganganelli Brief" keenly is only too patent to him who reads the correspondence of the years 1773-1806. The disturbed condition of the American colonies during the War for American Independence afforded little chance for meetings of any sort, and the main endeavour of the American ex-Jesuits was to establish regulations for the perpetuation of the labourers

⁹ "Ma che cosa si farà con quelli che vivono nell'America, per così dire, in un altro mondo senza aver tra loro nè Vescovo, nemeno un Prete, che sia di un ordine diverso del loro"—Challoner to Stonor, London, September 14, 1773, quoted by HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 604. Cf. CAMPBELL, *The Jesuits*, p. 601. New York, 1921.

in the vineyard here. Occasionally rumours reached them from England that Propaganda was busy planning the confiscation of all the old Jesuit estates, and Carroll's attitude to which reference has already been made, must have put spirit into his English brethren when his letter of September 26, 1783, was read by Plowden to the members of the Society in England. Carroll's utterance on this occasion is the keynote to his whole life as priest, prefect-apostolic, bishop and archbishop, for he formally declared that "foreign temporal jurisdiction will never be tolerated here" in America.

The earliest voiced declaration that the American Fathers wanted the Society restored in the United States is to be found in the resolution of the First General Chapter of the Clergy at Whitmarsh, under date of November 6, 1783:

The Chapter declare for themselves, and as far as they can for their constituents, that they will to the best of their power promote and effect an absolute and entire restoration to the Society of Jesus, if it should please Almighty God to re-establish it in this country, of all property belonging to it; and, if any person, who has done good and faithful service to religion in this country, should not re-enter the Society so re-established, he is nevertheless to receive a comfortable maintenance whilst he continues to render the same services, and to be provided for as others in old age or infirmity.¹⁰

This resolution embodies the spirit which ruled the ex-Jesuits here until the American restoration came in 1806. And so thoroughly did they believe in the nearness of such an event that they began organizing at once into a Clergy Corporation for the purpose of preserving the property of the Society intact for that *magna dies* when they would meet again under the standard of Ignatius Loyola. They foresaw that encroachment on these property rights might arise from two sources: first, from the clerical "newcomers" into the country; and secondly from the person invested with spiritual jurisdiction in this country. Without a novitiate—and one was impossible to a non-existent religious Order—their own membership was doomed to constant losses by death; priests from foreign lands would undoubtedly come with their flocks to this country and soon these "newcomers" would outnumber the older men. The properties, while not im-

¹⁰ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 628.

portant in size or in value, were not considered by the ex-Jesuits as belonging to themselves personally or collectively; they were pious funds and pious donations of lands and of houses for the support of religion in the American Missions, and as such the rigorous tenets of canon law governed their usage and their sale. In spite of all that has been written and published to the contrary, it is impossible to prove that the ex-Jesuits were ever recreant to this trust. Difficulties did arise, after Carroll and his successor Neale went to their graves, but through the whole controversy in Maréchal's day, the problem at issue was not objectively a personal one but one to be adjudged by canonical procedure. They showed no hesitancy in accepting the "new-comers," even though amongst them there were some to be found who shared the popular European satisfaction in the suppression of the Society. The Clergy Corporation was a protective association not for the ex-Jesuits, but for these estates which to them were sacred, in origin as well as in destination. Every newcomer accepted by Carroll as prefect-apostolic was eligible for membership in the Corporation, providing he submitted to these wise and salutary regulations. As far as the second danger was concerned, namely from the person who would be appointed over the American Church, in whatever capacity, they saw no difficulty, if he was one of their own members; but as superior (prefect-apostolic, vicar-apostolic, or bishop) he was to have no power "over or in the temporal property of the Clergy." Carroll's appointment as prefect-apostolic was the beginning of a more compact ecclesiastical organization, but it is very clear from the proceedings of the other General Chapters that, until the American priests were certain of the extraordinary and unusual privilege of electing a bishop for the United States, a prelate with ordinary jurisdiction was not welcome. When John Carroll was elected by them as their first bishop, one of his earliest acts (May 26, 1790) was to sign a declaration to the effect that the See of Baltimore would have no rights accruing to it from the former Jesuit estates. Again must this firm stand be interpreted as a protective measure with the same end in view. Carroll's declaration is as follows:

To prevent any disagreement or contention hereafter between the Bishop of Baltimore and his Clergy, or any of them, in consequence of

any words contained in his Holiness's brief for erecting the See of Baltimore &c.; I hereby declare that I do not conceive myself entitled by the said brief to claim any right of interference in the management of those estates in Maryland and Pennsylvania, which were heretofore applied to the maintenance of the Jesuit missionaries; and since their extinction, to the ex-Jesuits, and other Clergymen admitted to partake of their labor, in serving the Congregations, which were before served by the Jesuits.¹¹

Under this private arrangement Bishop Carroll strove to live until his death, in 1815. He received annually the support voted in his favor at the General Chapter of 1789, and little difficulty arose on this score.

Meanwhile, the reorganization of the Society of Jesus in the United States was not lost to sight. Father Carroll's correspondence on the subject with the English ex-Jesuits grows in volume as the years pass. Evidently, in reply to one of his letters, Father Thomas Talbot, the procurator of the dissolved English Province of the Society, wrote to Carroll, from London, on September 21, 1784, stating that, living as the Americans did, in "a free State, independent of foreign potentates and cabals, where liberty of conscience is not controlled, where Catholicity was first planted by the Jesuits, has hitherto been nursed by the Jesuits and solely brought by them to the perfection it now enjoys," it should be an easy matter for the former members of the Society in the United States to affiliate themselves with the Jesuit Province in White Russia, which was still unsuppressed, and over which Father Gruber, the Father-General presided. If this were done, and Father Talbot hopes there was none amongst the Americans "who would not fly to his colours with eagerness," many European Jesuits, and especially those in England, "would flock to you and would think themselves happy to end their career under the same banner they began it." When the dissension arose at the Second General Chapter (1786) over the resolution to establish a school "for the education of youth and the perpetuity of the body of clergy in this country," Father Carroll argued in reply that such a school would certainly become "a nursery from whence postulants can alone be expected," and in the same document

¹¹ Cited by HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 699.

we find the following expression of sentiment regarding the Society of Jesus:

We must bring to your minds that doleful era of the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, when we were torn from our dear Mother, whom we saw sacrificed before our eyes to the designs permitted by Divine Providence. In consequence of this we were left without father, without mother, oppressed with grief, uncertain of our future destiny. In these melancholy circumstances, a formula of subscription to episcopal government was presented to us from our Ordinary, the Bishop of London, who was directed by the Holy See to do the same.¹²

That the former members of the Society in America were discussing the Russian affiliation proposals as early as Carroll's appointment as prefect-apostolic is evident from a letter of Father Farmer to Carroll, dated Philadelphia, August 7, 1785:

What concerns our union with the Jesuits of Russia, tho' for my private satisfaction I wish it may be affected; yet does it seem to me, that the body of our Clergy here in General would not reap benefit by the union. First it is not likely that we could draw thence any supplies. 2ndly it would not joyn or link us better together unless they were all satisfyd and had or reassumed the Spirit of the Society. 3rdly, as it seems, supplies must ex parte come from secular or other religious clergy; our particular union would create a jealousy. For these reasons I keep in my particular desire of the Union; tho' I am pretty confident that Providence had not brought about such a strange establishment, as is that of the Society in Russia, did it not mean to continue it.¹³

Confiscation of the ex-Jesuit estates was being mooted about that time by some of the Maryland politicians, as we learn in Carroll's letter to Antonelli, of March 13, 1786; and in order to avoid such an eventuality, the American Clergy Corporation made every effort to secure a legal status before the State. Many objections were raised against granting the Corporation a charter, but it finally passed the Assembly on December 23, 1792.¹⁴

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 605. Carroll was long familiar with the proposal to unite with the Russians. There is extant a letter to this effect from one of the Russian Jesuits to Carroll, dated October 14, 1783, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-V8. That Carroll was fully aware of the English ex-Jesuit sentiment for the Russian affiliation is evident from Plowden's letters of March 29, and June 28, 1786, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-J10-11. Cf. CAMPBELL, *The Jesuits*, pp. 665-683.

¹³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-P11; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 389-390.

¹⁴ HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 635, 722.

An interesting incident occurred at this time. While Carroll was in Rome (1772-3), he made an unsuccessful attempt to meet Father John Thorpe, who became later his agent at Propaganda. Father Thorpe seems to have been one of the party of Jesuits who issued at the time of the election of Clement XIV a libellous attack on that Pope under the title *De Simoniaca Electione*. After the Suppression, in a series of letters to Father Charles Plowden, Thorpe described the conditions of Rome, and he embodied some of the stories anent the Pope. In fine, the letters give a complete and intimate sketch of Ganganelli's life. These letters, it is generally believed, were indiscreetly published by Father Plowden as *A Candid and Impartial Sketch of the Life and Government of Pope Clement XIV* (London, 1785). The work was deemed so scandalous that it was suppressed, and Father Thorpe was put on parole not to leave Rome for three months. Bishop Milner, Mr. Weld, Lord Arundell, Rev. Thomas Bellamy, Father Charles Cordell and others wrote against the book. It is probable that the American Jesuits never saw the book, but there was another, written by Father Plowden, which had considerable influence upon their plans for aggregating themselves to Russia. This was the Ms. *Account of the Preservation and Actual State of the Society of Jesus in the Russian Empire Dominion*,¹⁵ to which Carroll refers in his letter of July 11, 1786: "I found your two most acceptable favours . . . and at the same time your invaluable ms. account of the remnant of the Society, miraculously preserved, as it seems, to be the seed of a future generation. I have read it with great eagerness and infinite pleasure. . . ." ¹⁶ Again, on November 13, 1786, he speaks of Plowden's "most valuable Ms. which may be called the history of a providential deliverance of the Society from utter destruction."¹⁷ The Ms. was passed from hand to hand among the American Fathers, and while it seems to have had no appreciable effect in stimulating their desire actually to join the Russian Province, it undoubtedly had an influence in their purpose to reëstablish themselves as members of the suppressed Society.

¹⁵ Printed in *Dolman's Magazine*, vol. v (1846-1847); cf. GILLOW, *Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics*, vol. v, pp. 323-324.

¹⁶ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 683.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 683.

Two years later (April 25, 1788), thirteen of the American ex-Jesuits issued a circular, probably the composition of Leonard Neale, calling upon all the "Reverend Gentlemen formerly of the Society of Jesus in Maryland and Pennsylvania" to attend a meeting at St. Thomas' Manor, on the Monday following the third Sunday of July, when measures were to be adopted for the restoration of the Jesuits in America:

Most Esteemed and Reverend Brethren,

It is with the great distress of mind that we consider the various disturbances, which have agitated us in this part of the world, since the destruction of the Society of Jesus. Upon our exclusion from that happy government, we sincerely endeavored to obviate every inconvenience by substituting another form of government, proportioned, as nearly as we could judge, to the circumstances in which we found ourselves. But it seems that this established form has not produced that harmony and regularity, without which all is thrown into confusion, and we [*are*] compelled to surrender the idea of ever enjoying true comfort or happiness amidst the fatigues of our laborious Mission. This uncomfortable prospect naturally revives the memory of our former feelings and ideas. Our eager thoughts, by an uncontrollable bias, fix upon our dear and ancient Mother the Society, whilst, by a retrospective glance, we view the perfection of her unparalleled form of government, which ever preserved the most perfect union among her members, and, by her influencing energy filled all with a happiness that sweetened their labours, and afforded solid comfort in difficulties and distress. Yes, Revd. Gentlemen, we conceive this government of the Society to be the only one that can procure us the happiness our hearts are in search after. We have felt her control, we have experienced her influence, which have stamped impressions on our souls not to be erased. In pursuit of this our object, we will not, we cannot loose sight of a reunion with our darling Mother, till such time as Providence shall frustrate our active endeavours, and point out this impossibility. We have therefore come to a full determination of applying for this reunion, a determination not to be baffled by any attempts. We most sincerely wish for the unanimous concurrence of all our Brethren in this important affair. However, all being free, we reflect on none. We solicit none to subscribe to this determination, but such as are of the sentiments with ourselves.¹⁸

The names signed to this remarkable expression of belief in the future of the Society were: Walton, Matthews, Boarman (John), Jenkins, Pile, Neale (Leonard), Roels, Doyne, Boone, Boarman (Sylvester), Beeston, Graessl, and Molyneux, John

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 683-684.

Carroll's name is not among these, and that apparently for two reasons. The first no doubt had to do with his post as prefect-apostolic. As head of the American Church, his immediate superior was the Cardinal-Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. The Sacred Congregation was certainly then not in favour of the restoration of the Jesuits. Even later, Pius VII, for example, did not announce to Propaganda the Restoration in 1814.¹⁹ The second reason is that Carroll had begun to waver in his belief that the Society in the United States was capable of restoration. About the time of the circular letter, he wrote to Father Beeston, one of its signers, at Philadelphia (March 22, 1788): "I considered farther that it is very uncertain how long the spirit of the Society will be kept alive, at least in this country. I am afraid not much longer than they live who have been trained under its discipline."²⁰ Perhaps, a third reason might be added: the attacks being made upon him by Fathers Poterie and Smyth in their publications, in which they alleged that he showed favouritism towards the old members of the Society. In two letters to Charles Plowden at this time, Carroll gives voice to his fear of being deluded in the restoration. On May 8, 1789, he says: "O poor Jesuits! when shall we have you again? You communicated in your last some dubious information concerning them. I have been so often the dupe of my hopes, that I am becoming very incredulous to reports of any favourable turn in their affairs."²¹ Again, on July 12, 1789, he writes: "It is singular enough, that some of our own friends are blaming me for being too irresolute or indifferent, for not adopting their most intemperate councils with respect to restoring the Society; whilst, on the other hand, Smyth, the Abbé [Poterie] and others, are accusing me of sacrificing to this intention the good of religion."²²

We do not know what the results of the July, 1788, meeting were, but they could not have been very encouraging, for no mention of the restoration is made in the Proceedings of the Third General Chapter of the Clergy, held at Whitmarsh, May 11-18,

¹⁹ WARD, *Eve, etc.*, vol. i, p. 210; cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 817.

²⁰ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 616. It is about this time that Carroll's correspondence with Father Strickland on the question of the aggregation to Russia begins. These letters are in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-A5, and Case 9-K4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 688.

²² *Ibid.*

1789. The principal questions at issue in that meeting were the proposed bishopric for the United States and the incorporation of the ex-Jesuit estates. Carroll himself was preoccupied with the thought of his election to the episcopate by his fellow priests, and also with the serious troubles some of the foreign priests in the country were causing. He gives us also a hint for the proper understanding of his attitude on the question of restoring the Society in a letter to Plowden thanking him for congratulations on his election to the See of Baltimore:

. . . . Your condolence would have suited better the situation of my mind; every day furnishes me with new reflections, and almost every day produces new events, to alarm my conscience, and excite fresh solicitude at the prospect before me. You cannot conceive the trouble I suffer already, and still greater which I foresee, from the medley of clerical characters coming from different quarters and various educations, and seeking employment here. I cannot avoid employing some of them, and they begin soon to create disturbance. As soon as this happens, they proceed to bring in Jesuitism, and to suggest that everything is calculated by me for its restoration; and that I sacrifice the real interests of religion to the chimerical project of reviving it.²³

Occasionally letters arrived from England asking for information on the progress being made in the aggregation of the American ex-Jesuits to the Russian Province. The English members of the suppressed Society could not understand why the Americans were not more prompt, living in a land where there could be no opposition on the part of the Government.

Father Carroll was now Bishop-elect of the See of Baltimore, and therefore bound by even stronger ties to the Sacred Congregation. He foresaw that as chief shepherd he would be forced sooner or later to take action on the restoration being planned by his former brethren in the Society. His views on this delicate matter on the eve of his departure for London are in a letter, dated March 16, 1790, to Plowden:

My Brethren here have been deluding themselves, for a long time, with ideas of a restoration, founded on what appeared to me very shallow support indeed. But at present I cannot help thinking, that the late convulsions in Europe, when traced to their real sources, must discover

²³ Carroll to Plowden, Baltimore, October 23, 1789, printed in HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 688.

to every thinking mind the necessity of a virtuous education, and of encouraging men, capable of conducting the rising generation through all the degrees of moral, religious and literary improvement. On whom then can the governing powers turn their eyes, but on those who are trained under the discipline of the Society? A few seminaries or universities may be indeed supplied with excellent instructors without recurring to them. But numerous professors, sufficient to fill the chairs of every considerable town, cannot be formed and held to their duty, except it be in a body, constituted as the Society. . . .²⁴

During his stay in London, it was but logical that he would do his utmost to set aside the charge made by Smyth that he favoured the ex-Jesuits in the selection for parishes. This charge was a threadbare one to the English Jesuits and it was difficult for Carroll to arouse their interest. Dr. Carroll reached London in stirring time. Bishop James Talbot, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, died at Hammersmith, January 26, 1790, and London for the first time in a century was without a bishop. "While Bishop Talbot lay dying, Catholic England was working itself up into a ferment over the question of the Oath, nor was even a temporary cessation deemed necessary out of respect for his memory when he died."²⁵ It was not until the week following Carroll's consecration that London received its Bishop in the person of the Rt. Rev. John Douglass. The Oath of Allegiance had been the cause of dissension, controversy and schism martyrdom since the days of Elizabeth, and during the summer of 1790, a war of pamphlets about it was being carried on by the two factions among the Catholics. Carroll's friend, Charles Plowden, was in the thick of the fight, and it must have been a novel experience for America's first bishop to follow the actions of the Catholic Committee in its determined stand against accepting Bishop-elect Douglass. The opposition lasted until the end of the year, but finally the new bishop-elect won his way to the hearts of the gentlemen of the Committee, and on December 19, 1790, Bishop Douglass was consecrated at the chapel at Lulworth Castle, by Bishop Walmesley, the consecrator of Bishop Carroll. Charles Plowden preached also at the consecration of Bishop Douglass, as he had done at Lulworth on August 15, when Dr. Carroll was consecrated. The summer of 1790 in London brought

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68a.

²⁵ WARD, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, vol. i, p. 201. London, 1909.

Dr. Carroll into personal touch with all the Catholic leaders, lay and cleric, of England, and as a consequence, his correspondence with Plowden down to 1815 contains many references to the Oath and the Catholic Relief Bill.

On September 2, 1790, he wrote from "King's Street, London," to Father Plowden as follows:

My dear Sir

Many thanks for yours of Aug. 31st., and for your solicitude that I should clear myself to Cardl. Antonelli from the calumnies of Smyth—I am not certain, that the Cardl has ever heard of Smyth's pamphlet; I rather suspect, that La Poterie has caused his forgeries to fall into the Cardl's hands. Coghlan brought me today some of that vile Man's Performances; not against me: but some that he foolishly published concerning himself, on his first coming to Boston and a sort of pastoral instruction, which he had the temerity and folly to publish there before the Lent of 1788. I shall give Cardl. Antonelli very satisfactory reasons for coming to England. Neither the president of Doway, nor Mr. Wm. Meynell are yet come to town; nor even Mr. Thos. Meynell. There is great inconsistency in the objections, which some make, not to the truth of your doctrine respecting the Pope's Infallibility, but the policy of asserting it in print at this time. They say with Mr. Reeve, that the English generally understand, that by infallibility we mean to assert the Pope's infallible prerogative in all orders he issues, or facts which he asserts. Now if this be true, where is the impolicy of your asserting that the pope has no such infallibility; but only in doctrinal points. To obviate this observation, which I made yesterday to Mr. Chs. Butler, he said, contrary to your other opponents, that the English not only object to the pope's infallibility in giving orders stating facts (an infallibility asserted by no one) but likewise consider his doctrinal infallibility as a pernicious tenet and dangerous to civil government. I have a letter from the Nuncio at Paris, and another from Monsgr. Emery, Superior Genl. of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. They both solicit my passage to Paris to confer with some gentlemen of the Seminary, who wish to employ in the rearing of young clergymen in America, that experience, which is made useless by the revolution in their own country. They offer to bestow their services gratis. We certainly are not ripe for a seminary: it would take some years before we shall have scholars far enough advanced to profit by this generous offer. I shall hear from them in answer to the letter I shall send tomorrow. On Saturday, I propose going to Bury for two days. Mr. Talbot says, I must go to secure a handsome donation to the academy which will be bestowed on no other condition. This consideration apart, how much more pleasure would I have in visiting Lullworth?

Our academy, from its situation, would probably be conspicuous. The great object is, to procure for it an eminent and good Master. My

letters from America, as well as the public prints inform me that the district, now settled for the future capital of the United States and permanent residence of Congress, is on Potowmack river. Commissioners under the direction of the President are to determine the particular spot, in a district of about 50 miles, lying on that river. The knowledge, I have of the country, makes me confident, it will be either at Georgetown, or what would answer better for our school, within four miles of it.

My poor Nephew, Danl. Carroll, whom you knew, is dead; pray for him. I know not when I shall be able to execute my promise relative to your book on infallibility.²⁶ Interruptions of company, letters, long dinners, etc., take up my whole time. I cannot yet determine the time of my repeating my visit to you, or whether I can repeat it at all. Affairs at Boston demand my return to America—I have received from the two priests there mutual charges and recriminations. I let Coghlan copy the preamble of the bull—I have marked a passage or two, which I would have omitted: the 1st. is, that a state cannot be safe, in which new and vigorous doctrines are permitted to range (which is contrary to the maxim of our policy and our experience in America): the other is *pro hac vice tantum*; a clause I wish to keep from the knowledge and notice of our rulers, and which will probably be altered. I think there is in the latter part another clause of the same import.

When I write next to Lullworth, I shall presume that Mr. Weld is returned, and I shall do myself the pleasure of acknowledging his great politeness and still greater kindness.²⁷

There is no mention of restoration plans in this letter, but in that of September 7, 1790, to the same correspondent, he says: "I received a letter last night from our worthy Mr. Francis Neale, who continues in his old stile to urge the reëstablishment in spite of every prudential reason against the attempt, till Divine Providence opens a better prospect."²⁸ A week later, he informed Plowden of the contents of Thorpe's letter from Rome (August 21, 1790), since "it chiefly turns on the subject of Cardinal Antonelli being haunted with the fears of the revival of the Society in America. I think it is providential that his alarms have been raised since the issuing of the bulls for erecting the See of Baltimore. I suspect otherwise it would have been refused. I shall now write to

²⁶ *Considerations on the Modern Opinion of the Fallibility of the Holy See in the Decision of Dogmatical Questions.* London, 1790.

²⁷ The Carroll-Plowden correspondence and other Maryland papers in the *Stonyhurst Archives* were copied for the writer by the eminent Jesuit historian, Father John Hungerford Pollen. They are not catalogued and are referred to in these pages simply as *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

²⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

the Cardinal in plain language on the subject.”²⁹ Cardinal Antonelli’s fear was aroused by the calumnies of Fathers Poterie and Smyth, and it is for this reason that Carroll tells the head of the Sacred Congregation (September 27, 1790) that since his appointment as Prefect-Apostolic of the United States (1784) he had commissioned thirty priests for the work of the American mission; seven of these only were ex-Jesuits, and twenty-three non-Jesuits.³⁰

The financial affairs of the Society, before the Suppression were regulated for England and the American colonies through the English Provincial’s hands, and while in London, Father Strickland and Bishop Carroll signed a joint memorandum adjusting their mutual claims.³¹

Apart from his interest in the Catholic Committee’s activities Bishop Carroll found his time rather well taken up in writing appeals to wealthy Catholic noblemen of England for monetary assistance for his diocese,³² and with the proposal made to him by Father Nagot regarding the foundation of the Seminary in Baltimore. On his return to the United States, the two educational projects—Georgetown and St. Mary’s Seminary—gave him little opportunity to be troubled over the revival of the Society, and with the grant of the charter for the Corporation (December, 1792), he no doubt felt that the old Jesuit properties would be sufficiently protected without a restoration. The next General Chapter, held at Whitemarsh (November 7, 1792) was attended by twenty-two priests, four of whom were non-Jesuits, but nothing seems to have been done in the matter of the restoration. The main resolutions passed refer to the support of Georgetown and the Seminary. Subsequent meetings of the Select Body of the Clergy, which directed the use of the ex-Jesuit estates, and the correspondence between Rome and Baltimore, were silent on the question of the Society’s revival until 1795, when apparently the Select Board passed a formal resolution to the effect that the Holy See was to be asked to reestablish the Society of Jesus in the United States. Among the *Shea Transcripts* at Georgetown

²⁹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 688.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture originali*, vol. 893 (not folioed).

³² A list of these benefactions will be found in HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 690, note 12.

there is a copy of an "imperfect manuscript of Dr. Carroll on the Restoration of the Society of Jesus," in which Bishop Carroll says: "I have devoted much time to the consideration of the subject recommended to me by some of our Brethren whom I greatly respect, and latterly by the Trustees who were assembled at the Marsh, 1795. This subject is an application to His Holiness for a revival of the Society in the United States." Dr. Carroll then discusses the precautions necessary in approaching the subject, and though the measure is a highly desirable one, he confesses: "I am far from an intimate conviction that any considerable advantage would be derived from the reappearance of the Society with a mutilated and defective Constitution, instead of that one, compleat in all its parts, by which the Jesuits were formerly governed. Indeed, I should have fears that such a restitution might be of prejudice by preventing a full and entire one, in some later period."³³ That Dr. Carroll was justified in these prudent views is borne out by the failure of the pseudo-Jesuit Society, then established in France, under the name of Paccanarists.

The general status of the Society at the opening of the century was greatly changed by the Pontifical Brief *Catholicae Fidei*, of March 7, 1801, granting a legal or canonical existence to the Order as a body in Russia, with the singular privilege of aggregating members from any part of the world.³⁴ The Russian Province now had a General of the Society at its head in the person of Father Gabriel Gruber (10 Oct., 1802—April 7, 1805), and it was evident to the Catholic world that the full and "compleat" reappearance of the Society was but a question of time. It was the long captivity of the Pope at Savona which prevented the canonical restoration of the Society before his freedom in 1814. Father Thomas Hughes rightfully sees a providential action in the partial restoration of the Jesuits in the United States in 1806; for, when the general revival came in 1814, only one Jesuit of the old veteran members of 1773, was alive—Father Charles Neale.

The year previous to the Russian restoration, Bishop Carroll had entered into negotiations with Prince Charles de Broglie and

³³ Cited by HUGHES, *l. c.*, p 818, note 13.

³⁴ Carroll received this intelligence from Father Strickland in a letter dated London, September 29, 1801. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-D2.) Cf. CAMPBELL, *The Jesuits*, pp. 636-664.

Abbé Rozaven, the leaders of the Society of the Fathers of the Faith, commonly known as Paccanarists. Among the many attempts made to revive the rule and the aims of the Society of Jesus during the Interim (1773-1814) two only were blessed with some measure of success. The first of these was the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, founded by two young seminarists of St. Sulpice (Paris) who had taken refuge in Belgium during the French Revolution—François Eléonor de Tournély and Prince Charles de Broglie, a son of the famous Marshal, Prince de Broglie. They set up a novitiate near Louvain, where they were joined by several brilliant young army officers, notably, Joseph Varin. In 1794, they were forced to flee from Belgium at the advance of the French army, but during the wanderings of the little community, studies were kept up and several of their members were ordained. A final stand was made at Hagebrunn, near Vienna, in 1797, and Father Varin was chosen Superior. Meanwhile, at Rome, Nicholas Paccanari, a native of Valsugnana, near Trent, had founded a similar community, under the title, the Company of the Faith of Jesus. This second society proved attractive to many of the ex-Jesuits, and a fusion with the French Society of the Sacred Heart was proposed and effected in 1790. Paccanari, then only a tonsured cleric, was elected superior-general of the united community, henceforth known as the Fathers of the Faith. In 1800, Fathers De Broglie and Rozaven were sent to England in quest of subjects. The Fathers of the Faith at this time numbered about 150 members. As has been seen, among the ex-Jesuits who joined the new community was Father Forrester, the master of ceremonies at Carroll's consecration, but Father Charles Plowden was in the beginning as strongly opposed to a partial resoration of the Society's Constitutions and Rule as Bishop Carroll was. Abbé de Broglie opened a school in Kensington, London, but he came to grief in 1805. Paccanari himself proved to be somewhat of an adventurer, and disappeared in 1809. Almost all the Fathers of the Faith entered either the Russian Province of the Society of Jesus before 1814, or the restored Society after its revival.

Fathers Rozaven and De Broglie wrote to Bishop Carroll on July 4, 1800, telling him of the creation of an English Province of the Fathers of the Faith, with Father Rozaven as Provincial,

and urging the American ex-Jesuits to join the new community. They offered their services in the missions and especially in the work of teaching at Georgetown. Bishop Carroll and his coadjutor, Bishop-elect Neale, replied (October 27, 1800), accepting with gratitude the proposal made, and they asked that one or two of the Fathers well versed in philosophy and especially in natural philosophy and mathematics, and not ignorant of English, be sent out from England to Georgetown, where a hearty welcome would be given them. Besides these, the Missions needed two or three good priests, especially those who knew German. On this same day, Bishop Carroll wrote to Father Strickland, saying that money would be forthcoming for the expenses of the journey of "one or two professors of philosophy for Georgetown College." Further details of this attempt of the Paccanarists to make a beginning in the United States, are given in Carroll's letter to Plowden, under date of December 15, 1800:

Since the receipt of your last, as I probably mentioned to you in June, I received and answered a letter from London, sent to me by Messrs. de Broglie and Rosaven. They gave the outlines of their institute, and its acceptance by the late and present pope. I can entertain no doubt of the zeal and sound principles of this new body of recruits to the church, of which I have heard much from other quarters; therefore have requested them to send two of their Society to this country, where they will learn in the space of a few months, much more concerning the probability and means of forming establishments here, than can be learned by twenty letters. Their place is, I hope the work of God, tho' in one point they have departed from S. Ignatius, viz: that of engrafting on their institution a new order of nuns, to be under the government of the Superiors of their own Society. I should be glad to hear of the manner of their reception in England and success there.

Mr. Stone, to whom I send my best respects, will receive a letter signed by some of our Brethren, amongst whom is Dns. Doyne, concerning this application to me from these two Delegates of the Society of the Faith of Jesus. They (our Brethren) met together without a general concert of the rest of us, and full of zeal for the re-establishment of the Society, have written as if that happy event were already effected, and I have seen a letter from one of those, who attended that meeting, in which, to the signature of his name, he adds the word, *Soc. I.* This is going too fast for one who subscribed his submission to the operation of the destructive Brief. In mine to MM. Broglie and Rosaven, at the request of the Presidt. of Georgetown College, I solicited them to send if they could a capable professor of philosophy, logic and natural [Writer began to write "natural religion," but stopped with "re," which he can-

celled, leaving natural uncanceled] and who should know English, referring them to Mr. Stone thro' Mr. Strickland.³⁵

The joint letter of the seven Maryland ex-Jesuits to which Dr. Carroll refers was one drawn up after a meeting held at St. Thomas Manor November 28, 1800, for the purpose of considering a union with the Paccanarists.³⁶ The letter sent to Bishop Carroll by De Broglie and Rozaven was carefully considered, and a history of the Fathers of the Faith, by Father Halnat, who had brought about the amalgamation of the two communities, was read. The leaders of the Fathers of the Faith were then assured that they would find the American ex-Jesuits ready for union. Dr. Carroll objected to this proceeding because all the Jesuits were not represented, and because he feared, as he had said before, any hasty action which might endanger the general restoration of the Society.

A year apparently went by before anything further was done, though we find on October 19, 1801, Bishop Neale giving way to a spirit of discouragement in a letter to Father Stone, then President of Stonyhurst College: "All the members of the Society here are now grown old, the youngest being past 54. Death therefore holds out his threatening rod, and excites us to redoubled wishes for the re-establishment of the Society, on which the welfare of this country seems much to depend."³⁷ When the news came of the pontifical approval given to the Society in Russia (1801), hopes were immediately aroused by the little remnant of the Jesuits here that they might be canonically aggregated to that Province. On March 12, 1802, Dr. Carroll tells Father Plowden that he had heard of the Russian restoration: "I beg you to send me, as early as possible, all the authentic information on this subject of which you are in possession."³⁸ Father Strickland had already sent the news, however, for on April 21, 1802, Bishop Neale wrote to Stone: "We have heard of the re-establishment of the Society thro' Mr. Strickland. But the clear light does not yet shine on us. . . . Anything genuine from our ancient body would

³⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

³⁶ A digest of this letter is in HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 761.

³⁷ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 761. Neale's Correspondence on the Paccanarist and Russian episodes is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5 P. Q. R.

³⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

be highly gratifying.”³⁹ The Americans seem to have been left in the dark for a long time. Bishop Neale was constantly being importuned by the old Jesuits to obtain exact information of their status, and he wrote to Stone (June 30, 1802): “For God’s sake relieve me from my distressed situation.” Finally, on August 30, 1802, seven of the American ex-Jesuits met at Newtown and sent a joint letter to the two bishops, asking that they write at once to the General of the Society in Russia, “in our behalf to inform him of our wish to be reinstated.” They desired also information regarding the status of the ex-Jesuit properties, and they asked for an authentic copy of the *Catholicae Fidei*. The appointment of a visitor or commissary-general, to be sent from Russian or England, was likewise urged. Those who signed this Petition were: Fathers Charles Neale, James Walton, John Bolton, Ignatius Baker Brooks, Charles Sewall, Robert Molyneux, and Sylvester Boarman. But direct communication with Father-General Gruber, in Russia, was very difficult, owing to the disturbed condition of affairs in Europe.

The Paccanarist movement died out in the United States as quickly as it began. One of the Fathers of the Faith, Rev. Nicholas Zocchi, arrived here about this time. He had gone first to Canada, but the government there would not permit him to remain, and he came to Baltimore.⁴⁰ Dr. Carroll says of him in a letter to Plowden (February 12, 1803):

One of their [*Paccanarist*] body is now here, *Romano di nascita*, his name Zocchi. He went from England to Canada but the rigor of government there allows not of any foreign Catholic clergymen settling in it; he therefore came hither, but being of a narrow understanding, he does nothing but pine for the arrival of his brethren, and in the meantime will undertake no service. From this sample of the new order, I am induced to believe that they are very little instructed in the maxims or Institute of our venerable mother, the Society. Tho’ they profess to have no other rules than ours, he seems to me to know nothing of the structure of our Society, nor even to have read the *regulae communes*, which our very novices knew almost by heart.⁴¹

³⁹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 762. Strickland finally sent to Carroll the information asked, in the autumn of 1804 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-D4, 5). These letters also contain^o the English attitude towards Borgia’s opposition to the aggregation with Russia.

⁴⁰ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, Halifax MSS.*, 4,106.

⁴¹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

From this time forward, all hopes for restoration were centered on Russia. Shea writes:

It was a period of great anxiety and perplexity in which neither Dr. Carroll nor his pious coadjutor, Bishop Neale, could see his way clearly. They wrote to Father Gabriel Gruber, General of the Jesuits in Russia. "We who write this letter to your Paternity were formerly of the Society of Jesus and the Province of England. After the fell destruction of the Society in 1773, we returned to this our native land, and have labored in it together with fellow-members of our Society, ours being the only Catholic priests who have labored for the salvation of souls since the first entrance of Christians into these lands." They then detailed the erection of the Diocese of Baltimore and the influx of other priests. The fourteen surviving members of the Society, most of them broken by years and toil, remained chiefly in the two States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, in which was the oldest and most powerful residence of Catholics. They state how joyously they had learned of the preservation of the Society in Russia, and the permission given him by a Papal brief to enroll again in the Society those who had formerly been members. "Wherefore most of them solicit with ardent desire, that by renewing the same vows, which they had vowed to God in the Society of Jesus, they may be permitted to end their days in its bosom; and if it can be done by the will of Providence, spend the remainder of their lives in restoring the Society among us. You know, Very Rev. Father, what and how much must be done that not a mere larva of the old Society, but its genuine form, the rule, and proper spirit may revive in them all." To effect this the two bishops asked: 1. Whether the Sovereign Pontiff had permitted the erection of the Society elsewhere than in Russia, by an authentic brief or bull. 2. Whether the Pope permitted only the former members to re-enter, or authorized the reception of new members. 3. What probation was to precede the restoration of former members. 4. How delegates were to be chosen to the General Congregation. They urged him to select some Father of great prudence, experience in the direction of affairs, and deeply imbued with the spirit of Saint Ignatius, to come over, with such powers of a Visitor as the holy founder conferred on Saint Francis Borgia and others, and effect the restoration. They did not consider any one of the Fathers in America eligible, as they had been absorbed in missionary duty and had enjoyed little leisure to study the Constitutions and the acts of the General Congregations. If no one in England could be found, they preferred an Italian or a German. The bishops stated that the property formerly belonging to the Society had been nearly all preserved, and was sufficient to maintain at least thirty Fathers; and that part of it had been employed in founding a College for the education of young men. They further mentioned their own elevation to the episcopate and the freedom enjoyed by Catholics, under which there was no obstacle to religious orders; and closed

by expressing their fervent wish that some hope and beginning of the restoration of the Society may result from their correspondence.⁴²

Another year was to pass before an answer to this letter reached the United States. Meanwhile, the Society received partial restoration in England, having been aggregated to Russia, by Father Gruber in 1803, and after the opening of the regular novitiate at Hodder, it is easy to recognize Charles Plowden's fine hand in effecting a similar restoration in the United States.⁴³ The long delay in hearing from Russia influenced some to consider the advisability of joining the English Province, then under Father Stone, as superior. Georgetown College was not flourishing, and it was evident that it would continue to show signs of decline under Bishop Neale's direction. The only hope of saving the institution was to place it in the hands of the Society, whose estates had helped so considerably in building and equipping it, and if the ex-Jesuits here could count upon help from Stonyhurst, they would willingly join the English Province. The situation was also clouded by the fact that Father Emery had recalled the Sulpicians. Bishop Neale wrote to Stone on June 25, 1803:

Some have already departed, others are on the point of sailing. Of course, the seminary is no longer calculated on. The school for boys erected there (St. Mary's College), to the great prejudice of George Town College, still exists; but as the Spanish youths, their chief support, are ordered by their Government to return immediately to their native country, it must naturally fall to nothing. Our number of scholars is very small, but we still stand in the critical moment of trial. Were it the will of Heaven that the Society be speedily re-established here, I should be happy to deliver up my presidency to their happier guidance.⁴⁴

⁴² SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 517-519, cited from the *Woodstock Letters*, vol. iv, p. 73. (Cf. CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. vi, pp. 358ss. Paris, 1846.) The present writer found it impossible to obtain permission to secure a complete set of the *Woodstock Letters*, but was fortunate in being able to consult them in a library abroad. References to the *Letters* are not given, since in most cases the original documents are cited.

⁴³ Betagh wrote to Carroll from Dublin, August 6, 1805, that nineteen young Irish novices were under Plowden's direction at Hodder (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-O4). A characteristic situation appears in a letter from Strickland, who wrote to Carroll from London, July 11, 1806, saying that Father Plowden had found a serious difficulty in controlling the Irish novices, the leader of whom told the English Superior that they would obey an "Italian, German, or even a Turkish Superior, but would never submit to an Englishman." (*Ibid.*, Case 8-D8.)

⁴⁴ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 798.

On November 21, 1803, Bishop Carroll, who was then in New York, wrote to Father Strickland, in order to hasten Father Gruber's answer :

Rev. and hond. Sir.

The inclosed letters are for the very Rev. Fr. Gruber, Genl. of the Society. One of them is the duplicate of another written in May last, to which no answer is yet received; and fearful of miscarriage by way of Hamburg, to which the first copy was to have been sent, I take the liberty of inclosing these to you, and requesting the Genl. to send his answers thro' you. This I was induced to do; after hearing of the station, in which you are placed, and chosen by providence, as it may reasonably be hoped, to revive the spirit and renew the usefulness of the Society. The letters inclosed express the wishes of some of our former Brethren and of several others, priests and non-priests to be re-admitted, and first admitted into it. Being here on a visitation, I have only time to add, that the vessel is sailing, that I hope you will charge the postage on this and similar occasions to my account with Thos. Wright and Co., and assure MM. Plowden, Semmes, Spencer, and all my other acquaintances of my continued respect and attachment. To Mr. Plowden I will write soon, and shall always remain, Revd. hond. Sir.

Your most obedt. and Br. in Xt.

✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Baltre.*⁴⁵

P. S. I leave blank the cover of my letters to the General, that you may give to it the proper direction. Rev. Mr. Joseph Doyne died Oct. 28 of this year.

Father Gruber eventually received the petition of the American ex-Jesuits, and replied on March 12, 1804, expressing his happiness at the news of the Americans' desire to revive the Society. Father Gruber justified the aggregation of the Americans by the *vivae vocis oraculum*, and admitted all those who wished to unite with the Russian Province. He prescribed an eight days' retreat to those who should re-enter the Society, and gave a formula of oath for the profession. He added :

Wherefore I beseech you by your love for our most excellent Mother, to appoint some one of our old Fathers there, full of the spirit of God and St. Ignatius, who may examine those who are to be admitted for the first time, instruct, form, and watch over them: who if it seems best to you, may communicate with Father Stone, Provincial of England, or with Father Strickland at London. . . . In the meanwhile I commit the whole

⁴⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

to the favor, zeal, and patronage of yourself, Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord and your coadjutor the Bishop of Gortyna. If you both consider that it will be easy to communicate with Father Stone, the Provincial of England, let ours turn to him for the necessary government. If Father Stone is too distant, inform me, and propose some one of our Fathers in America whom I can appoint Provincial. In the meantime, let the most Illustrious and Reverend Bishop of Baltimore designate one who may govern not only the novices but the whole reviving Society, with all the powers, which I concede *ad interim* to the one thus to be selected.⁴⁶

"Bishop Carroll and his coadjutor, Bishop Neale," says Shea, "were animated with the deepest affection for the Society of which they had been members. Nothing was dearer to their hearts than its restoration, and had it then been authorized by a brief of equal power with that suppressing it, both would in all probability have resigned the episcopal dignity to become once more simple Fathers of the Society of Jesus."⁴⁷

When this letter reached the United States is not known. Bishop Carroll wrote to Father Strickland, August 4, 1804:

I request you in the first place to return for answer to Fr. Gruber, that I have not yet received any letter from him, tho' one is expected impatiently by many of our Brethren. But even when his answer arrives, unless it presents the reestablishment of the Society in a view different from any that I have yet seen, it will, in my opinion, be very unsafe to enter into any engagement in it, at least so as to divest ones-self of the means of living independent, if after abdicating one's property another Pope should declare the re-establishment in virtue of a mere verbal promise, void, and contrary to Ecclesiastical institutions, and especially so in countries where it had been abolished in virtue of a brief, accepted and intimidated by the first pastors, and submitted to expressly, tho' most unwillingly, by the members of the Society then living. But if the members of the Society, before their profession do not abdicate their property, they will not be truly religious, nor most assuredly Jesuits, according to the standard of St. Ignatius—I cannot even conceive, how there can be any *professi quatuor votorum* in the present state of things, for reasons which it is unnecessary to mention to any one, who like you, remember the principles of our Theology concerning the difference between the dissolubility of solemn and simple vows. However, I hope sincerely that the Pope will soon be so unfettered, as to be able to issue in full and authentic form a bull or brief for the re-establishment. In this hope I

⁴⁶ Gruber to Carroll, March 12, 1804, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-C7. Another copy in Case 8A-R2.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 520-521.

am encouraged by a letter from Rome, received since I wrote the first lines of this; and the more so as it does not come from one of our former Brethren who are easily led to hope, what they ardently wish; but from a Dominican of note and character there, Fr. Concanen. You mention Fr. Angiolini's mission to Naples, only as a rumor, of which you expected a confirmation but Fr. Concanen says positively, that he was lately gone from Rome to that city to settle the four Houses granted by the king to the Jts: that an edict had been issued there in 1787 withdrawing all Regulars from any subjection to Generals or Superiors living out of the Kingdom; that Angiolini insisted on the necessity of preserving the Institute inviolate, and consequently of the Jesuits recognizing Fr. Gruber for their Superior; and that it was believed, he would succeed in obtaining a revocation of the decree which would be of the greatest benefit not only to his own, but all other religious Orders.⁴⁸

By the end of the year (1804) several of the young men at Georgetown College and at the Seminary had expressed a desire to join the Society of Jesus as soon as it was restored; but Dr. Carroll was not encouraged by this, because, as he said, "we are wretchedly provided with experienced and fit members to train and form them." No answer had come by December 7, 1804, as Carroll states in a letter to Father Plowden, and he gives his opinion quite emphatically that he is not satisfied with the *viva voce* method of being restored to the Society:

I would neither trust to it myself or advise others to do so; in which opinion I am confirmed the more, by knowing that His Holiness either will not or dares not to exert authority enough to prevent Cardinal Borgia from writing such a letter to Your VV. AA., as is mentioned by Mr. Stone. . . . So much mystery has been made of all proceedings concerning it [*the Restoration*], that every one is full of distrust, to which the general state of religion and the influence enjoyed by its greatest foes contributes in great measure.

Again, in this same letter he speaks of Molyneux' disapproval of the secretive measures adopted by the English Jesuits.

Robert is not pleased with the secrecy which prevails with your principal people in the transactions relative to the Society. In general, I do not approve of the system of conducting without any communication the affairs concerning so small a body as the remnant of the Society in England; but, at the same time, it is reasonable to suppose, that there is good cause for it, and it would be very rash for any one, at my distance,

⁴⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

to blame a conduct, of which he cannot know the motives. Your Br.'s sound sense, great virtues, and steady attachment to the Society are a sure warrant of his acting on principle, and I have no doubt of others acting equally so, tho' they agree not on the means. My greatest objections to a dependence on a *vivae vocis oraculum* (a modern phrase unknown for many centuries), is, that it gives no stability to a religious order; that cannot abrogate a public and acknowledged instrument, such as the brief of destruction; and that without an authentic bull of approbation of the Institute, the distinction of simple & solemn vows, so essential to the Society, does not exist according to the doctrine of our Divines, after Suarez.

Acting on Father Gruber's letter of aggregation Bishop Carroll, on June 21, 1805, the Feast of St. Aloysius Gonzaga, appointed Father Robert Molyneux superior of the restored Society of Jesus in the United States.

Rev. and Dear Sir,

You know the purport of the letter, which I received from the very Rev. Fr. Gabriel Gruber, Gen. of the Society in Russia. Messrs. Bolton and Brooke have likewise informed you of the proceedings had thereupon at St. Thomas's. To give life and vigor to the measures recommended by the Genl. it seemed necessary to begin with that exercise of power, with which I was entrusted by his Paternity; that is, the appointment of a Superior, to be one of the former body of the Society, and a candidate for readmission. His authority will last till the General's will be further declared. I am therefore now to make known to you, that you are appointed to that office; and, as no special form of appointment was made use of by the General in delegating to me his power for nominating a Superior, I am to presume that nothing more than his notification is requisite to invest you for the present with all the rights and privileges, power and authority, wherewith the Provincials of the Society were formerly invested; which rights, power and authority are to appertain to you, till the Genl. shall otherwise ordain. Of this appointment notice will be sent hence to George Town and St. Thomas's. You will cause this letter to be read to those, who desire to belong to the Society in St. Mary's County.

That God may bless this attempt to restore the Society in the United States, and all your labours to effect it, is the earnest prayer of, *etc.*⁴⁹

⁴⁹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 820. Father Molyneux is occasionally spoken of as Provincial. He was only Superior of the affiliated American Jesuits. When he died on December 9, 1808, Father Charles Neale became Superior, and on October 1, 1812, Neale was superseded by Father Kohlmann, who resigned in 1812, to be succeeded by Father John Grassi. In 1817, Father Grassi was followed by Kohlmann, and on November 15, 1821, Charles Neale again became Superior. He was succeeded by Father Dzierzynski, on August 13, 1823, and in November, 1830, Father Kenney was placed in charge of the American Jesuits. It was only in 1833 that the Province was erected,

The Society of Jesus in the United States, even though part of such a far-away Province, now possessed canonical rights and privileges before the Church and the Church's representative in episcopal power and jurisdiction, Bishop Carroll of Baltimore. Its situation was of course a different one from that which had existed in the old days (1634-1773), when the nearest juridic power was the English Provincial across the sea. It was indeed a novel situation—one to which the veterans in the restored Society were unaccustomed; but even under an easy-going and rather inactive leader like Molyneux, the restored Society soon took up its old Rule and religious life. There was bound to be friction over the transfer of the ex-Jesuit properties, but during the episcopate of Carroll and Neale, no serious variance of opinion caused any dissension to arise. In fact, as we read in Carroll's letter to Stone (August, 1803), the two bishops had seriously considered whether they should not resign their sees (Baltimore and Gortyna) and resume their former state in the Society. They were held back, fortunately, by the realization that the diocese might be entrusted to one who was opposed to the general restoration of the Society of Jesus. No one realized more profoundly than Carroll the great boon to religion the Society would be. His old fears, however, crowded around him, for it was one thing to have the Society restored, and quite another to have its membership made up of vigorous, able and learned men.⁵⁰ Only three of the former members had resumed their status at this time—Molyneux, Charles Sewall, and Charles Neale. Bishop Carroll liked Molyneux; he had lived with Sewall at St. Peter's Pro-

with Father William McSherry as first Provincial. These dates are taken from a letter to B. U. Campbell by Father George Fenwick, dated October 12, 1835, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Special C, D-8. The ratification of Molyneux's appointment by Brzozowski is in an official letter to Carroll from the Father General, dated February 22, 1806. (*Ibid.*, Case 2-C2.)

⁵⁰ The Father-General wrote to Carroll, on June 9, 1836 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-C3), telling him he need not be troubled over Propaganda's attitude towards the American restoration—"de internis Praetor non judicat!", he writes. Again, on August 9, 1807, Brzozowski wrote to Carroll about his great hopes for the American branch of the Society; the novices were to be placed in the care of the wisest of the new members, and the "doors were to be opened wide" to receive all who wished to join the Society (*Ibid.*, Case 2-C4). The opinion of Father Strickland on Propaganda's attitude is expressed in a letter to Carroll, dated London, December 16, 1808 (*Ibid.*, Case 8-C3)—"Propaganda is a public tribunal and could not accept the *vivae vocis oraculum*, but would have to have official documents of a legal value; moreover, if Propaganda recognized the Society, certain properties which the Sacred Congregation has confiscated, would have to be restored, particularly in the East."

Cathedral from 1786-1807; and he had experienced the peculiar bent of Charles Neale's character in several matters of importance, particularly in his influence over the Carmelite nuns at Port Tobacco. But he had no illusions about any of these men. Of Molyneux, he wrote to Plowden, at the time of the former's death (December 9, 1808):

About the beginning of last December, I advised you of the apprehension I was then under, of daily hearing of the death of our old, good, and much respected friend, Mr. Robt. Molyneux, which event took place at Georgetown on the 9th of that month, after his being prepared by a life of candor, virtue and innocence, and by all those helps, which are mercifully ordained for the comfort and advantage of departing Christians. Not only your charity, but your friendship for him, with whom you passed so many cheerful and happy days of your life, will induce you to recommend very often his soul to the Father of mercies. He was my oldest friend, after my relation and companion to St. Omers in my childhood, Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who remains among us. As he often and feelingly reminded me the first time I saw him, in the month of September, there were very slender hopes of meeting more in this world. *R. I. P.* No successor in the presidency of the College is yet appointed. Previous to his death, in consequence of powers vested in him by the proper authority, he had appointed Mr. Chas. Neale to be the Superior of the body lately revived among us.⁵¹

Father John Bolton and Sylvester Boarman soon joined the revived community, and to aid the new Province, the Father-General Brzozowski, sent over some foreign Jesuits: Father Adam Britt, S. J.; John Henry, S. J.; Francis Malevé, S. J.; Anthony Kohlmann, S. J., and Peter Epinette, S. J.⁵² The danger of a conflict over property rights and transfer was avoided by an

⁵¹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

⁵² Strickland to Carroll, London, August 16, 1806 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-D10). Fathers Britt, Henry and Malevé came out first, and were followed later by Fathers Kohlmann and Epinette. The six priests were admitted into the Select Body of the Clergy on September 1, 1807 (HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 871. This action was nullified by the Corporation on May 12, 1808, on the ground that the six priests were foreigners, and as such were not recognized as beneficiaries by the Maryland laws. It would be asking too much of the American ex-Jesuits to have been thoroughly in harmony with these new foreign members of the revived Society. Grassi, in his *Memorie*, tells us that many of those who joined the American Jesuits at this period (1805-1817) were former members of other religious Orders (pp. 33-37). These priests were immediately dispatched by Carroll to different parts of his Diocese. Father-General Brzozowski wrote to Carroll from Russia on August 18, 1808, congratulating him on the division of the Diocese of Baltimore and regretting that the troubled condition of Europe had prevented him from sending more Jesuits to the American group (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-C5).

agreement signed by Carroll and Molyneux (September 20, 1805) whereby under certain conditions the Society re-entered into possession of the old estates, some of which dated back to the time of the early Calverts. Bishop Carroll was to receive an annuity, allotted to him from the estates, which were to remain perpetual and inalienable.⁵³ This arrangement lasted until the time of Maréchal, when around it was centered for a time a notorious controversy, the last echoes of which do not seem yet to have died away.

The eminent Sulpician, Father Anthony Garnier, who had returned to France in 1803, with characteristic *bonhomie* wrote to Bishop Carroll about this time (January 17, 1806):

Je vous fais bien sincèrement mon compliment de rétablissement de la très sainte et très utile Compagnie de Jésus dans votre diocèse. C'est elle qui la première a jeté le fondement de la foi dans vos contrées, c'est à elle qu'il appartient de l'établir et de le consolider. Puisse-t-elle se rétablir dans toute sa ferveur primitive! Puisse-t-elle produire de nouveaux François-Xaviers propres à la maintenir et à l'étendre dans l'immense diocèse que la divine Providence vous a confiée.⁵⁴

To prepare Francis Xaviers—men of learning, of erudition even, who would obey in the simplicity of their sanctity the voice of the Superior who should send them out to convert the world in the name of Christ—required the very thing Bishop Carroll feared could not then be given, namely, that special training in the novitiate in which the true follower of St. Ignatius Loyola is formed to the Founder's spirit and ideal. The condition of the little band who had set their hands to the task of bringing life back to the Society was a lame and crippled one, and the commencement of the business,—to use Charles Sewall's phrase—was "perfectly awkward." A novitiate was opened at Georgetown with Father Charles Neale as novice-master, and Carroll accounts in his letter of April 2, 1806, to Strickland, for eleven novices, scholastics, and lay coadjutors. Amongst the novices and scholastics there were some young men of brilliant talents. When

⁵³ These articles of agreement will be found in HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 929-930. The two parties agreed that the properties had now been vested in the restored Society, that Carroll's annuity as Superior, that is, as Bishop, would continue, and that the said annuity should be attached in perpetuity to the See of Baltimore.

⁵⁴ *Georgetown College Archives, Shea Collection*, printed in HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 822 note.

Father Molyneux, the first Superior, was dying (December 8, 1808) he named Charles Neale as Superior and Father-General Brzozowski⁵⁵ confirmed this appointment, making him Superior on September 13, 1809. If we are to accept the word of Father John Grassi, whose *Memoir* on the restored Society of Jesus in the United States (1810-1817) is one of the literary sources for this period, there never had been a strong bond of affection between Bishop Carroll and Charles Neale, and considerable friction seems to have arisen between them (1808) owing to the Jesuit Superior's action in removing at will the priests who belonged to his community. Strictly speaking, if the Society in the United States had been given full canonical existence in 1806, as it was in 1814, Father Neale was within his rights in using his subjects to what he considered the best advantage. But during those eight years of its private (*foro interno*) reestablishment, Archbishop Carroll could not help taking offense at actions which objectively at least were a derogation of his episcopal jurisdiction. Apologies were made to the Metropolitan of Baltimore by Brzozowski, who also wrote a warning letter to Neale, and later relieved him of his post to make way for Father John Grassi, S. J., who had arrived in 1811. The point at issue was, however, something more important than mere personal dislike, which Carroll certainly had for Charles Neale. It was the regulation passed by the bishops in the Meeting of 1810 regarding priests who are members of secular or regular Congregations: namely, that once they have been entrusted to the care of souls in a specified locality, they ought not to be recalled against the will of the bishop. This was a protective measure highly necessary in the condition of the Church here, where priests were so few in number. It was Neale's imprudent use of his powers as Superior in removing Father Adam Britt, S. J., from Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia, which finally aroused Carroll and caused him to write to the Father-General suggesting that some one else be appointed as Jesuit Superior in the United States.⁵⁶ Father Brzozowski's letter (November 20,

⁵⁵ Father-General Gruber died on April 7, 1805, according to Brzozowski—letter to Carroll, May 12, 1805 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-P3). Father-General Brzozowski's appointment is mentioned in a letter to Carroll from Strickland, November 4, 1805 (*Ibid.*, Case 8-D6), who added in a postscript: "How to pronounce his name, I know not!"

⁵⁶ The Britt-Carroll correspondence will be found in the *Baltimore Cathedral*

1811) relieving Neale and appointing Grassi, says that Father Kohlmann would have been given the post, but that he was needed in New York.

The most remarkable of the Jesuits sent from Europe by the General was Father Anthony Kohlmann, whose career in America and in Europe as a teacher and missionary places him above all who belonged to the American Province during his time here. Bishop Carroll quickly saw the brilliant qualities of Father Kohlmann and used him to bring peace to the factions in the churches of Baltimore and Philadelphia. When Bishop Concanen advised Archbishop Carroll of his inability to set out for America, Father Kohlmann was sent to New York as administrator and vicar-general during the interim, which lasted until Bishop Connolly's arrival in 1815.⁵⁷ Here in 1808-09 he began a classical school, called the New York Literary Institute, on the present site of St. Patrick's Cathedral. His stay in New York is equally remarkable for the famous decision in a confessional case, to the effect that confessions of penitents were inviolable and could not be revealed in court.⁵⁸ In 1815, Father Kohlmann returned to Georgetown and became master of novices. Two years later he was appointed Superior, and in 1824, when the Gregorian University was reopened in Rome, he was recalled to take the chair of dogmatic theology. One of his pupils was Joachim Pecci, later Leo XIII. He died in Rome on April 11, 1836.

The imprisonment of Pope Pius VII and the partial disorganization of business routine at Rome, together with the blockade of European ports and the War of 1812 between England and the United States, caused an almost complete stoppage of letters at this time; in a way, this was not an evil to the Church in America, or to the restored Society. The leaders, the priests and the laymen who were officials in church temporalities, were thus thrown upon their own resources, and were forced to fight their way

Archives, Case 2-A1-18. Carroll's letters to the Father-General on Neale's acts are in the same *Archives*, Case 2-C7 (September 11, 1808), Case 2-C9 (October 18, 1812).

⁵⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-C7.

⁵⁸ SAMPSON, *The Catholic Question in America* (New York, 1813), contains in an appendix the report of this first legal tilt over the seal of the confessional. The book aroused considerable controversy, to which Kohlmann replied in 1821, with his *Unitarianism, Theologically and Philosophically Considered*. Cf. FINOTTI, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, pp. 232-234. Boston, 1872; *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, vol. ii, July, 1846.

through difficulties which outside advice or guidance might only have made more complicated and, perhaps, insoluble.

The College of Georgetown which had passed over to the Society of Jesus, at its partial restoration here, began to flourish under Father John Grassi's rectorship (1811-1817). Carroll writes to Plowden, on December 12, 1813: "Mr. Grassi has revived the College of G. Town which has received great improvement in the number of students, and course of studies. His predecessor (Father Francis Neale, S. J.) with the same good intentions had no ability for his station, and was nominated by a strange combination. There are, I think, nine or ten novices under a Fr. Beschter of Flanders, a very holy man, but one, in whom the want of a regular education in the Society is very discernible."⁵⁹ The novitiate was removed from Georgetown to St. Inigoes, in 1812. The danger of British invasion and other reasons led the Fathers to prepare the house at Whitmarsh for the novices.⁶⁰ The Whitmarsh plantation had been placed under the care of Father Germain Bitouzey, in 1801. Father Bitouzey soon acquired considerable influence in the Corporation of the Clergy, being elected one of the Trustees (1802). He had little love for the leaders of the American Jesuits, whom he contemptuously referred to as "the Russians," and the Society found it difficult to induce him to give up the Whitmarsh plantation. Bitouzey's letters are filled with indignation against the restored Society and he refused to yield possession of Whitmarsh on the score that the Society had not been reëstablished in the United States.⁶¹ Bishop Carroll realized the unpleasant effect not only of Bitouzey's attitude, but of Grassi's insistence upon the Society's rights over the old Jesuit houses. He writes on October 16, 1813:

Let me beseech you to recommend to the members of the Society to follow the instructions of the Very Rev. Father-General, and convince themselves that they have not, and cannot have yet, any corporate right in the ecclesiastical property of this country. I see, methinks, a cloud gathering and raised up by some anti-Jesuitical clergymen of different

⁵⁹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

⁶⁰ Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part i, pp. 366-368, part ii, pp. 839-842.

⁶¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-R5-9. For Grassi's comments on the foreign Jesuits (*Memorie sulla Compagnia di Gesù, ristabilita negli Stati Uniti dell'America Settentrionale*, pp. 24-37), see HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 866, note 144.

nations among us, which threatens much trouble, if they can raise it; but their enmity would give me little alarm, if it were not vitiated more and more by the presumptuous language and premature pretensions of some of your subjects.⁶²

A week later, Carroll again warned Grassi (October 25, 1813) that his impetuous desire for the immediate management of the old Jesuit temporalities would kindle a flame of resentment against the Society; and he warns the Jesuit Superior to proceed with the utmost legal caution.⁶³ Father Bitouzey resigned (October 26, 1813), and the novices finally reached Whitemarsh after staying for a period at Georgetown and at Frederick (1812-1814).

Archbishop Carroll's letter of January 31, 1814, to Father Stone, the English Superior is of the highest importance for the proper appraisal of the relations between the See of Baltimore and the Jesuits down to Carroll's death, in 1815:

Rev. and respected Sir,

At the time of receiving the last letter from my Venerable friend, Mr. Strickland, began by him, and in consequence of his illness finished by you, hostilities broke out between our two countries, and rendered the conveyance of letters so uncertain, that I did not presume to answer you on the interesting subject, on which you did me the honour to ask my opinion. Before touching on it at present I must first express my real uneasiness at not hearing more concerning our common highly valued friend, tho within the last three last months Mr. Grassi had had letters from Stonyhurst, and I likewise from both Messrs. Charles and Robt. Plowden. All of these contain a mortuary list of our Brethren, but nothing of Mr. Strickland, which encourages me to hope, not only that he lives, but likewise so as to enjoy comfort, to continue, to a certain degree, his accustomed usefulness.

On the subject, about which you were pleased to advise with me, I presume, that our friends in England are precisely in the same state, as we are here; that is, that nothing has been done for annulling and repealing the destroying Brief of Clement 14th. with equal authority, publicity and authenticity; as was given to that Pontiff's act, which had its full execution in all countries where it was published. Even the members of the Society, namely those at Liège, in Flanders, in England and here entered their free, tho certainly reluctant submission to it. Reviewing the severe injunctions contained in the Brief, the censures on the Ordinaires, who allow, and the individuals who attempt its violation, it seems to me, that without a derogation from it by an act of equal author-

⁶² HUGHES, *l. c.*, part i, p. 367.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

ity, and quite as authentic; those, who with you and us, bind themselves by vow to live under the obedience of the Genl. in Russia, or to conform to the rules of the Society, will nor can be a religious body, or enjoy the privileges of such. Their sacrifice is highly meritorious before God, but in the face of the Church, those, who enter into Orders, and those who are already in them, must be subject to the general discipline as to their title for ordination, and be, as secular priests under the authority of the Bishops. This has been declared by Fr. Czerniewicz, in his letter to Mr. Jn. Howard at Liège, Fr. Gruber and the present Genl., in their communications to me, copy of which would now be forwarded, if I were not confident that you have received such already. Tho these restraints diminish much the usefulness of our Dear Brethren, and may discourage some from making the sacrifice mentioned above, yet it is a misfortune, to which submission is due, as long as it pleases God to keep us under it, which I trust will not be long.

This matter has often engaged my very serious attention, and caused me to refer to the authorities of the ablest Divines, from whom many extracts were occasionally made to aid my judgment. I have sometimes hoped, that these researches would lead to a different conclusion, but I am sorry to say that they all ended in confirming the opinion already expressed. Wherever the Brief was executed, the Society was extinguished; and to revive it, the same authority was requisite, as for the creation and approbation of a new Order. In Russian Poland, the Brief was not executed by the competent authority. But where fresh authority has not been authentically exercised, I cannot reconcile with the doctrine of our Divines, how the difference between simple and solemn vows, can be established; how any who embrace the Society here or in England can be *Professi quatuor votorum*; and consequently, how the Society can exist, unless there be professed Frs. What must then be the meaning of that part of the first vows, *promitto eandem Societatem me ingressurum* etc? With these impressions on my mind and the recollection of the solemn orders of his Holiness contained in the Briefs for my Consecration, the erection of this, and other Episcopal Sees in the United States, my obligation to be subject to the commands of Congn de Propgda fide etc. I never could persuade myself to admit that our young men, who associate themselves to the Society, can be admitted to Orders, *titulo religionis*: they are ordained *titulo missionis* under the authority of the Ordinary—As long as I and my Coadjutor, Bishop Neale continue alive, there will be little or no inconvenience; for we shall always act in harmony with the Superior of the Society; but in England I am sensible that this must be a disagreeable situation.⁶⁴

During Father Grassi's rectorship the college was raised by an Act of Congress to the rank of a university (March 1, 1815), and from his day down to the present, it has never lost its place

⁶⁴ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

of eminence in the educational life of the United States. Father Grassi returned to Rome in 1817, succeeding to high posts in the Society, among which was the rectorship of the Collegio Urbano. He died at Rome, December 12, 1849.

On December 7, 1814, Archbishop Carroll had the happiness of receiving a copy of the Bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* (August 7, 1814) which restored in full canonical form the Society of Jesus throughout the world. That night he dispatched it to Father Grassi, at Georgetown. *Laudemus Deum et exultemus in eo*, Carroll wrote to Grassi on December 10-11, 1814.⁶⁵ It was the end of all of his fears that the partial reëstablishment in Russia, the Two Sicilies, England and America would not last, and in a pardonable burst of enthusiasm he proposed to the Jesuit superior the rather impractical suggestion of a meeting between the ordinaries of the United States and the head of the Society of Jesus here. He proposed also to publish a Pastoral to the Catholics of the United States, calling to their attention the profound meaning of the memorable event. Many eloquent pages of jubilation were written by the members of the Society during these last weeks of the old year 1814. Dr. Carroll's letter to Father Plowden on receiving an authentic copy (January 5, 1815) of the *Sollicitudo* reflects the joy felt in the United States at the news of the Restoration:

My dear and respected Sir,

Your most precious and grateful favour of Octr. 8th accompanied by a copy of the bull of restoration was received early in Decr., and diffused the greatest sensation of joy and thanksgiving not only amongst the surviving and new members of the Society, but also all good Christians, who have any remembrance of their services, or heard of the unjust and cruel treatment, and have witnessed the consequences of their suppression; but your letter of Sepr. 27, to which you refer, has not been received, nor any other copy of the bull, nor a scrip of paper from Rome, since the Pope's delivery, tho I have written by various ways, and the last time, inclosed my letters to the Nuncio at Paris. You, who know Rome, may conceive my sensations, when I read the account transmitted in your most pleasing letter, of the celebration and mass by his Holiness himself at the superb altar of St. Ign. at the Gesù; the assemblage of the

⁶⁵ Cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 846-847. There is a contemporary account (by Maréchal?) of the condition of the Society in the United States, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Letter-Books*, vol. i, p. 105. See Fenwick's letter to Grassi in CAMPBELL, *The Jesuits*, p. 705.

surviving Jesuits in the Chapel to hear the proclamation of their resurrection; the decree for the restitution of the residence in life and the scene of the death of their Patriarch of the Novitiate of S. Andrew, its most enchanting church, and the lovely monument and chapel of S. Stanislaus, which I fondly hope have escaped the fangs of rapine and devastation. Is there no hope, that these acts of justice and religion will be followed by the restoration likewise of the Roman College, the magnificent Church of S. Ignatius, and the wonderful monument of S. Aloysius? If as I believe, these were appropriated not to private uses, but became the public University of the City and Diocese of Rome, they will be restored to their former owners with less difficulty. But how many years must pass before these houses will be re-peopled by such men as we have known and whom sanctity of manner, zeal for the divine glory, science, eloquence and talents of every kind rendered worthy of being the instruments of divine providence to illustrate his church, maintain its faith, and instruct all ranks of human society in all the duties of their respective stations. When I consider the length of preparation required to renew this race of men, my apprehensions is, that the friends of the Society will be too precipitate, too hasty in expecting benefits from it, before its pupils will be mature enough to produce them. I was sorry to notice, that you apprehend opposition in England to its existence there and of course in Ireland, notwithstanding the favorable disposition of the Irish Bishops. This commendation of them and particularly of the M. Rev. Abp. of Dublin was the more agreeable to me because [*line and a half erased*] I always esteemed and thought him a real friend of the Society. Here I do not yet discover any sensation of hostility in our general, or any of the state governments. Little is said in the public papers of the event of the re-establishment. In consequence of the law, which was obtained above twenty years ago and had become necessary for securing our old estates to the purposes of religion, it will be our duty to observe the forms of the law, to subsist and quietly let the property pass into the hands of Trustees, who will all be members of the Society. Their vows and principles will direct them how, and by whom the estates must be administered for the services of the country and religion.

You express a wish that all the old members should now return to the embraces of their beloved mother. Of these mentioned by you the good Mr. Pile has been dead nearly two years ago. I much doubt whether Mr. Ashton, whom I have not seen for several years, will be disposed to do so, or whether Mr. Grassi wishes it. Concerning Bp. Neale and myself, it seems to us that till more is known of the mind of our rulers, it might not be for the interests of our Brethren, even if his Holiness would allow us to vacate our Sees, to expose our concerns to Successors, unfriendly perhaps or liable to be exposed only to malicious misrepresentations. But this matter however has not yet received my full consideration. If you should learn thereafter that difficulties have arisen concerning the Society in this country, you may be assured that the open or surest authors of the opposition are certain foreign Ecclesiastics (not

one of whom is of the respectable body, the Sulpicians) who after a hospitable reception and ample participation of the prospect of our estates, proportioned to their services, took offense at every arrangement, preparatory to the now contemplated restitution of the property. Some of those persons would at once sell and divide it amongst the officiating clergy.⁶⁶

Father Grassi unfortunately blundered at this juncture. In his excitement he allowed himself to be the spokesman for those who had been complaining for years of Carroll's attitude towards the restoration, and the result was an outspoken and indignant vindication of Carroll's policy from 1784 to 1814:

For my theology forbade me to allow, that pretended, or even acknowledged *vivae vocis oracula* were sufficient authority to set aside the public, solemn acts of Pontifical jurisdiction, wherever they had been proclaimed, admitted, and long submitted to. I therefore could not, as long as there was no public instrument from His Holiness, allowing the bishops to ordain *titulo paupertatis religiosae*, admit on that ground to Holy Orders those, who had associated themselves with the Society in Russia. Till such an instrument was issued, I think that the English VV. AA [*Vicars-Apostolic*], as well as the bishops in Ireland, were quite correct in refusing to ordain the pupils of Stonyhurst and Hodder House *Titulo paup. &c.* whatever my friend Mr. [*Charles*] Plowden may say, who on this point would not be supported by his Br [*brother*] Robert, the more solid divine of the two. Besides the matter of ordination, there were other points, on which my judgment was nowise satisfied, concerning those who became associated in this country to your brethren in Russia. In *foro externo*, as the General himself declared, they were not a religious body, they had no common interest, and they were not united in community, [*but*] only by the bonds of charity, being in the eye of ecclesiastical government no other than secular clergy; in a word, I saw nothing but contradiction between the established discipline of the Church, and the pretensions of Mr. Charles Neale, late Superior, some of his adherents and likewise those, which are sometimes asserted by Messrs. Beschter, Malevé, Malou, &c; but from which I can truly acquit you; though you have latterly discovered an impatience to be released from such restraints as were introduced through necessity, and cannot be removed otherwise than gradually, without irritating certain passions.⁶⁷

No doubt Father Grassi, who had been strongly influenced by the Neales, resented the somewhat patronizing tone of Carroll's letter after the receipt of the *Sollicitudo*, but certainly the old and revered archbishop—he was then in his eightieth

⁶⁶ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

⁶⁷ Quoted by HUGHES, l. c., pp. 851-852.

year—might have been spared that attack upon his honour.⁶⁸ Father Kohlmann, as a foreigner, despite his great learning, would naturally take Grassi's side against the Americans. The incident might be allowed to pass unnoticed, but it has its place in the general scheme of ecclesiastical life at that day in the United States—domination by aliens. Archbishop Carroll could not bear anyone ill-will, and so it is not surprising to find no mention of Grassi's insinuations in his letters to Plowden around this time. He went on also with his project of issuing a Pastoral "to the congregations of my diocese on the subject of the restoration of the Society," but he was being hindered, as he wrote to Grassi, on March 16, 1815, not "through forgetfulness or indifference but truly and really for the want of time. There are now but few hours of the day during which my mind is fit for any serious application; and so many urgent affairs have the first claim on those hours that you must have a little patience, as my desire is to make the address not absolutely unworthy of the occasion."⁶⁹

It is evident that death alone saved Carroll from the misery of an open break with the Jesuit Superior; and while it was with no intimation of its dread approach, we can catch a glimpse of the man's soul in conflict with these annoyances which robbed his last days of comfort. In one of his last letters to Plowden, dated June 25, 1815, he says:

My dear and respected friend,

My last was about one month ago; it informed you of many of your letters having been received, notwithstanding the impediments which for some years embarrassed our correspondence; tho, I regret the mis-carriage of others to which you refer. When I wrote, there was a pleasing expectation of a long and universal peace; but the late advices from France threaten to overwhelm again the world in trouble. For my own part, it shall be my endeavour, tho' I fear for my constancy, to keep my soul,

⁶⁸ Father Thomas Hughes interprets Bishop Carroll's attitude towards the revival of the Society as a consequence of his sympathy with Plowden. "This would indicate," Hughes writes, "that Carroll was as far out of touch with the whole body of English Jesuits as the Neale party considered he was out of sympathy with the American Jesuits." This view fails to give a proper recognition between Carroll's attitude before he became the appointed leader of the American Church and afterwards. As Superior and as Bishop it was his duty to avoid any suspicion that his actions were not in full accord with Propaganda's expressed decisions on this point.

⁶⁹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 853.

as clear as I can, from those tumultuous sollicitudes which have agitated it so much for the losses and success of contending nations. Such degrading immorality, and such base treachery have blackened the histories of some of them, that an old man, especially, sees the benefit of restraining all partialities and placing his entire reliance of the wisdom and providence of God.

Yet there is one point, on which I feel, and in some degree cherish sollicitude, it is for the effect, which the irruption of Bonaparte into France, and consequent events may have on the progress of the newly restored Society. Your friend, Mr. Grassi, is doing his best for it here, but it seems to me, that he consults chiefly, if not exclusively, foreigners, that is, his Brethren from Russia, Germany, Flanders, &c. all of them good religious men, but not one of them possessing an expanded mind, discerning enough to estimate difference between the American character, and that of the Countries which they left. Tho' I have noticed yet much of this partiality in himself, yet I apprehend that dissatisfaction, complaint and perhaps remonstrance will arise against certain acts of his administration. I shall advise, even in matters of the interior government of the Society whenever I can be useful, but if what has been noticed and reported hitherto is not mis-stated or misunderstood there is great reason that he will undesignedly beget a jealousy on the part of the Secular Clergy in this Diocese and perhaps other Orders, against the Society, an evil, which I most earnestly deprecate and against which our old Brethren, who saved property here after dissolution, so peculiarly guarded.⁷⁰

Father Grassi needed the letter referred to, which Archbishop Carroll wrote to him on February 21, 1815, and in which the venerable old man, wearied with the petty attacks upon his policies during the Interim, strikes back with all the vigour of his earlier days:

. . . I must do myself the justice to say that, if ever any measures were taken to organize a system for the preservation of the property, which formerly did, and now again does, belong to the Society; to prevent it from being liable to waste and individual usurpation; if the College over which you preside obtained existence and legal capacity to acquire property and receive donations; if the very spot on which it stands, as well as the church, is now vested in the representatives of the College these were originally my acts alone; they were performed without the small [*est*] expense to those who have since enjoyed the property; my journeys year after year, my attendance on the general assemblies, my sollicitations, my care and watchfulness over the wording of the different acts of the Legislature, which were necessary to erect corporations for the clergy and the College, so that they might not be a bar against the Society in case of its revival; these were done by me alone, tho I was very much

⁷⁰ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

opposed by those, who have since enjoyed the possession and administration of all which was acquired by them. The proofs of their opposition are still in my possession, and every one knows how they have profited by my exertions, labours and expense. I think therefore that, contrary to my usual custom, I may claim to be, in an humble degree, *de Societate bene meritis*, as having protected those interests, which may by a prudent administration aid the progress of the body so miraculously restored. To which it may be added that, whilst all others were remaining with folded arms, without moving a step to prepare the way for a return of the Society, I alone opened and continued the correspondence with the General in Russia, and with his concurrence gave all that existence to it, which it could receive without a full and authentic repeal of the destructive brief of Clement XIV. I am ashamed for having said so much of myself, which nothing should have extorted from me but the undeserved insinuations of my unfriendliness for not adopting the suggestions of a zeal, which appeared to me so precipitate as to endanger the harmony of our fellow-labourers, to hurt the interests of the Society, and to embarrass my conscience as long as the Ganganelian brief remained unrepealed.⁷¹

Archbishop Carroll did not, however, allow Grassi's suspicions to change his admiration for the learned Italian Jesuit, who was Superior of the Society in the United States. But they undoubtedly differed on the property question which was Carroll's legacy to Archbishops Neale and Maréchal, and one fortunately that Dr. Carroll was never called upon to settle definitively. After his death, the Grassi-Kohlmann view of the old Jesuit Estates began to prevail among the members of the restored Society and for many years clouded the good name of all who shared in the controversy. But this cloud soon passed, and the reëstablished Society in its complete canonical form—the only restoration that Dr. Carroll would consider sympathetically—began its great work of education in the Church here.⁷² All the difficulties and mis-

⁷¹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, part i, p. 375.

⁷² Even the apostate Jesuit Wharton rejoiced in the restoration of the Society. In one of Father George Fenwick's letters to B. U. Campbell (April 26, 1844), there is a quotation from Wharton's correspondence, dated February 14, 1816, saying: "You ask my opinion respecting the restoration of the Order of Jesuits. I think it a great stroke of policy if not of justice in the Roman Pontiff. They were certainly the most enlightened and zealous champions of his authority. But what is much more to their credit, they formed unquestionably the most learned and exemplary Body of Clergy in the Roman Church. They had the *esprit de corps* to a high degree; but in other respects a more disinterested and virtuous community never existed. This is my testimony concerning them, and I know it is true." (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C, D3.*)

understandings of the Interim (1773-1806), of the Revival (1806-1814), and afterwards, appear negligible in the light of the Society's glorious conquest for Christ during the century which has intervened since that time.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE DIVISION OF THE DIOCESE OF BALTIMORE

(1808)

Bishop John Carroll ruled over a diocese greater, probably, in extent than any European see of the time. At his accession in 1790, the limits of his vast diocese were uncertain, although it was understood by all that his jurisdiction was coterminous with the new Republic. No official act of the Holy See, however, had decided whether the missions in upper Maine and New York, and in the Northwest Territory (1787)—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota—were under the direction of Quebec or of Baltimore. In a similar way, the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba still claimed canonical jurisdiction over the territory around Natchez, Baton Rouge and other places within the area disputed by Spain and the United States. In other words, the tenor of Dr. Carroll's appointment did not state whether jurisdiction comprised the Thirteen Original States or the whole territory claimed by the United States. The two geographical expressions—Thirteen Original States and United States of America—are used in the Bull erecting the See of Baltimore as if they were synonymous. The question was referred to the Holy See for decision and on January 13, 1791, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide set the matter at rest by placing the whole territory of the United States under Dr. Carroll's jurisdiction. England, however, still claimed the city of Detroit and a large part of Michigan and Ohio; and Spain considered the Natchez territory as part of her American dominions. When these territories were later relinquished by England and Spain, Dr. Carroll's jurisdiction automatically extended over them.

No one realized more keenly than Bishop Carroll the difficulties he would have in ruling this great territory.¹ At the

¹ That Bishop Carroll had proposed the nomination of an auxiliary for the Diocese of Baltimore, before his departure in 1790 for Lulworth, is evident from one of Father

Synod of 1791, he expressed a wish to see his labours divided with a younger man, and all the priests present gave their consent to the appointment of a coadjutor. Apart from the necessity of having some one to share his labours, Dr. Carroll saw also the wisdom of having a coadjutor-bishop who would be able to assume episcopal authority immediately in case of his death. The delay in writing to Rome and in receiving replies from Propaganda were well known to them all. The proceedings of the Synod were sent to Rome in due time, and in the spring of the following year (April 23, 1792), Bishop Carroll penned his detailed *Report* on the condition of the Church in the Diocese of Baltimore. As previously stated, Bishop Carroll wrote that he had spoken to the priests present about the advisability of requesting either the creation of a new diocese or the appointment of a coadjutor: "If anything should happen to me, my successor could be sent to Europe for consecration, only at great expense. Several with whom I consulted on the matter, feel that the Holy See should be petitioned to create a new diocese here. For although neither the number of the priests nor of the laity is so great that they could be not taken care of properly by one bishop if they all lived within easy reach, nevertheless, on account of the great distance which separates them from the bishop and from one another, it is impossible for them to know their priests or to be known by them."² For this and for other reasons, as we have already seen, Bishop Carroll asked that a second episcopal see be erected, either in Philadelphia or New York, with the Susquehanna River as a boundary line between the two dioceses. Of the two cities, he preferred Philadelphia, because the Catholic life there was more vigorous and there were more churches.

He writes to Plowden at this time:

I have written to Rome, recommending and requesting the erection of another diocese in the United States: this, I hope, will be granted; if not, I press for the grant of a coadjutor. To avoid giving offence to our own government, it is proposed to the Propaganda to allow the ten oldest

Thorpe's letters, dated Rome, August 28, 1790, in which he advised Carroll not to press his petition until after his return to Baltimore. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-K9.)

² *Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1792) ff. 142-155, no. 13, received before August 13, 1792.

clergymen here, and five others to be nominated by myself, to be the electors of the new bishop, ordinary or coadjutor. But in my solicitude to provide for a close and intimate union with the Holy See, I desire that if the grant be made agreeably to request, it may be under the express condition of reserving a right in the Holy See, to reject the person elected, as long as one be not elected perfectly agreeable to it. I am, I own, principally solicitous to form establishments which will be lasting. To pass through a village, where a Roman Catholic clergyman was never seen before; to borrow of the parson the use of his meetinghouse or church, in order to preach a sermon; to go or send about the village, giving notice at every house, that a priest is to preach at a certain house, and there to enlarge on the doctrines of our Church; this is a mode adopted by some amongst us for the propagation of religion. But I would rather see a priest fixed for a continuance in the same place, with a growing congregation under him, than twenty such itinerant preachers. The only effect which I have seen from these, is to make people gaze for a time, and say that the preacher is a good or a bad one; but as soon as he is gone on his way, to think no more about him.³

When this report was taken up formally by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, on August 13, 1792, it was decided that in place of a second see at Philadelphia or New York, the American clergy would be permitted to propose the name of a worthy priest who would be appointed by the Holy See as coadjutor to Bishop Carroll. On September 29, 1792, Cardinal Antonelli wrote a lengthy letter to Bishop Carroll advising him of Propaganda's decision. Carroll's letter of April 23, made a profound impression upon the Propaganda officials, who were particularly delighted with the news about St. Mary's Seminary and Georgetown College. Nothing would give the Holy See greater pleasure, Antonelli wrote, than to accede to the desire of Dr. Carroll and his clergy in the question of dividing the episcopal labours with an auxiliary bishop. But the sentiment prevailed at Rome that it would be more prudent to name a coadjutor than to create a second episcopal see, since church unity would be thus better preserved. Moreover, the privilege (*pro hac vice tantum*) granted in his own election, could hardly be permitted a second time by the Holy See, even though, as Carroll had pointed out, a direct appointment by Rome might be interpreted by the enemies of the Church in the Republic as violating the spirit of the Constitution. Antonelli urged Carroll

³ Cited by BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.

to consult with the older priests of his diocese and to suggest the name of a worthy candidate for the coadjutorship.

Dr. Carroll's personal choice was one of the most lovable characters in the American priesthood of that day—Father Laurence Graessl of Philadelphia. Laurence Graessl was born in Bavaria on August 18, 1753. After completing his collegiate studies, he entered the Society of Jesus, and was in the Jesuit novitiate at Munich when the decree of Suppression was issued in 1773. He became a secular priest and was serving in one of the churches in Munich when Father Farmer's appeal from Philadelphia reached him. On August 1, 1786, he wrote to his parents from Munich, telling them that he had decided to leave for the Pennsylvania missions where there were many German Catholics. There is extant a letter from his pen, dated London, August 3, 1787, in which he tells his parents that after a delay of eight weeks in London, he was about to set sail for America. The journey across the Channel from Ostend to Dover occupied 36 hours, and the high cost of living in London has almost depleted his little treasury. "I go to Philadelphia, he writes, "the largest city in America . . . Pray for me that I may land safely in America. I resign myself entirely to the Holy will of God. Should I be swallowed by the waves or be made a slave in Africa by the pirates, I shall always remember the litany we used to say every week at home: Thy holy will be done, O God!" Father Graessl arrived in Philadelphia in October, 1787. A year later (December 9, 1788) he wrote from Philadelphia to his parents that he had spent a busy twelve months in the Pennsylvania and New Jersey missions, and had heard many confessions in German, English, French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish. He had been inoculated in January, 1788, against the smallpox which was then prevalent. The presentiment of death never seems to have deserted him. "Should it be God's will," he writes, "that I die in America and should not see you in this world any more, let us console ourselves with the sweet hope that the separation will not last long, that the heavenly Father will soon unite us, and that forever."⁴

In May, 1793, the election of the first American coadjutor

⁴ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxi, pp. 49-58.

took place, and Father Graessl was chosen by his fellow-priests to be Carroll's coadjutor.⁵ On June 19, 1793, he wrote for the last time to his parents, from Philadelphia, giving them the news of his election: "There is but one bishop in this extensive country. Should he die, another of the clergy would have to travel to Europe to receive episcopal consecration. Therefore, the Pope gave permission to select a coadjutor-bishop who should succeed our worthy bishop. The election took place in the beginning of May, and, dearest parents, the choice fell upon your poor Laurence . . . Nothing was more disquieting to me than this news; but God has heard my prayers. He wants to deliver me, unworthy as I am, from this heavy burden to make room for one worthier than I." In this, his last letter, he tells his parents that the yellow fever had caught him in its fearsome toils: "Dearest friends, I am sick and according to human understanding my days are counted. Probably before you read this, my body will rest in the grave, but let the splendid view of eternity be our consolation. There, I hope to God, we shall see each other again and never be separated any more."⁶

In the spring and early summer of 1793, Philadelphia became a haven of refuge for a large number of fugitives who fled from the West Indies when the French Revolution reached those islands. Most of them had come from places where the yellow fever was raging, and without doubt the plague was brought by them to Philadelphia. The plague was as mysterious in its attack as the influenza epidemic of 1918, and Dr. Rush, then the foremost physician of the city, frankly admitted that only experience of a sad nature with his patients had taught him how to cope with the malady. "So dreadful was the disease, so revolting and rapid in its progress, and so generally fatal in its results, that a panic of fear seized the city. All who could do so fled from the contagion, and it is estimated that of the fifty thousand inhabitants about twenty-three thousand left the city."⁷ Physicians and clergymen of all denominations proved their heroism during the horrors of the plague. During the five or six weeks of its progress, ten of the leading physicians gave up

⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Letter-Books*, vol. ii, pp. 92, 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ KIRLIN, *Catholicity in Philadelphia*, p. 139.

their lives for the citizens of Philadelphia, and eight non-Catholic ministers of the Gospel died martyrs to their sense of duty. Of the three Catholic priests stationed at St. Mary's Church, not one escaped. Father Christopher Keating was at death's door for weeks, but recovered, while Father Graessl and Father Fleming both died before the epidemic had run its course.

Bishop-elect Laurence Graessl died in October, 1793, and was buried in St. Joseph's Churchyard.

Meanwhile, the letter of Bishop Carroll to Propaganda announcing the election of Father Graessl reached Rome, and was favourably acted upon by the Sacred Congregation. In an audience granted on December 8, 1793, two months after Father Graessl's death, Pius VI granted the request of the American clergy, and the dead priest was forthwith named Bishop of Samosata and coadjutor to Bishop Carroll of Baltimore. Bishop Carroll had written in October to Rome informing the Holy See of Father Graessl's demise, but it would appear that it was only through his letter of July 3, 1794, that Propaganda was made aware of the fact. For that reason Bishop-elect Graessl's appointment went through all the formalities of the pontifical chancery. On January 18, 1794, two letters were despatched from Rome, one to Bishop-elect Dominic Laurence Graessl, announcing his election and elevation to the purple, and one to Bishop Carroll in the same tenor, but containing a significant clause to the effect that should the Holy See deem it expedient to divide "so large a diocese, embracing as it does so many states, into several dioceses," it will be done, "even during your own lifetime and even should you unreasonably (*irrationabiliter*) be opposed to such a step."

To Bishop-elect Graessl, Propaganda wrote as follows (January 18, 1784):

The most worthy John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore, having written to their Eminences the Cardinals of Propaganda and to His Holiness in the highest terms of praise of your piety and religious spirit, His Holiness has thereupon deigned to raise you to the episcopal dignity and to choose you as coadjutor of the aforesaid Bishop. From this you will perceive how earnestly and zealously and with what care and diligence you should labor in so extended a part of the Lord's vineyard as has been entrusted to your charge. For the rest His Holiness in the fulness of His Apostolic power reserves to Himself the right to determine hereafter whether it

be not more expedient to divide so large a diocese, embracing as it does so many states, into several dioceses, even should the present incumbent dissent. For the spiritual comfort and welfare of souls must be looked to, and should the Catholic Faith spread more widely and the harvest become more plentiful, the task of caring for it will be unequal not only for one Bishop but even for two. Their Eminences and His Holiness hope that imitating the virtues and most ardent zeal of your superior prelate for the Catholic Faith you will by your labours bring forth most abundant fruits to the gain of the Catholic Religion. From your superior prelate therefore you will receive the ordinary and extraordinary faculties that have been given to him by His Holiness for that purpose. In the meantime I pray God to increase in you His blessings and to protect you.

The letter to Carroll is addressed "Reverend Charles Carroll," and is of the same date:

We desire to inform you by these letters that in the one addressed to the Rev. Dominic Graessl, your coadjutor-elect, we have told him that the Supreme Pontiff reserves full liberty to himself, should the welfare of souls at any time demand it, of dividing your very extended diocese into other episcopal dioceses, even during your own lifetime and even should you unreasonably be opposed to such a step. For while the present condition of affairs does not warrant the erection of new sees, although you yourself have petitioned for them, and it seems to us more advisable by the appointment of a coadjutor to secure a unity of government and a unity of discipline, now especially in the beginning of your infant church, yet should the Catholic Religion, under the Divine blessing, spread further and the harvest of the Faithful prove more plenteous, it may be necessary for the Apostolic See to appoint more labourers and rulers (*præsides*) of souls in the several states with episcopal jurisdiction and character—(*jure et caractere*). Nor have we the slightest fear that either you or your coadjutor, well known as you both are for your piety and religious zeal, will ever oppose this projected dismembering of your diocese and the erection of new diocese whenever such a step seems proper to the Apostolic See. Still in order to guard against any occasion for complaints hereafter, we deem it enough at this fitting moment to inform both of you of the views and intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff in giving you a coadjutor, and we wish you now without any delay to bind him never to put himself in opposition to the erection of new sees.

The words, "never to put himself in opposition to the erection of new sees," must have had a curious sound to a prelate who had already twice urged the division of his diocese. They are, however, but the formal phrase contained in all such documents,

though there is every reason to suspect that the traditional routine of ecclesiastical procedure had not forgotten the exceptional request of the priests in 1788, that they be permitted to elect their own spiritual chief. Doubtless, another letter from Dr. Carroll, dated September 21, 1793, which was then under consideration by the officials of Propaganda added to their fear of novelty in the American Church. In the formula of the oath taken by the bishops at that time, there was the traditional phrase—"I will to the utmost of my power seek out and oppose schismatics, heretics, and the enemies of our Sovereign Lord and his successors." Such a clause might easily be misused by those who opposed the presence of the Church in the United States, and Dr. Carroll wisely asked for the suppression of these words. This was granted; and in a General Assembly of Propaganda, held on June 16, 1794, their Eminences permitted the future bishops of the United States to take the same oath as was taken by the bishops of Ireland. The summary contained in the *Atti* of 1795 states:

Now by the aforesaid letter of September 21, he [Rt. Rev. Bishop Carroll] acquaints your Eminence with the efforts made by many sectarians, who are led by a partisan and unfriendly spirit, to decry motives of attack and calumnies against the Apostolic See; he especially notes their inveighing against the form of oath required by the Roman Pontifical in the consecration of Bishops, principally because the words of the following clause, namely,—"*haereticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem Domino Nostro vel successoribus praedictis pro posse persequar, impugnabo, etc.*," moreover, their misinterpreting the real meaning of the aforesaid clause, by purposely trying to make it out as implying hostility to the form of government, as established in the aforesaid United States, where every one is allowed freely to possess whatever kind of religion he chooses.

Wherefore as Bishop Carroll is confident that large numbers of sectarians will be present at the consecration [of Bishop Graessl] to hear and misinterpret whatever they can, he petitions this Holy See for leave to omit the aforesaid clause in the oath required to be taken by his Bishop-coadjutor, so as to deprive the above sectarians of every chance of misrepresentation. (The copyist adds here that a marginal note in the original minutes states that "news have just reached us that the Rev. Dominic Lawrence Graessl, coadjutor, [has] passed away to eternal life.")⁸

⁸ The documents relating to the appointments of Graessl and Neale [*Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1795), ff. 8ss.], were translated by Dr. Middleton, O.S.A., and will be found in the *Researches*, vol. xxi, pp. 59-64.

In a general assembly held June 16, 1794, their Eminences decided that the petition should be answered as follows, namely: "That their Eminences grant the dispensation asked and order a copy of the letter sent to the Archbishops of Ireland, June 25, 1791, to be sent with the requested changes to the Bishop of Baltimore . . . In an Audience granted by His Holiness, July 10, 1794, the aforesaid mentioned decisions of the Sacred Congregation having been laid before Him, He has deigned to ratify them all, and has accordingly permitted the same form of oath, as was taken by the Bishops and Archbishops of Ireland, to be taken by the Bishop of Baltimore." A copy of this oath was sent on August 2, 1794.⁹

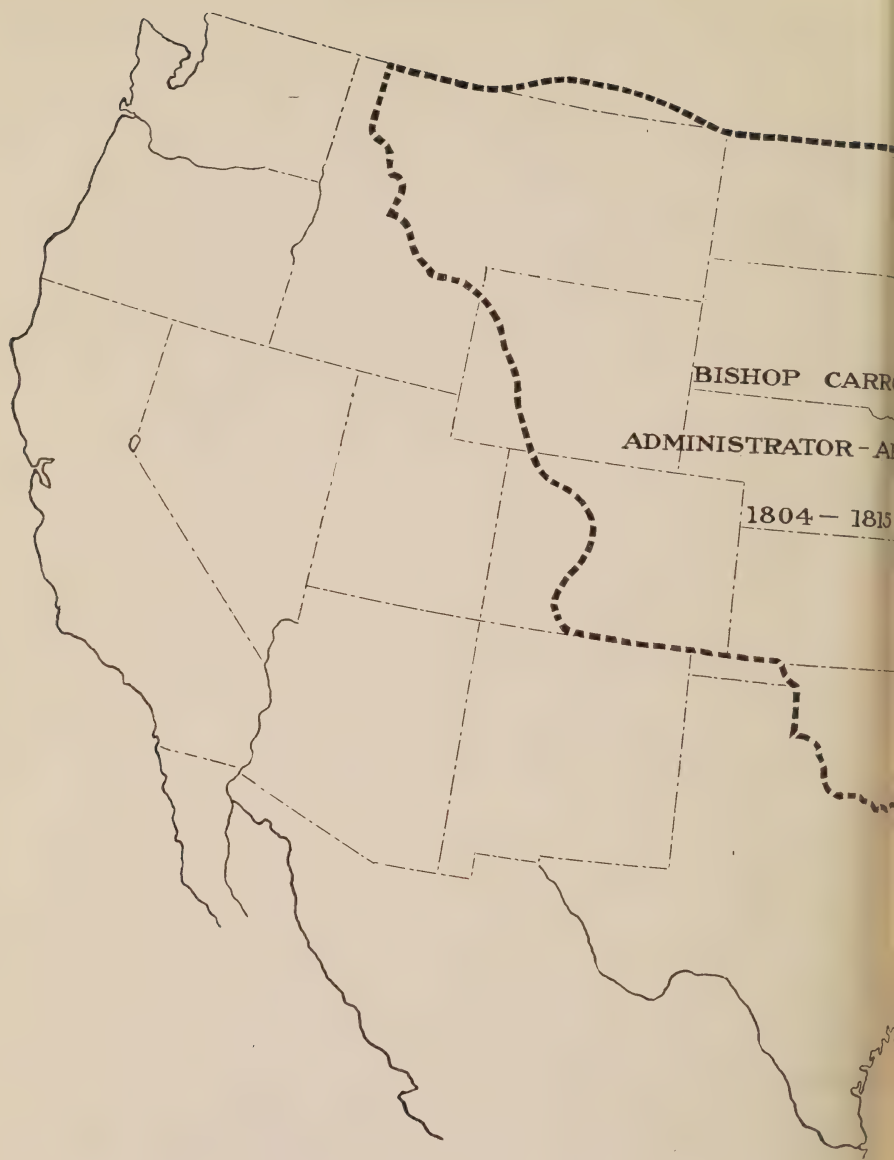
After the death of Bishop-elect Graessl, Father Leonard Neale was appointed pastor of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia (December 21, 1793), and with the advice of the older members of the clergy, Bishop Carroll decided to send the name of Father Neale to Rome as a worthy successor to the honours which had fallen posthumously upon Bishop-elect Graessl. On October 18, 1794, Dr. Carroll wrote to Antonelli from Philadelphia, that the choice of the clergy had fallen upon a man truly pious, endowed with the highest prudence, humility and suavity of manners, and highly skilled in ecclesiastical learning and discipline. Bishop-elect Neale was about forty-four years old at the time. On April 17, 1795, the Bulls appointing Father Neale Bishop of Gortyna and coadjutor of Baltimore were issued and were sent by an unusual route, owing to the disturbed condition of France. Months passed by, and Bishop Carroll gave up all hope of receiving them. A set of duplicates which Dr. Carroll had asked for, met with the same fate, and it was not until the summer of 1800, that another set of duplicates, sent by Cardinal Stephen Borgia, reached Baltimore. On October 12, 1799, Carroll wrote to Antonelli expressing his great solicitude over the delay, since he feared grave inconvenience to the Church in the United States in case the Bulls of consecration did not arrive. He asked that copies be sent in care of Monsignor Charles Erskine, who was in London at the time. Bishop-elect Neale remained in Philadelphia until 1799 when Dr. Carroll named him President of George-

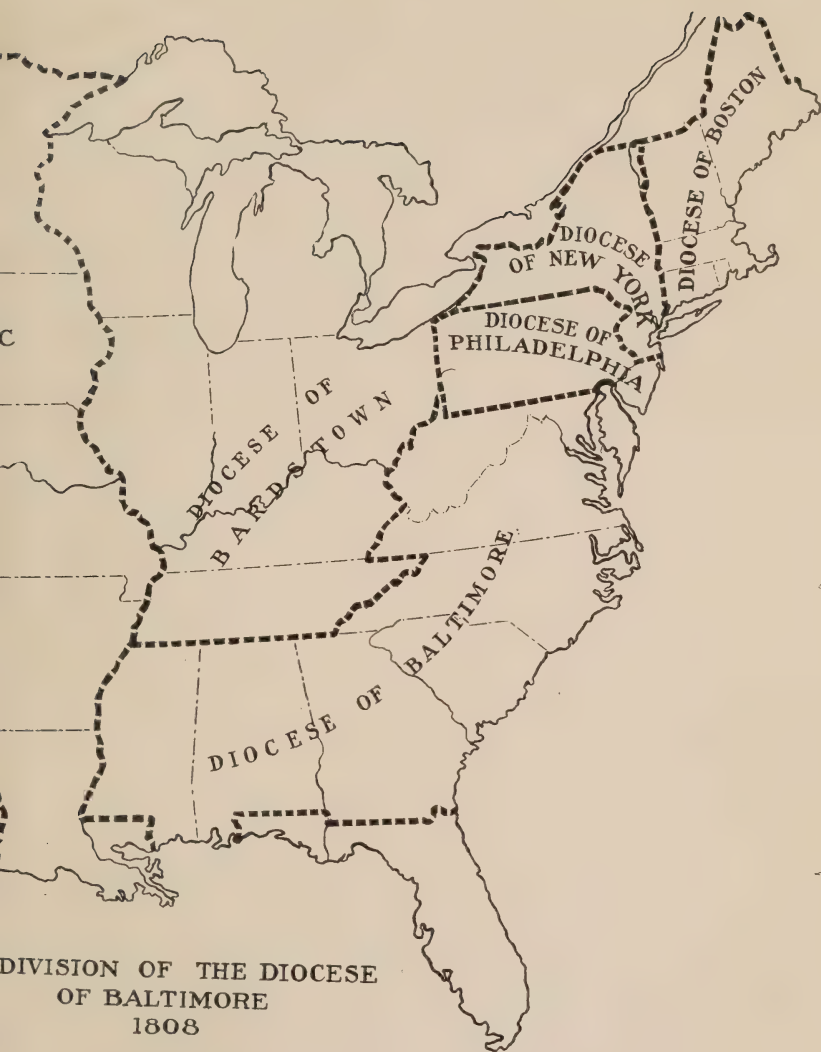
⁹ Cf. *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, American Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 39-40.

town College. The feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, September 8, 1800, was set apart for the consecration of the new coadjutor-bishop, but the yellow fever again made its appearance, and Bishop Carroll was unwilling to call any of his clergy to Baltimore for the ceremony, lest the Catholics suffer during their absence. Finally, the feast of the Immaculate Conception (December 8) was appointed. On the day previous (December 7), for the first time within the borders of the United States, episcopal consecration was conferred on Bishop Neale. Father Nagot, President of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and Father Beeston, then pastor of St. Peter's pro-Cathedral, acted as assistants in the ceremony. It had been the intention of Bishop Carroll that his coadjutor should reside in Philadelphia, so that the labours of the diocese might be divided; but Bishop Neale was needed at Georgetown College, where he continued to preside until the restored Society of Jesus assumed charge of the institution (1806).

In an account of the difficulties which had delayed Neale's consecration, Carroll says to Plowden (September 3, 1800):

The accumulation of letters, which I must absolutely answer, is prodigious: of many I must keep copies; and having no secretary or assistant, my labour is incessant, and indeed too much for my time of life, especially when united with my other episcopal duties. It is not therefore surprising, if some degree of self-indulgence gains upon me, when I can obtain a respite from my writing desk, and if I allow a part of it to reading, which, as you know, was always my favourite employment. I have now a prospect of diminishing my labour, and particularly my toilsome journies every spring and fall to different congregations. The brief of Pius 6th for the consecration of *rv.* Leonard Neale, which has been five years in its progress, has arrived at length, not even now the first copies of it, which were committed to *rv.* Connell, but duplicates sent in consequence of my repeated representations. His consecration was to have taken place at Baltimore on the 8th inst., but since my departure from home, the fatal yellow fever, that new pest of our country, has broken out there about the middle of August, and will rage till the first frost, which can hardly be expected before the last of October. On this account it is judged inexpedient to collect in that town so many priests, as will be necessary for the performance of the ceremony which will therefore be delayed for some time. The whole body of the clergy insist on my continuance in the country till I have provided a Successor to my See. I submit to their opinion, tho' I suffer perhaps much greater anxiety by my absence, than I would at home. We have lost already since 1793,





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the first epoch of that dreadful disorder in Philad., eight of our best clergymen; and in consequence of their death, many Congregations remain without pastors.¹⁰

Since Bishop Neale's activities were divided between Georgetown College and the founding of the Visitation Convent, Georgetown, he does not seem to have taken a very prominent share in the discipline of the Church during the five years of his coadjutorship. No doubt had he been consecrated in 1795, when he was first appointed, and while he was pastor of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, the scope of his coöperation with Bishop Carroll would have been a wider one and the administration of the Diocese of Baltimore might have proceeded on more practical lines. Practically speaking, Neale's coadjutorship was of little value to Bishop Carroll, except the satisfaction of knowing that ecclesiastical life and discipline would continue in case he should be incapacitated by old age or called to his reward by death.¹¹

For this reason, among others, only one relief seemed practicable—that of dividing the Diocese of Baltimore and of placing it under at least four extra bishops. John Carroll had borne the burden of the episcopate for ten years when his coadjutor, Leonard Neale, was consecrated, and he was to continue bearing that burden for another decade, before a division of his pressing labours was to take place. As we have already seen, it was the sentiment of the priests who gathered at Baltimore for the Synod that the vast Diocese of Baltimore should be divided and that Philadelphia be made a see for the Northern States. Baltimore would retain its chieftainship over the South—with its limits the Susquehanna River, and an imaginary line running to the westernmost settlements, thus dividing the work of church discipline and government. For a long time, Propaganda was convinced that the condition of the Church in the United States hardly war-

¹⁰ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

¹¹ From contemporary witnesses, it would seem that Dr. Neale was a disappointment as Carroll's coadjutor. James Barry's correspondence with Carroll speaks rather slightly of the new Bishop; in one letter (June 10, 1807), he says: "There is no danger of Neale setting the Potomac on fire" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 1-K5). Father John Thayer, while at Stonyhurst in 1805, to quote Plowden's words: "Spoke of your coadjutor as a man of no abilities" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-Q5). Cf. also *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. xv (1921), pp. 201-222.

ranted the extension of the hierarchy.¹² Unity of government and unity of discipline were first to be established, especially in the beginning of the infant Church, but the time might come when more bishops would be needed. The long delay (October 15, 1794—summer of 1800) caused by the loss of the several sets of duplicate Bulls only increased Carroll's anxiety over the situation of the Church in this country. "I foresee, indeed, a great inconvenience," he wrote on August 20, 1799, to Antonelli, "unless another copy of the Bulls be sent before my death and arrive quickly, so that I may impose hands on this most worthy priest." Added to this delay were the series of "stirs" caused by insubordinate priests in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Charleston, S. C., who were defying Carroll's jurisdiction in the most vital of all episcopal powers—that of delegating pastoral faculties to them for the good of souls. Fathers Elling, Goetz and Heilbron were leaders of a schism in Philadelphia; Father Felix Gallagher was causing unrest in that old centre of Southern culture, Charleston, S. C.; and the noisy Reuter was the centre of sad disorder in the ranks of the German Catholics of Baltimore. On October 12, 1799, Bishop Carroll wrote to Antonelli, saying that if any action were to be taken to divide the diocese, he would hear with pleasure that the Holy See was considering the same favourably. He had desired such a division as early as 1792, though some were beginning to doubt the wisdom of carrying out such a scheme when there were so many petty rebellions against his authority:

If any action is taken to divide this most vast diocese, I would hear with great pleasure that this had been done by the Holy See, as I desired it done in my letters in 1792; and it was my purpose to solicit it as soon as I was sure of having a coadjutor to succeed me in this see. It will, however, be for you in your wisdom to decide whether this can be done safely now, while these commotions lessen ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For I solemnly aver that those who excite these troubles maintained in my presence by their lawyers in a public tribunal, and upheld with all their might, that all distinction between order and jurisdiction was arbitrary

¹² Carroll found a strong supporter for the division of the diocese in the eminent Dominican, Dr. Concanen, who was then acting as American agent in Rome for the Ordinary of Baltimore, (cf. *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Concanen to Carroll, December 20, 1803, Case 2-W2—"I long to hear of your having established a hierarchy in that happy country and of having the satisfaction of greeting Your Lordship as Archbishop of Baltimore").

and fictitious; that all right to exercise ecclesiastical ministry was derived from the people; and that the bishop had no power except to impose hands on the person whom the people presented as their chosen minister; or to inquire whether hands had been previously imposed on him. Then they deny that they are or ever have been subject to my episcopal authority; and when the words of the Pope's brief were shown them, in which all the faithful of the United States are subjected in spiritual government to the bishop, they impudently dared to assail the brief as imposing a yoke on them contrary to the American laws. And yet these are the men who are now sending an agent to the Holy See to obtain what had never before been granted.¹³

The continuance of the German schism in Philadelphia and in Baltimore had the effect of delaying Rome's action in the matter. The disturbance in Charleston caused by the irregularities of Father Gallagher caused an interchange of many letters between Baltimore and Rome, and so helped to obscure the main problems of the American Church. But finally, Carroll's insistence upon the necessity of dividing the diocese won a hearing. On learning of the elevation of Pius VII to the Chair of Peter, Bishop Carroll put the case squarely to Propaganda, and requested that the problem of dividing Baltimore be taken up by the Sacred Congregation and brought before the new Pontiff for decision. In replying to this letter, on June 26, 1802, Cardinal Borgia, then the Prefect of Propaganda, expressed the opinion that the creation of one new diocese would scarcely relieve Carroll of the burdens of his episcopate. Four or five suffragan dioceses would be necessary, with Baltimore as the metropolitan see of the United States. In this way a true ecclesiastical hierarchy would be formed in the Republic, especially since it seemed clear to Propaganda that no hindrance would be placed in the way of this action by the Government of the United States. Carroll's opinion was asked about the feasibility of the plan, and he was requested to send to the Sacred Congregation a memorandum containing the names of the cities where these episcopal sees might be erected, the limits of each diocese, the means of sustenance for the new bishops, and the names of the priests he deemed worthy to occupy the new sees.¹⁴

¹³ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 420-421, note 3.

¹⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 283, f. 269. In this letter Carroll is informed that the obligation of paying his *ad limina* visit to the Holy See was deferred until

It is not certain when this letter reached Carroll, for the mails in Europe were badly disorganized at this time. He mentions its contents, however, in a letter to Plowden, dated Baltimore, December 7, 1804: "My last advices from Rome concerning my own diocese gave me considerable pleasure. In compliance with repeated solicitations, it is to be divided, and it is even wished here to have it parcelled into four or five, which tho' not too much for its extent, is rather premature, considering the number of Clergymen and the means of support for the different bishops. Probably a multiplication of dioceses may be the means of multiplying priests, of whom there is yet a lamentable dearth."¹⁵

About this date the burden of governing the Church in the Virgin Islands and the newly-purchased territory of Louisiana was placed upon Carroll's shoulders. The following year, on July 13, 1805, Cardinal Borgia informed Carroll that Father Joseph Harent, a Sulpician, who was then in Lyons, had informed the Holy See of the splendid growth of Catholicism in the United States and had supplicated the Holy See to erect new dioceses there as soon as convenient. For the support of the new bishops, Father Harent believed that an arrangement might be made with the Clergy Corporation of Maryland, which held all the property formerly belonging to the Jesuits. Bishop Carroll was asked to reply as to the practicability of this arrangement.¹⁶ Dr. Carroll's answer to Borgia's request is dated November 23, 1806. Four at least, he writes, is the number of new sees which should be created in the United States. The first of these should be at Boston, which would have jurisdiction over five States (*Provinciae*), namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont. The second should be New York City, and should embrace New York State and East Jersey. The third should be placed at Philadelphia, with jurisdiction over Pennsylvania, Delaware and West Jersey.¹⁷ The fourth should be some-

convenient (*prorogavit ad congruum tempus tibi benevisum*), and that he should meanwhile send a complete and accurate account of the Diocese of Baltimore to Propaganda.

¹⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

¹⁶ HUGHES (*op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 713-714) says that this letter "does not appear in the *Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*"; it is to be found badly mutilated in the same archives, *Lettere*, vol. 289, f. 244.

¹⁷ In the *New York Archdiocesan Archives (Maréchal MSS.)*, there is a letter from Maréchal to Bishop Connolly, dated Baltimore, November 2, 1818, giving the limits of the Diocese of Philadelphia in New York.

where in Kentucky, with jurisdiction over the territory of that State and of Tennessee. What city would be convenient for the episcopal see was uncertain. Carroll himself thought that Frankfort or Lexington should be chosen, but a worthy priest who had spent many years in those regions as his vicar-general wished to see the episcopal see erected at Bardstown, because most of the Catholics in Kentucky resided in that vicinity. There was but a handful of Catholics at Frankfort, he was told, and no church there, while Lexington had been but recently settled. A fifth diocese would be highly opportune and should embrace all that territory lying between the Ohio River and the Mississippi, and the border of Canada. It was true that this vast region had few Catholics, and therefore it might very well remain for a time under the direction of the Bishop of Kentucky. The Bishop of Baltimore should retain jurisdiction over Maryland and the rest of the eastern States down to Georgia inclusive.

On June 17, 1807, Carroll wrote to Cardinal di Pietro, Prefect of Propaganda, recommending for the See of Boston Father John Cheverus. He would have preferred Father Matignon, but that exemplary ecclesiastic threatened to return to France if Carroll persisted in naming him for that See. On April 6, 1807, Father Matignon wrote to Bishop Carroll:

My Lord

Advices that I received the same time from Baltimore and New York compel me to address to you humble but strong representation on a subject of the greatest importance for you, for me, and for the good of religion. Can it be, my lord, that you seriously think of me for one of your future suffragans? I am thoroughly convinced that if the distance that I have always lived from you had not made it an impossibility for you to know me, you would never have thought of such a choice. Consequently it is my duty to make myself known to you, without any affectation of humility, but with the same impartiality as I would speak to you about another. The good that has been done here is nearly exclusively the work of Mr. Cheverus; he it is who occupies the pulpit, who is oftenest in the confessional, and who is my counsellor in all that is to be done. For a long time his aversion to have himself known abroad has often caused us to be identified one with the other, and occasionally I have received compliments which in all justice were due to him. At present in spite of his love for self-concealment he is known; and probably with the exception of himself alone, in the estimation of everybody else, I have, as I deserve, but second place. My memory is actually so weakened and

so little to be trusted that within twenty-four hours I am apt to forget the names and the features of persons who have business with me, and what they tell me and have told me, which as has several times happened forces me to avoid all society for fear of thus putting myself in a ridiculous position, which also causes me even more embarrassment in the confessional. The same defective memory hampers me in recalling words that for some years were most familiar to me and at times compels me to stop short in the midst of a sentence. I experience the greatest difficulty in composing the simplest exhortation, and the growing weakness of my sight makes reading very painful to me, if it be something I have composed or copied; so that in seven months I have mounted to the pulpit but once. I am not used to write even a simple letter in English, and I doubt if I could do even that without submitting it to a critic. Finally, I am at present almost incapable of undergoing fatigue, even of a short journey. Exposure to an east wind is enough to give me painful attacks of rheumatism which have made me very ill at various times during the past two years. I am very far, my lord, from wishing to direct or even to influence your choice. But I cannot help saying that if you have decided to choose one of your suffragans from Boston, were this to be in open competition, there is not a single Catholic or Protestant here of either good or little judgment who would not name my *confrère*. If he knew that I am telling you this he would not thank me, for he is far from having any ambition for the place. But the same notice of conscientiousness which would imperiously command me to refuse it, should dictate to him its acceptance. If in fine you wish, my lord, one who unites several characteristic traits such as you yourself possess, especially the precious gift of gaining hearts without failing to inspire respect, I can assure you that he possesses them in an eminent degree. The title of doctor of theology which is the one advantage I have over him cannot assuredly supply for the lack of all virtue. As for the rest, I am far from desiring that this dignity should fall on him, since naturally therefrom would result more frequent absences, which for me are a great trial, especially as regards preaching. It is undoubtedly useless for me to forecast the consequences of a pleasantry I have often indulged in with him by calling him a Jansenist, merely because he spent three years of his seminary course under the Oratorians, a joke to which he lent himself good humoredly. His sentiments, finally, when he is serious are exactly the same as mine; he labours heart and soul in fostering frequent Communion, and in his sermons has often adroitly eulogized both the founder and the society whose missionaries have done such great things. I might, perhaps, have still more forcible things to tell you about my incapacity and absolute unfitness for the dignity of which there is question; but what has been said above ought certainly to suffice to induce you to deny the rumours, which could not be but injurious to the episcopate, and which really torment and afflict me. It seems to me that this dignity would lose much of its lustre if it were said that it was conferred upon another only after my refusal of it. You will certainly not thus imperil it, my lord, if you have

the goodness to reflect seriously on the contents of this letter, or even to consult the wisest and most zealous persons of this city.¹⁸

For Philadelphia, Dr. Carroll proposed Father Michael Egan, O.F.M., who was then about 50 years old. He could not conscientiously offer the name of any priest for the See of New York, and he suggested that it remain for the time being under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Boston, until a suitable choice could be made.¹⁹ For the Diocese of Kentucky, he mentioned four priests—Fathers Stephen Badin, Charles Nerinckx, Benedict Joseph Flaget, and Thomas Wilson, O.P. To these nominations the Propaganda added the names of three Dominicans, Father Richard Luke Concanen, Father John Connolly, and Father Joachim Cowan, for the Diocese of New York. All three of these friars resided in Rome and had been proposed for various sees in Ireland.

The cities chosen by Bishop Carroll and the nominations made were approved by Propaganda and ratified by Pius VII. The new dioceses were: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown. The bishops appointed for these sees were: for Boston, the Rt. Rev. John Cheverus, D.D.; for New York, the Rt. Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O.P.; for Philadelphia, the Rt. Rev. Michael Egan, O.F.M.; for Bardstown, the Rt. Rev. Benedict, Joseph Flaget, S.S. On April 8, 1808, Pope Pius VII by two Briefs, know as *Ex debito pastoralis officii* and *Pontificii muneris*, created Baltimore a metropolitan see, with the four suffragans as named above.²⁰

From two letters written to Charles Plowden at this time, we learn how eagerly Bishop Carroll awaited the official documents for this most important reorganization of the Church in the United States. On December 3, 1808, Carroll writes:

¹⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-17, printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 206-208.

¹⁹ The most prominent clergyman of Pennsylvania at that time, Dr. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., was well acquainted with the condition of the Church in New York State, but, unfortunately, he was under a cloud at the time, owing to difficulties with others members of his Order, and Dr. Carroll was timid about suggesting his name for the New York See. (Cf. *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-G8-12, H1-3.)

²⁰ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 268-274. Both documents will be found (with inaccuracies) in DEMARTINIS, *Jus Pontificium de Propaganda Fide*, vol. iv, pp. 509-511. Rome, 1892. The first (*Ex debito*, etc.) divides the Diocese of Baltimore; the second (*Pontificii muneris*) raises Baltimore to the dignity of a metropolitan See.

You have heard no doubt of the new ecclesiastical order of things in our ecclesiastical government here; that four new Bishops are nominated, and this See is erected into an Archbishoprick—As the most excellent Dr. Matignon refused absolutely to be comprehended in the number of new Bishops, and was determined rather to return to Europe, than accept, Rv. Cheverus is named for Boston, having under him the five States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont—Amongst the Clergy resident in N. York, when my letters went to some there was no one here whom I ventured to recommend for the Episcopacy, and suggested the propriety of leaving that Diocese subject for some time to the Bishop of Boston: but his Holiness was desirous to fill all the Sees, and nominated for N. York, Fr. Concanen, an Irish Dominican at Rome, of whom, I have always had a favourable account. All the necessary documents for the Abprick and new Bpricks were put under his care; he was detained at Leghorn by the embargo on American vessels there at the last of July, and says to me, that he was afraid he could not come till spring: and in my view of things, the appearances of his then obtaining a passage are less favourable than when he wrote. The Bishop of Philad. is the Rev. Michael Egan, a very worthy Franciscian, *ex Ord. Recollectorum*; and of Kentucky, the Rev. Mr. Flaget, a Sulpician, who hitherto professes a determination not to accept. The States south of Maryland quite to Georgia inclusively, belong to the Abprick of Bal. For hitherto so few ecclesiastical Stations are formed beyond the Potomac, and specially beyond Va. that there can yet be no want of a Bishop. On reading the list of the new Bishops you will observe that in nominating subjects for them, I respected the Institute of the Society, and did not make mention of any of the members of it, tho' I was sensible of the aid which Bishops may afford towards its reëstablishment, or rather its solidity in these States. Of those nominated, with whom I am acquainted there is no doubt; nor of the Bishop of N. York, if a judgment can be formed on his letters to me, and the sentiments conveyed in them. For some years past in consequence of some services voluntarily and kindly performed for me at Rome before any previous correspondence with him, I was induced to avail myself of his benevolent offers, and requested him to feel the pulse there, and see if a brief might not be obtained, granting for this country authenticity and solidity to that establishment for which you have laboured so long without obtaining the desired sanction. His letters from Leghorn say, that besides the authentic documents above mentioned he has special communications to make to me, which assurance excites some hopes of success. As there is not this year any course of Philosophy at G. Town, I have sent Mr. Kohlmann to N. York where a zealous pastor was much wanted, and he is accompanied by a countryman of my own, lately ordained and out of his novitiate, of great promise, and with four scholastics who have begun a school from which much good is effected.²¹

²¹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

Two days later (December 5, 1808) Carroll returned to the question of the division:

The immensity of the late Diocese of Baltimore, and the impossibility of extending my care equally over every part of it, has made me long solicit its division, which, however, has been long deferred, but is now granted. By letters from Leghorn dated 23rd and 26th of July, written by Dr. Concanen, late of the Convent of the Minerva, I have full confirmation of this event, first communicated by Dr. Troy of Dublin. His Holiness has nominated four new Bishops for as many New Dioceses in the United States, subject to the Bp. of Baltre. which See is erected into an Archbishoprick, *cum usu pallii &c* and besides this he has appointed an administrator of the Diocese of Louisiana or New Orleans. Some of the new Dioceses have yet few Catholic settlements, and consequently few clergymen: but I have no doubt of their multiplying fast when they have at their head zealous Prelates. The new Bishoprics are to be at Boston, New York, Philada. and Bardstown in Kentucky. The first of these will have for its Bishop Mr. Cheverus, a French priest of great eminence and exceedingly beloved. Dr. Matignon would have been appointed had he not refused it in the most determined manner; fully resolved to return to Europe rather than submit to his nomination. Mr. Concanen is already consecrated at Rome for N. York. I had suggested no one for that station because when I wrote, amongst the clergy in that State there was none, whom my judgment approved, as fit for it, and therefore I purposed leaving it vacant for the present but to remain under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Boston. His Holiness wished to provide at once for all the places and nominated Fr. Concanen. The Rev. Mr. Egan a most worthy Irish priest of the Order of St. Francis (*Recollectorum*) resident some years at Phila. is the Bishop there, and Mr. Flaget a French Sulpician, now here, but who was for a considerable time at Poste Vincennes, an old station of the French Jesuits between Ohio and the lakes, is appointed for Bardstown. The Rev. Mr. Nerinckx, formerly a parish priest in Brabant, near Mechlin, a most holy man, and actually a missionary in Kentucky, is made the Administrator of Louisiana. The proceedings in consequence of this new regulation are stopped by the detention of the official papers, which are in the hands of Mr. Concanen. He went to Leghorn in hopes of obtaining a passage, but it seems that all the American vessels were detained there, and his hopes were very feeble of reaching America before the spring. But I see as little prospect of his being able to come then, as at present: indeed the prospect is thickening more and more between this country and the two great belligerent powers of England and France; a crisis, which moderate counsels on this and your side of the Atlantic might have prevented. Our future opportunities of correspondence will be very rare; and I even fear that we may not have long even that of the monthly packets. Already the operation of our disastrous embargo is such that I can see

any vessel arrives from Europe [*sic*], which keeps us without intelligence ever since the last of Sept., which is painful to me, particularly on account of the situation of the Pope so unhappy to himself, and still more to the Church. Mr. Concanen says in his letters that when the Holy Fr. had sanctioned the decrees for the erection of the new Dioceses, his joy was extreme, and he never ceased speaking of it.

I should have mentioned above, that my Diocese stilll comprehends Maryland, and the States to the South of it, including Georgia. It would indeed be premature to apportion out other Dioceses in that country—where Religion even hitherto has little or no prospect: Perhaps you may ask why so [*MS. torn*] cause, abstracting from other reasons founded on prejudice and a dissolution [*MS. torn*] of manner, clergymen were long wanting, not absolutely, so, but those, who united with sufficient talents, holiness of life, and a zeal for religion. This may be remedied hereafter: during this year four priests were ordained at G. Town, and two from the Seminary here, and many more are in the course of preparation. One of the first objects of the new Bishops will be undoubtedly to raise Seminaries for supplying their Dioceses with pastors; and then they who live to see this accomplished, may likewise see much greater advances made in the reunion to the church of those, who now are estranged from, or entirely ignorant of it.²²

The official Briefs were brought personally by Cardinal di Pietro, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, to Bishop-elect Concanen, who lay ill then in Rome. Few ecclesiastics in the Eternal City were so well acquainted with the state of the American Church as Dr. Concanen, and the tragedy that followed his reception of these documents stands alone in our annals. He recovered sufficiently by the end of April to accede to di Pietro's request for an immediate consecration, and on April 24, 1808, as the first Bishop of New York, he was consecrated by the Cardinal-Prefect. It was the intention of the Holy See that he should proceed at once to America with the documents authorizing the consecration of the other bishops. The story of his failure to find passage on an American boat and his death at Naples on June 19, 1810, has been admirably told by the Dominican historian, O'Daniel.²³ Dr. Concanen's death delayed the receipt of these official papers and caused Archbishop Carroll keen embarrassment. He had been informed by letter of May 24, 1808, of the decision made by Propaganda. This letter, together with the

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Concanen's Election to the See of New York (1808-1810)*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 19-46.

Pallium and the two papal Briefs, was entrusted to Dr. Concanen, who was empowered to invest America's first archbishop with the insignia of his office.²⁴ Dr. Concanen found it difficult to communicate directly with Archbishop-elect Carroll, owing to the embargo laid upon American vessels in the harbors of Italy. "This will render my departure from here very difficult," Concanen wrote to Archbishop Troy, from Rome, on March 25, 1808, "and I fear the only way I shall have is to attempt getting to Palermo, and there embark on an American ship, or in one bound for England."²⁵ This letter reached Troy on July 4, 1808, and the Dublin prelate copied it and forwarded it to Baltimore. "Allow me now, my dear Lord," he writes to Carroll, "to congratulate Your Lordship and venerable Brethren on the accession of dignity to the North American Catholic Church, of which I may say you are the Apostle and Founder."²⁶ Dr. Troy's letter reached Carroll on September 25, 1808, and Carroll replied the same day, thanking Troy and expressing the hope that Dr. Concanen would be able to leave Italy soon with "the official documents for the erection of the new Episcopal Sees."²⁷ Dr. Concanen wrote several letters direct to Archbishop Carroll, and in those which arrived at Baltimore it is evident that the first Bishop of New York had begun to realize the impossibility of setting out from Europe, owing to the distracted condition of the times, occasioned by the Napoleonic campaigns.²⁸ On August 9, 1809, he informed Carroll that he had "left all these papers sealed up in separate bundles, in the care of Messrs. Filicchi [*at Leghorn*], with directions to forward them immediately to your Grace, if ever safe occasion offered."²⁹ In the autumn of 1809, Concanen had copies made of these American documents and a duplicate set was forwarded to Father Emery, the superior of the Sulpicians, at Paris.³⁰ Bishop-elect Flaget had in the meantime

²⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 294, f. 13.

²⁵ From the *Dublin Archiepiscopal Archives*, cited by O'DANIEL, *Concanen's Election, etc.*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, p. 25.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁷ Printed in the *Researches*, vol. xv, pp. 130-131, from the *Dublin Archiepiscopal Archives*. The letter is also in MORAN, *Spicileg. Ossor.*, vol. iii, pp. 524-525.

²⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-T1, Special C1, Case 8A-2 (letters of July-August, 1809).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Case 2-T1.

³⁰ Concanen to Maréchal, then at Lyons, October 28, and November 30, 1809, and March 13-26, 1810 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 14-U1-4, Case 21A-A4).

gone to Paris to obtain Emery's support in declining the See of Bardstown, and it was on this set of duplicates brought back by Flaget in August, 1810, that Carroll proceeded with the consecration of his suffragans. This fact we learn from Carroll's letter to Bishop Plessis, of Quebec, dated Baltimore, October 15, 1810:

. . . The excellent & Revd gentlemen Mrs. Cheverus, native of France, Egan of Ireland, & Flaget likewise of France, were respectively created bishops of Boston, Philadelphia and Bardstown. The R. Revd. Concanen, of the order of St. Dominick, & who had resided for more than thirty years in Rome, was appointed and consecrated there bishop of New York, and he was entrusted with the Bulls and all other official documents, the proper and requisite evidences of the new organization. For two years he anxiously sought an opportunity to sail for his diocese, and bring with them the papers so necessary for us. But the rigorous embargo, or rather confiscation laid on all American vessels in Italy, by order of Napoleon, put it out of his power to sail in safety; or, as he thought, to hasard the writings in his possession. However, he was prevailed on last spring to have authenticated copies taken of the bulls for the erection of an archiepiscopal see, the division and establishment of the new dioceses, & of the nomination and constitution of their Bishops, he reserving the originals. These copies were sent to a confidential friend in France, and providentially were brought to me by Mr. Flaget, who on hearing of his nomination to a bishopric went to France, & returned last August. He, with the Bishops of Boston and Philadelphia, will be consecrated on the 28th of this month, the first & 4th of Novr. As to the venerable Dr. Concanen himself, after many fruitless endeavours to obtain a passage to America, he thought at last that he had succeeded, & fortified by a passport, he went from Rome to Naples, intending to embark on board an American ship which was allowed to bring home the unfortunate American seamen, whose vessels had been so treacherously confiscated in Naples. But Mr. Concanen on his arrival at that city, was put under arrest & prohibited from going out; which disappointment made such impression on him that he fell ill & died in a few days, June 19. As his appointment was made, & I received news of his being consecrated, & his directions to constitute, in his name, a diocesan Vicar, I left him to regulate with your Lordship services which some of your clergy were graciously pleased to render to the good people on the lake. But it was my duty to have answered and given notice accordingly to your Lordship; for neglecting this, so great a duty, as no apology will be sufficient, I shall offer none, and only pray for your forgiveness.³¹

Arrangements were made at once for the consecration of the three prelates. Bishop Egan was consecrated at St. Peter's, the pro-Cathedral of Baltimore, on October 28, 1810. On All Saints'

³¹ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, États-Unis*, p. 18, printed in the *Records*, vol. xviii, pp. 291-293.

Day, in the same church, Bishop Cheverus was consecrated. On St. Charles' Day, November 4, Bishop Flaget was consecrated at St. Patrick's Church, Fells Point, now within the city limits of Baltimore. Bernard Dornin, the Catholic publisher of Baltimore, issued a small pamphlet entitled *Instructions on the erection of the four new Catholic Episcopal Sees in the United States and the Consecration of their first Bishops, etc.*, to which he added the principal ceremonies and prayers.³² The Dominican William V. Harold, who preached an eloquent sermon on the obedience due to bishops when Dr. Cheverus was consecrated, issued his discourse in pamphlet form, shortly after the ceremony. The eloquent Dominican said:

You have not to resort to antiquity for an example of Episcopal virtue. That bounteous God, whose manifold blessings overspread this land, whose boundless mercies claim our warmest gratitude, still preserves for your advantage, a living encouragement to such virtue and a fair model for your imitation. You will seek both in your venerable and most reverend Prelate—you will find both in the Father of the American Church, and under God the author of its prosperity. In him you will find that meekness which is the best fruit of the Holy Ghost, that humility which for Christ's sake makes him the servant of all, that richly polished character which none but great minds can receive, which nothing but virtue can impart.³³

The bishops remained in Baltimore for several weeks in consultation with the venerable archbishop, and their time was spent in drawing up an Agreement for the uniformity of Catholic discipline throughout the country. This Agreement, together with the data of the Synod of 1791, forms the earliest code of canon law in the American Church. Shea speaks of it as the Pastoral, but it forms rather a deliberation between the bishops, by which they were to regulate their dioceses, until the first national council should meet, namely, within two years from that date (November 15, 1810):

The most Reverend Archbishop and Rt. Rev. Bishops assembled in Baltimore took into their serious consideration the state of the churches under their care, but not being able to extend their enquiries and collect full information concerning many points, which require uniform regulation and perhaps amendment, they reserved to a future occasion a general

³² Cf. FINOTTI, *Bibl. Cath. Amer.*, pp. 176-177. This little work was printed in French and English.

³³ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

review of the ecclesiastical discipline now observed throughout the different dioceses and the reducing of it everywhere to as strict conformity with that of the universal Church as our peculiar situation, circumstances and general benefit of the Faithful will allow. Some matters requiring immediate attention were maturely discussed, on which, after humbly invoking the assistance of the Divine Spirit, resolutions or ordinances were made, which in due time, will be communicated to the Clergy or the laity as they may be concerned in them. The following are some of them and are now published for general information:

1. Pastors of the different churches, or they who in their absence are intrusted with the care of the church, chalices, and sacred vestments, are not to permit any strange and unknown priests to exercise priestly functions before they have exhibited authentic proofs of their having obtained the Bishop's permission.

2. Conformably to the spirit of the Church and its general practice, the Sacrament of Baptism shall be administered in the church only, in all towns in which churches are erected excepting only cases of necessity.

3. Some difficulties have occurred in making immediately a general rule for the celebration of marriages in the Church; as a practice most conformable to general and Catholic discipline it was thought premature now to publish an ordinance to that effect; yet all pastors are directed to recommend this religious usage universally wherever it is not attended with very great inconvenience, and prepare the mind of their flocks for its adoption in a short time.

4. The pastors of the Faithful are earnestly directed to discourage more and more from the pulpit, and in their public and private conferences an attachment to entertainments and diversions of dangerous tendency to morality, such as to frequent theatres, and cherish a fondness of dancing assemblies. They likewise must often warn their congregations against the reading of books dangerous to Faith & morals and especially a promiscuous reading of all kinds of novels. The faithful themselves should always remember the severity with which the Church, guided by the Holy Ghost constantly prohibited writings calculated to diminish the respect due to our Holy Religion.

5. The Archbishop and Bishop enjoin on all priests exercising in their respective Dioceses faculties for the administration of the sacraments, not to admit to those of penance and the Bd. Eucharist such persons as are known to belong to the association commonly called Freemasons, unless these persons seriously promise to abstain forever from going to their lodges and professing themselves to belong to their Society, and Pastors of Congregations shall frequently recommend to all under their care never to join with or become members of said fraternity.

✠ J. *Ab'p. of B're.*

✠ LEONARD, *Bp. of Gortyna, Coadjutor*

✠ MICHAEL, *Bp. of Phila.*

✠ BENEDICT JOSEPH, *Bp. of Bardstown*

✠ JOHN, *Bis'p of Boston.*

The result of their further deliberations was a more detailed set of regulations for the administration of the Church:

1. *Provincial Council.*

It appears to the Archbishop and Bishops now assembled, that the holding of a Provincial Council will be more advantageous at a future period when the situation and the wants of the different dioceses will be more exactly known. This provincial Council will be held at furthest within two years from the first of November, 1810; and in the meantime the Archbishops and Bishops will now consider together such matters as appears to them the most urgent & they recommend an uniform practice in regard to their decisions, until the holding of said Provincial Council.

2. *Diocesan Synod.*

The difficulty of frequently holding Diocesan Synods will be represented to the Holy See; and the time of assembling them be left to the discretion of the respective Bishops. But in the case any should neglect the calling of a Diocesan Synod, when easily practicable & requisite for the good of his Diocese, the Archbishops shall take lawful measures for the convocation of such Synod.

3. *Episcopal Visits.*

It shall be represented to the Holy See that annual visits of the whole Diocese are in this country, altogether impracticable, and would prove an insupportable burden to the Bishops. The time and frequency of such visits ought therefore to be left to the discretion of each Bishop. Every Bishop however is requested to visit every year part of his Diocese & to bear in mind the importance and usefulness of such visits.

4. *Nomination of Bishops.*

In case the Holy See will graciously permit the nomination to vacant Bishopricks to be made in the United States, it is humbly and respectfully suggested to the Supreme Pastor of the Church to allow the nomination for the vacant Diocese to proceed solely from the Archbishop and Bishops of this ecclesiastical Province.

5. *Priests who are members of secular or Regular Congregations.*

When Priests belonging to Secular or Regular Congregations have, with the consent of their Superiors, been intrusted with the care of Souls, it is our opinion that such Priests ought not to be at the disposal of their Superiors, & be recalled against the will of the Bishops. At the same time we profess most willingly our esteem and respect for these Congregations so useful to our Dioceses, and our confidence to their Superiors. We shall see with pleasure our Diocesans follow their vocations, when they wish to become members of said Congregations. Nor do we intend to insist upon employing in the ministry such subjects as are really wanted by the said Congregations or even to oppose the recall of the Priests already employed in the ministry, provided such recall shall appear to the Diocesan Bishops absolutely necessary for the existence or welfare of such Congregations.

6. *Priests residing on the confines of different Dioceses.*

Priests approved in any Diocese of the United States may exercise their faculties in the neighbouring Dioceses, but if such priests leave their own Diocese without obtaining an exeat, they are not allowed to exercise their faculties any longer than two months, except they obtain authority from the Bishop of the Diocese to which they have emigrated whose duty it shall be to proceed with them agreeably to the Canons of general discipline provided for such cases.

7. *Strange Priests.*

Pastors of the different churches, or those who in their absence are intrusted with the care of the church, are never to permit any strange, unknown Priests to exercise Priestly functions, before they have exhibited authentic faculties, or letters from the Bishop, and obtained his permission.

8. *Holy Scripture.*

The translation of the old and new testament commonly called the Douay Bible is to be literally followed and copied, whenever any part of the Holy Scripture is inserted in any prayer-book or book of devotion; and no private or other translation is to be made use of in those books.

9. *Vernacular Language.*

It is being made known to the Archbishops and Bishops that there exists a difference of opinion and practice among some of the clergy of the United States concerning the use of the vernacular language in any part of the public service, and in the administration of the Sacraments, it is hereby enjoined on all Priests not only to celebrate the whole Mass in the Latin language, but likewise when they administer Baptism, the Holy Eucharist, Penance and Extreme Unction, to express the necessary and essential form of those Sacraments in the same tongue according to the Roman ritual, but it does not appear contrary to the injunctions of the Church to say in the vernacular language the prayers previous and subsequent to those Sacred forms, provided however, that no translation of those prayers shall be made use of except one authorized by the concurrent approbation of the Bishops of this ecclesiastical Province, which translation will be printed as soon as it can be prepared under their inspection. In the meantime the translation of the late venerable Bishop Challoner may be made use of.

10. *Registers.*

All Priests are requested to remember the obligation of recording and carefully preserving in a book for that purpose the Baptisms, Marriages & Burials of their respective Congregations.

11. *Baptisms.*

Conformably to the Spirit of the Church and its general practice, the Sacrament of Baptism shall be administered in the Church only, in all towns where churches are erected except in cases of necessity.

12. *Sponsors.*

When a sponsor for a child to be baptized cannot be procured, the child is to be solemnly baptized with the usual ceremonies, but only receives what is called private baptism.

13. Contributions for Masses.

On account of the rise in provisions and other necessities of life the contribution for a Mass is now fixed at fifty cents.

14. *Marriages.*

Many difficulties having occurred in regard to the forming of a general rule that all marriages should be celebrated in the church as a practice most conformable to the general discipline; it was judged premature to make now an ordinance on that subject; but all Pastors are directed to command this usage universally, and prepare the minds of their flocks for its adoption in a short time.

15. *Vows of Chastity.*

Perpetual vows of chastity ought not to be advised or even allowed to individuals or pious associations of persons of either sex who are not members of some approved Religious Order.

16. *Public Entertainments.*

All pastors of Souls are earnestly directed to discourage more and more from the pulpit and in their public and private conferences an attachment to entertainments & diversions of a dangerous tendency to morality, such as a frequentation of the theatre and a fondness for dancing assemblies. They are likewise to prohibit the reading of books tending to corrupt faith or manners, especially the promiscuous reading of all kinds of novels. The faithful themselves are to bear constantly in mind the severity with which the Church, guided by the Holy Ghost, has always proscribed writings calculated to diminish the respect due to our holy religion.

17. *Free Masons.*

The Archbishop and Bishops enjoin on all Priests exercising their faculties in their respective Dioceses not to administer the Sacraments of Penance and Eucharist to such persons as are known to be of the association of Free Masons unless they seriously promise to abstain from going to their Lodges, and professing themselves to belong to their Society. And Pastors of Congregations shall frequently recommend to all under their care not to join with or become members of the said Fraternity.

18. *Benediction of the B. Sacrament.*

An uniform mode of giving Benediction with the B. Sacrament will be transmitted by each of the Bishops to the clergy of their respective Dioceses.

Baltimore, Nov. 19, 1810. ✠ JOHN, *Archb. of Baltimore*
 ✠ LEONARD NEALE, *Bp. of Gortyna,*
 Coadj. of Balt'e.
 ✠ MICHAEL, *Bp. of Philadelphia*
 ✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Boston*
 ✠ BENEDICTUS JOSEPH, *Bp. of Bardonia.*²⁴

²⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-J1; printed in GRIFFIN, *Egan*, pp. 44-48. Copies of this agreement were made to be sent out to the priests; a certain number are still extant (*ibid.*, Case 11-11-3).

On February 17, 1810, Archbishop Troy, in the name of the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, sent to the American prelates a copy of the letter of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland on the imprisonment of Pope Pius VII. This letter was read by Archbishop Carroll to the new bishops at their informal meeting in November, 1810. On November 15, 1810, the archbishop and the four American bishops drafted and signed a solemn protest against the captivity of Pius VII:

We undersigned, by divine permission, and with the approbation of the Holy See, Archbishop and Bishops of our respective Dioceses:

To our beloved Brethren, Grace and Peace from God our Father, and from the Lord JESUS CHRIST.

The many outrages committed against the person of our chief Pastor Pius the 7th, the vicar of our Lord *Jesus Christ* in the government of the Holy See, have been long known to you, our beloved Brethren, and excited in your breasts sentiments of deep affliction and indignation. These acts of aggression were not only unprovoked, but, to avert them, our Holy Father employed all means of forbearance, meekness, patience, paternal admonition, charitable remonstrances, and even condescension as far as his conscience and duty would allow him, thus evincing his sincere desire to preserve peace, unity and true religion in the whole flock committed to this charge. But fruitless were his endeavours to restrain violence and infuse principles of justice. The work of oppression went on to its consummation, in defiance of all law, natural and divine. After suffering with that placid constancy, which only the God of fortitude could inspire, the most disrespectful and insulting treatment, and being stripped of the dominions, which had been held by his Predecessors for more than a thousand years, to the immense benefit of the Christian world, he was first made a prisoner within the walls of his own palace, and then, as was his immediate and Holy Predecessor of blessed memory Pius the 6th, forcibly dragged away from the chair of St. Peter, and the sacred ashes of the Apostles; he is detained in a foreign land, as a prisoner, and debarred from communicating with any part of the flock committed to his pastoral care and solicitude. Thus has Divine Providence permitted him to drink of that cup, and share in those sufferings, of which the first of his Predecessors St. Peter, and many after him, had so large a portion; to the end that their constancy in resisting the impiety of the enemies of *Jesus Christ* might be as conspicuous, as their high rank in the Church of God; and that their public testimony for the honour of his sacred person and religion might confound, and leave without excuse the malevolence or ignorance of those men, who continue to calumniate the Bishops of Rome, as corrupters of the faith, and worship of God the Father, and his Blessed Son, the Saviour of mankind, for whose sake so many of them sacrificed their liberty and their lives.

But, though the Church is glorified by their meritorious sufferings, it is not less the duty of all its members, during the oppression of our common Father, to offer up our fervent prayers for his deliverance from the power of his enemies, that he may freely and efficaciously exercise, for the advantage of our souls, his important pastoral duties. When St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, was cast into prison by the impious Herod, and loaded with chains, the Primitive Christians regarded it as a common calamity, and *prayer was made without ceasing by the Church to God for him.* Acts, ch. 12. v. 5. Their prayers were graciously heard, and *an angel of the Lord stood by him. . . . and the chains fell off from his hands.* v. 7.

Encouraged by their example and success let us beseech the Almighty Founder, Preserver and continual Protector of his Church to manifest his power in these our days, as heretofore, by delivering our chief Pastor out of the hands of his enemies, and restoring peace and tranquillity, so that he, and other Pastors under him may again every where and in all freedom minister to their respective flocks in all holy things. To render our prayers acceptable before God, they must proceed from penitential hearts, deeply humiliated by a sense of their past transgressions, fully resolved to follow no more their sinful lusts, and disorderly affections, and filled with an assurance of obtaining mercy and favour through the merits of our Saviour *Jesus Christ.*

Wherefore, on every Sunday and festival, either immediately before Mass or Sermon, the respective Pastors shall recite the 120th psalm with the prayer thereto annexed; and all priests, at the daily celebration of Mass, besides the proper collects, shall add that for the Pope, as in the missal—*Deus, omnium Fidelium pastor et rector*, &c. These directions are to be observed, till further notice.

May the grace of God, through Jesus Christ, and that peace, which the world cannot give, remain always with you.

Baltimore, Nov. 15, 1810.

- ✠ JOHN, *Archbishop of Baltimore,*
- ✠ MICHAEL, *Bishop of Philadelphia,*
- ✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Boston,*
- ✠ BENEDICT JOSEPH, *Bishop of Bards-town.*

PSALM 120.

I have lifted up my eyes to the mountains; from whence help shall come to me.

My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth.

May he not suffer thy foot to be moved! neither let him slumber who keepeth thee.

Behold he shall neither slumber nor sleep who keepeth Israel.

The Lord is thy keeper: the Lord is thy protection upon thy right hand.

The sun shall not burn thee by day—nor the moon by night.

The Lord keepeth thee from evil: may the Lord keep thy soul!

May the Lord keep thy coming-in, and thy going-out, from henceforth, now and forever!

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c.

V. Let us pray for our chief Bishop Pius.

R. Our Lord preserve him and give him life, and make him blessed on earth, and deliver him not to the will of his enemies.

V. O Lord hear my prayer.

R. And let my supplication come unto thee.

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

O God, the Pastor and Governor of all the faithful, look down in thy mercy on thy servant Pius, whom thou hast appointed to be Pastor over thy Church: Grant, we beseech thee, that both by word and example, he may be profitable to those, over whom he presides, that, together with the flock intrusted to him, he may obtain everlasting life. Through Christ our Lord, *Amen.*

This first joint encyclical of the American hierarchy was transmitted to Archbishop Troy of Dublin, on November 26, 1810, with the following letter:

Agreeably to your Lordship's desire, I delivered a copy of the printed letter of the Most Reverend Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland to my Coadjutor, and the Bishops of Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown, Kentucky, and we perused it with all the veneration due to those eminent prelates, who now constitute perhaps the fairest hope and strongest bulwark of the Church throughout the Christian world, for you enjoy, through Divine Mercy, the privilege of openly declaring the genuine sentiments which may animate and enlighten not only the pastors, but likewise all members of the Catholic Church. To make the communication to the Right Rev. Brethren, I availed myself of the circumstance of their being all brought together at this place to receive their consecration on the 28th October, 1st and 4th of this month.

The consecrations being done, the Bishops remained two entire weeks with me, to advise on many points of regulation, and discipline, that we may follow an uniform practice in the government of our Churches; and likewise to take into consideration the present state of the Catholic Church, of its visible head, our Venerable Pontiff, and the consequences of his being withdrawn from his captivity, either by violence, or the ruin of his constitution by interior and exterior sufferings. In these discussions, the Encyclical letter from your Most and Right Reverend Lordships necessarily offered itself to our minds, and though we know not whether the Vicars Apostolical in England, or the Bishops of any other country, have expressed themselves as a body, on the obedience due to any acts emanat-

ing ostensibly from the Pope, or on the caution to be used in recognizing his successor; yet we judged it our duty to transmit you an answer, which I have the honour to enclose. We were too sensible of our insufficiency, and recent dates of our establishment, to prescribe to ourselves, or profess before the venerable Fathers of the Church, an adhesion to specific rules of conduct in all the most intricate situations that may happen; humbly trusting, that if the exigency should arise, we shall be directed by that Divine Spirit which is promised to the Pastors, successors of the Apostles. We therefore pledged ourselves to those general principles, which are now indispensable and essential, not doubting, but your determination and luminous examples will, under God, be our direction in the disastrous times and events so likely to ensue.³⁵

The text of the joint encyclical of the American bishops is as follows:

Greeting in the Lord to the most Illustrious and Most Reverend Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland from the appointed Archbishop and Bishops of the United States.

The letter which your charity, Venerable Brethren, addressed on February 27 to all the Ordinaries of the Catholic Church has been received by us with gratitude and that respect which is due to you. We are determined with God's help, to defend both the Unity of the Church of Christ and the authority of the Holy See on which that unity depends, and to safeguard and defend the primacy of honour and of jurisdiction which belongs to the Sovereign Pontiff by divine right. It is our sacred and pleasing duty to pledge our fullest faith and obedience to Pope Pius VII who at present holds the supreme Pontificate. To him to whom all praise is due as Pontiff we adhere and declare our submission, as members cling to their head. And if, according to the words of St. Paul, the affliction of one member causes suffering to all the other members, how much more severely must the bitter affliction the head itself affect all the members?

We grieve then with you, Venerable Brethren, and are roused to indignation in the Lord; and we declare it together with you an unspeakable outrage that the aged Pontiff should be driven from his home and country, a blameless bishop sadly afflicted, the Mother Church stripped of her patrimony, and a worthy Pontiff thus maltreated. We ourselves are not unmindful of the benefits which Pius VII has bestowed on us in this distant country. For it was due to his provident and apostolic care that this portion of the Lord's fold in the United States has been formed into an ecclesiastical province of four suffragan Bishops with the Archbishop of Baltimore at their head.

³⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-A3; printed partly in MORAN, *op. cit.*, p. 532.

We trust in the Lord that the singular fortitude of soul which shone forth so gloriously in Pius VI of happy memory, may likewise be the conspicuous note of the reign of Pius VII; and we have no doubt that he will continue to exhibit, for the consolation of the Church, that constancy of soul which he has already shown in bearing up amidst afflictions, whenever there will be any occasion to act, or to speak, or perchance to suffer.

In the mean time we openly proclaim that we shall listen humbly to the admonitions of the Holy Father, tho he be detained in captivity; and that we shall promptly obey his wishes and commands, so long as these bear the authentic stamp of the voice and mind, and the requisite notes of the Pontifical authority; but we shall not consider ourselves obliged as bound by letters or documents of whatever description, pretending to emanate from him and circulated in his name, unless it shall first be made clear beyond all suspicion that Pius VII has been perfectly and entirely free in his deliberations and counsels.

But if the Sovereign Pontiff should die (which God prevent amidst the present dangers of the Church) we, together with you Venerable Brethren, shall confide in the Almighty not to desert His Church in so great a calamity, which, though she may be bereft of her Sovereign Pastor for a long time on earth, shall rather sustain lesser evils than that any one should either by violence or threat ascend the throne of Peter and tear the mystic body of Christ. Hence we are prepared with full determination, and shall endeavor to persuade the people committed to our care, that no one is to be recognized as the true successor of St. Peter, unless he be accepted as such by far the greater part of the Episcopate of the whole world, and by nearly the entire Catholic people.

If we, who as yet barely enjoy a name among the Churches, have decreed to open our minds to you, Venerable Brethren, it was due to your courtesy in as much as you felt moved to send to us also your encyclical letter addressed to the other Bishops of the Catholic world; and it would be wrong in us not to respond to the high honor you have done us; for you are the heirs of those episcopal sees which have been made illustrious for ages by the virtue of the long lives of saintly bishops your predecessors. You are preserving the people committed to you in the ancient and true faith and piety, and you exhibit the singular and perchance unique example of unbroken fortitude in safeguarding and propagating Catholic dogma, despite the opposition of all human artifices, fraud and violence.

Humbly commending ourselves to your prayers, we beg that you may receive every blessing which can prosper your country, your churches and each of you individually.³⁶

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Case 8-N6; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 72-74. Acknowledged by Troy on February 28, 1811 (*ibid.*, Case 8-N7).

Dr. Carroll refers to this important action of the American hierarchy in a letter to Plowden, dated January 17, 1812, as follows:

At the same time we had before us the circular Latin letter of the Prelates of Ireland, officially transmitted by Abp. Troy. It related, as you know, to the calamitous state of the Pope, and the Church. To answer it was incumbent on us; but on account of the infancy of our hierarchy, we felt a diffidence. Yet we did answer, and I hear that our answer was published in England and Ireland, which was not foreseen here. We were more reserved, as you may have observed, than our Irish Brethren, not daring to anticipate the specific course to be pursued hereafter in the future contingencies of the Church, humbly trusting to the guidance of the Holy Ghost, if those contingencies should ensue, to the examples given us by the more antient churches, and fortifying ourselves by the promises of Christ, that the powers of hell shall not prevail against that Church, which he acquired with his blood. We resolved likewise at our meeting to attempt the opening of an avenue to the incarcerated Pontiff.³⁷

The consultations at Baltimore were finished with the decision to hold a National Council in November, 1812, and the three new bishops were free to set out for their appointed sees. Bishops Egan and Cheverus journeyed from Baltimore to Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. No mention is made of this visit in the *Story of the Mountain*, but Mother Seton writes to Bishop Carroll, on November 29, 1810: "I need not tell you our consolation in receiving the Blessed Bishops nor how many benedictions they poured upon us. We have been very sensible of this special favor." Bishop Egan's niece, Mary Egan, was then in the Academy directed by the Daughters of Charity at Emmitsburg. Bishop Egan also had the pleasure of meeting again the first three ladies—all from Philadelphia—who had joined Mother Seton's community, Miss Cecilia O'Conway, Miss Mary Ann Butler, and Miss Maria Murphy, the last-named being a niece of Mathew Carey, one of the prominent Catholic laymen of Philadelphia. To Bishop Cheverus, who had an important share in the conversion of Mother Seton, in 1805, the visit to Emmitsburg was the source of profound satisfaction. Strangely enough, although he had been her friend and counsellor in all her undertakings after her conversion, she had never seen Dr. Cheverus

³⁷ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

until he presented himself to her on this memorable occasion.³⁸ From Emmitsburg the two prelates set out for their respective sees. It is not certain whether they travelled together, although there is a letter extant from Father Dubois, then President of Mount St. Mary's College, to Mother Seton, asking her to prevail upon Bishop Cheverus to celebrate pontifical Mass for the collegians the following Sunday. In all probability they were together for a few days in Philadelphia, before Bishop Cheverus started on his long journey to Boston. Bishop Flaget was less fortunate than his two brethren in the episcopate. After his consecration he found that he had not sufficient money to pay for his journey to Kentucky; and when the venerable Archbishop informed him that he, too, was unable to assist him, it was no longer possible to keep his indigency a secret. Bishop Flaget had numerous friends in Baltimore, and by a private subscription the necessary amount was quickly collected. It was not, however, till May of the following year, 1811, that Bishop Flaget was able to begin his arduous journey to Kentucky. Some years afterwards, Bishop Flaget described this period of embarrassment in a letter to the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. He writes:

It was in June 9, 1811, that I made my entry into this little village [*Bardstown*] accompanied by two priests and three young students, for the ecclesiastical state. Not only had I not a cent in my purse, but I was even compelled to borrow nearly two thousand francs, in order to be able to reach my destination. Thus, without money, without a house, without property, almost without acquaintances, I found myself in the midst of a diocese, two or three times larger than all France, containing five large States and two territories, and myself speaking the language very imperfectly. Add to all this that almost all the Catholics were emigrants, but newly settled and poorly furnished.³⁹

Bishops Egan and Cheverus were better prepared to meet the expenses of their journey and were going to dioceses where the Faith had been growing for nearly a century; but if they met with a more encouraging outlook than the intrepid Flaget, difficulties of another and more serious kind were awaiting them both.

The close of the year 1810, the twentieth in the history of the

³⁸ WHITE, *Life of Mrs. Seton*, p. 282.

³⁹ SPALDING, *Sketches, etc.*, pp. 188-189.

American episcopate, found the American hierarchy composed of one archbishop, one coadjutor-bishop, three suffragan bishops, one vacant see, that of New York, with Father Anthony Kohlmann, S. J., as vicar-general during the interim; about seventy priests and eighty churches. There were three theological seminaries: St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; the Jesuit novitiate, at Georgetown, and St. Rose's Dominican novitiate in Kentucky. Three colleges for the education of young men were in existence: St. Mary's College, Baltimore; Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, and St. Thomas' College, in Kentucky, conducted by the Dominicans. There were several academies for the education of young ladies, the best known being St. Joseph's Academy at Emmitsburg, directed by Mother Seton. An orphan asylum for Catholic children had been incorporated at Philadelphia (December 17, 1808). Private Catholic schools existed in the main centres of population. "With the exception of six priests in Kentucky and seven or eight farther West, the clergy were all stationed east of the Alleghanies."⁴⁰

No accurate description of the general condition of Catholic life in the five dioceses can be given. It was a time of pioneer evangelization. The waves of the great emigration which flowed toward the shores of America hardly reached our coasts until after Archbishop Carroll had passed away to his reward. The object nearest the hearts of these our earliest spiritual shepherds was the strengthening of the faith of their people, the building of churches, the preparation of young men for the priesthood, and above all, the creation of a thorough system of Catholic education for the young.

To a great extent the remaining five years of Archbishop Carroll's life would seem at first glance to be overshadowed by the march of events in the dioceses suffragan to Baltimore; but a careful study of the state of religion in these different parts of the country reveals the grasp he possessed to the very end on all that concerned the good of religion and of Catholicism as a factor in American life. To understand these last years of the venerable prelate's life, an account of the growth of the Church in these five dioceses during the period of Carroll's episcopate (1790-1815) is necessary.

⁴⁰ WHITE, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

CHAPTER XXX
THE SUFFRAGAN SEES: I. BOSTON

(1792-1815)

As constituted by the Brief *Ex debito pastoralis officii* of April 8, 1808, the Diocese of Boston embraced all the New England States: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, and the District of Maine.¹ It is impossible to say how many Catholics were residents in this great extent of territory, all numbers given being merely conjectures or based upon evidence that cannot be sustained. From 1689, when it was asserted that there was not a single Catholic in all New England,² down to the report sent to Dr. Carroll by Matignon in 1798, nothing is certain on this question. New England is not mentioned in Carroll's *Report* of March 1, 1785, and no priest is given as ministering in that territory. Fathers Poterie, Rousselet, and Thayer, who lived at and around Boston from 1788 to 1792 can hardly be trusted as capable observers of the Catholic life about them.

Bishop Carroll's experience with the Catholics in Boston had not been an encouraging one. At his accession to the See of Baltimore in 1790, one priest in good standing at the time, the convert Father John Thayer, was in charge of the little congregation of Boston. Thayer was not, as has been seen, a constructive genius; and the real beginnings of the Catholic Church in Boston must, therefore, be credited to his successor, Father Francis Anthony Matignon, who arrived in Boston in the summer of 1792. Matignon was one of the best types of the refugee French clergy of the period. Born in Paris in 1753, he was ordained priest in 1778, and received the degree of Doctor of

¹ "Tertiam Bostoniae cum dioecesi, intra quam istas includimus provincias, nempe novam Stantoniam, Massachatensem, insulam Rhodi, Connecticut et Vermont," *Ann Pontificium*, vol. iv, pp. 509-510.

² *Andros Tracts*, part i, p. 207.

Divinity at the Sorbonne in 1785. He was appointed Regius Professor of Theology in the College of Navarre, and at the outbreak of the French Revolution was exiled with many of his fellow-clergy. During his stay in England he made the acquaintance of several members of the former English Jesuit Province, all friends of Bishop Carroll; and especially was he known to the procurator, Father Thomas Talbot, then living in London. Father Talbot was in close touch with the American Church through his correspondence with Dr. Carroll, and he persuaded the Sorbonne professor to go out to America to assist Dr. Carroll in the missions. Dr. Matignon's talents were of the highest quality, and in his manner all the accomplishments of the gentlemen of the French court of the day were visible. Born amid wealth and culture, his circle of friends in Paris included nobles, prelates, and cardinals, and even the unfortunate Louis XVI. When he came to Boston, life was crude in many ways in the future home of American culture.

He found the people of New England more than suspicious about the great designs he had in view. Absurd and foolish legends of the Pope and Popery had been handed down from father to son since the first colonization of New England, and a prejudice of undefined and undefinable dislike, if not hatred, to everything connected with Rome reigned supreme in the minds of the Puritan community. It required a thorough acquaintance with the world to know precisely how to meet these sentiments of a whole people. Violence and indiscretion would have destroyed all hopes of success; ignorance would have exposed the cause to sarcasm and contempt; and enthusiasm too manifest would have produced a reaction that would have ruined the infant establishment. Dr. Matignon was exactly fitted to encounter all these difficulties; and he saw them and knew the extent of his task. With meekness and humility he disarmed the proud; with prudence, learning, and wisdom, he met the captious and slanderous; and so gentle and so just was his course that even the censorious forgot to watch him, and the malicious were too cunning to attack one armed so strong in his poverty.³

During the latter half of the year 1792, English Catholics, writes Ward, "became occupied about new and unexpected events, which not only had the most desirable effect of distracting them from their own internal disputes, but likewise brought about results which had a permanent and far-reaching influence on the

³ *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 166.

future of Catholicity in this country. This was the arrival of the French refugee priests, most of them in a state of poverty, or even destitution, which brought about one of the greatest national acts of charity recorded in our history."⁴ Protestant and Catholic alike came to the rescue of these unfortunate victims of the French Revolution, whose numbers in England increased after the passage of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in July, 1790. Many of these French priests corresponded with Dr. Carroll, and there are several letters from Monseigneur Count de la Marche, Bishop of St. Pol de Léon in Brittany. With the advent of the horrible massacres which occurred in Paris and in other cities of France, in September, 1792—it was during the night of September 2, that the unspeakable crime at the Carmes took place—the Catholic clergy saw only one escape from death by the Jacobites, namely, the road to exile. In England there were at this time about three thousand French refugee priests, and sixteen bishops. The Abbé Barruel has described their plight in his *History of the Clergy during the French Revolution*, and his work contains many remarkable pages for the history of Catholicism in England. Committees were immediately formed to relieve the distress of these cultured French gentlemen, and more than once the plan was proposed to induce some of them to go out to the new Diocese of Baltimore. Few came, however, from England. The Sulpicians and the others, like Fathers Sougé and Tisserand, came directly from France. Francis Matignon was among these refugees, and Cheverus, who followed him to London, is said to have founded the present congregation at Tottenham, London (1794-1796). After a short stay in London, where he acquired English, Father Matignon decided to come to Baltimore to offer his services to Carroll. He was thirty-nine years old at the time of his arrival. His companions across the Atlantic, Maréchal, Richard, and Ciquard, were immediately given posts by Bishop Carroll. Father Maréchal was first sent to Bohemia, and then to Philadelphia; Father Richard was sent to Detroit as assistant to Father Levadoux, and Father Ciquard, who had expressed a wish for missionary work among the Indians, was sent to the Indians in Maine.⁵

⁴ *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, vol. ii, p. 1. London, 1909.

⁵ Francis Ciquard was ordained to the priesthood in 1781; the following year he

The condition of the Catholic Indians in Maine was brought to Dr. Carroll's attention when John Allan, who had been an agent for the Government in that district, wrote to the Bishop of Baltimore (May 23, 1791), appealing for a priest to minister to these faithful children of the Church:

Rever'd and Respected Sir:

I do myself the honour to inclose you a Speech deliv'd at a Council of the Indians in this country, soliciting the indulgence of a clergyman of the Roman Catholic profession. From a long acquaintance with this people, and having command of them during the late war between America & Britain, I am in some degree knowing to their sentiments and disposition respecting their religious tenets; they are a very exemplary people (consistent with their customs and manners) as are to be met with—zealous and Tenacious of the rites of the church and strictly moral, cautious of misbelieving in point of religion, even to be observed when intoxicated. I have been surprised so little notice has been taken of them in this respect, tho' rude and uncultivated in many other matters, they are truly civilized in this, and it was always observ'd by the French Gentlemen of the Clergy, which we were favoured with during the war, that they never saw a more respectable collection in France, & excepting the Cathedral & some particular places of worship, their performance, chants in latin, etc., were in most instances superior to any.—I have been myself charmed with them, when shut up in the woods, & tho' of a different sentiment, believe them to be truly Christians, meriting the peculiar blessings of the deity—they teach their children when able to lisp a word, the service, and as they grow up become in a manner innate, this owing to the assiduity of the French missionaries—much to their honour.

Their attachment to America is great, even with those whose hunts go within the British provinces, & I think, I have sufficient authority to assert, that the number who continued with me during the war, behaved with as much fidelity and zeal as any people whatever within the United States.

It is certain they are of great use in this quarter—their trade is considerable, but the benefits this infant country receives, by supplying it with wild meats—is much more—they behave with moderation and prudence when they come among the inhabitants; no complaints of any consequence have I heard since I have been in this country (15 years).—As to their circumstances, I presume from what I have already seen, there would not be a more profitable mission [*than*] this [*in*] the States, nor a situa-

joined the Sulpicians, and left for Canada in 1783. Later, he returned to France where he became Rector of the Seminary of Bourges. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he returned to America, and went, at Carroll's request, to the Indians. With the advent of Cheverus, he left Maine, and settled at Fredericktown, N. B. Later, he came to Baltimore, and there is a record on May 30, 1798, of an *exeat* granted to him for Quebec. (*Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, États-Unis*, 3-31).

tion more agreeable, for a person who is actuated & influenced with a Spirit of Christianity. Should you Rev. Sir grant the favour to them, we have it in contemplation to build a chapple—having several tracts of land of my own, I shall give a spot for it, or procure one from Government. The Speech is as literally and accurately translated as the two languages will admit; if any thing appears deficient or presumptive in the mode, you will please excuse, as well any irregularity in my address—attribute only to the want of knowledge in such sacred business. You will perceive my name mentioned. I was against it, but being a confidant in all their concerns, from a long intimacy before I left Nova Scotia, and the command in the department during the late Revolution, they insisted on it, & I confess, I have so great attachment, I wish to do everything in my power for their satisfaction and comfort.

It may not be amiss to mention, that they are a very moral people among themselves (tho' some drink hard, it is not universal) and admire it in strangers. As their mind is never in pursuit of many objects at once, they are consequently very attentive, with much taciturnity and sagacity, on the particular object they have in view—they soon know a priest, a priest's character, and tho' they will be all obedience for his dignified station, should they observe any imprudence, will quickly observe and resent it. When a person is exemplary for his life & conversation—strictly attentive to the duty of his calling—open, affable, free & generous (within the bounds of that distinction to be always observed by spiritual teachers) they will sacrifice all for him, nothing they can do will be too good. . . .

I have wrote to Mr. Thayer twice, I presume he has acquainted you with the particulars. The Cross sent, belongs to a family—has been in many generations, they are very anxious for its safety, would recommend to have it returned. I was at the village yesterday where much solemnity appeared in closing the business, they are daily arriving. Should this, or any further information I can give be acceptable and satisfactory, in this or any other business, you will please command freely, at any time, as I have nothing in view but the happiness of those people. Excuse any imperfection & incorrection, as I write in a hurry.⁶

Dr. Carroll had no priest to send to the Maine Indians at this time, and their situation was not bettered when Rousselet, after being disgraced in Boston, had gone to live amongst them. On March 20, 1792, Carroll wrote to President Washington, asking him to assist the Church in making provision for the spiritual comfort of these wards of the United States. Washington replied on April 10, 1792, to the effect that application should be made to the State of Massachusetts:

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-A3; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 214-217.

Sir, I have received and duly considered your memorial of the 20th ultimo, on the subject of instructing the Indians, within and contiguous to the United States, in the principles and duties of Christianity.

The war now existing between the United States and some tribes of the western Indians prevents, for the present, any interference of this nature with them. The Indians of the Five Nations are in their religious concerns under the immediate superintendence of the Reverend Mr. Kirkland; and those, who dwell in the eastern extremity of the United States, are, according to the best information that I can obtain, so situated as to be rather considered a part of the inhabitants of the State of Massachusetts than otherwise, and that State has always considered them as under its immediate care and protection. Any application, therefore, relative to those Indians, for the purposes mentioned in your memorial, would seem most proper to be made to the government of Massachusetts. The original letters on this subject, which were submitted to my inspection, have been returned to Mr. Charles Carroll.

Impressed as I am with an opinion, that the most effectual means of securing the permanent attachment of our savage neighbours is to convince them that we are just, and to show them that a proper and friendly intercourse with us would be for our mutual advantage, I cannot conclude without giving you my thanks for your pious and benevolent wishes to effect this desirable end, upon the mild principles of religion and philanthropy. And, when a proper occasion shall offer, I have no doubt but such measures will be pursued, as may seem best calculated to communicate liberal instruction, and the blessings of society, to their untutored minds. With very great esteem and regard, etc.⁷

Allan's letters to Carroll, of June 17, and June 28, 1792, from Boston, tell of the joy he experienced in learning that the Catholic Indians were to be blessed with a spiritual leader. The interest of the United States was concerned in this, he wrote, and the Republic would be benefitted by pacifying the Indians in a matter they cherished so dearly. On June 17, 1792, he wrote:

Revd. Sir: A very severe attack of the gout during the past winter, and the expectation of going Westward in the Spring, prevented my communicating some matter respecting the Indians. A speech was delivered in answer to your indulgent letter, with the several articles inclosed in the tin cover, all of which came safe to hand. The joy and thanksgiving exhibited is beyond my description. So warm did I experience their gratitude for the little I did, that no doubt could arise in the sincerity of their acknowledgm'ts. Near twenty families winter'd around my house, & I dare say not an address to the throne of Grace was passed without a remembrance of you, or myself during [my] indisposition. I will take a suitable time to prepare the particulars and transmit to you.

⁷ SPARKS, *Writings of Washington*, vol. x, pp. 228-229. Boston, 1836.

I left them about three weeks ago, very anxious and uneasy, constantly inquiring when a pastor might be expected.—I have just received a letter to inform me that a number of canoes from Canada, St. John's and Nova Scotia have arrived, many more coming—let me beg of you Rev'd Sir to hasten on the Gentleman intended for them—nothing would hurt my feelings more than a disappointment—the damage and expense to the Indians very great—give me leave to request a line from you on the subject. Permit me the liberty to observe the Interest of the United States is concerned in this. The extensive communication these Indians have with the Northern & Western tribes (which I presume is not known but to those who are conversant & particular acquainted with them), whatever attention may be paid them will in a degree have influence with others more distant, for during the late conflict with Britain, I had some with me as far as the Iroquois—reciprocal offices & types of friendship by marriage etc, has become universal, so that everything that passes is soon known thro' the whole tribe. The present evil day (Indian War) requires delicacy & circumspection, with the whole of this Colour—great conferences among us have taken place respecting the hostility in the Western country, news has been sent by Canada to them. I sincerely wish my circumstances permitted me to go among the present hostile Indians. I flatter myself from past success and experience to bring about a reconciliation, but this is troubling you, by going too far from my business and nature of correspondence; still I must be so free [as] to observe, that however I may be neglected and passed by, bro't to work for subsistence, in my decline of years, after making such a sacrifice of my Property in Nova Scotia by being concerned in the late war, I shall to the last moment, exert all my powers as a Citizen for the Interest of the United States.⁸

Attached to this letter was a second copy of the appeal made the year before to Dr. Carroll by the chiefs of the various tribes:

Right Rever'd Father

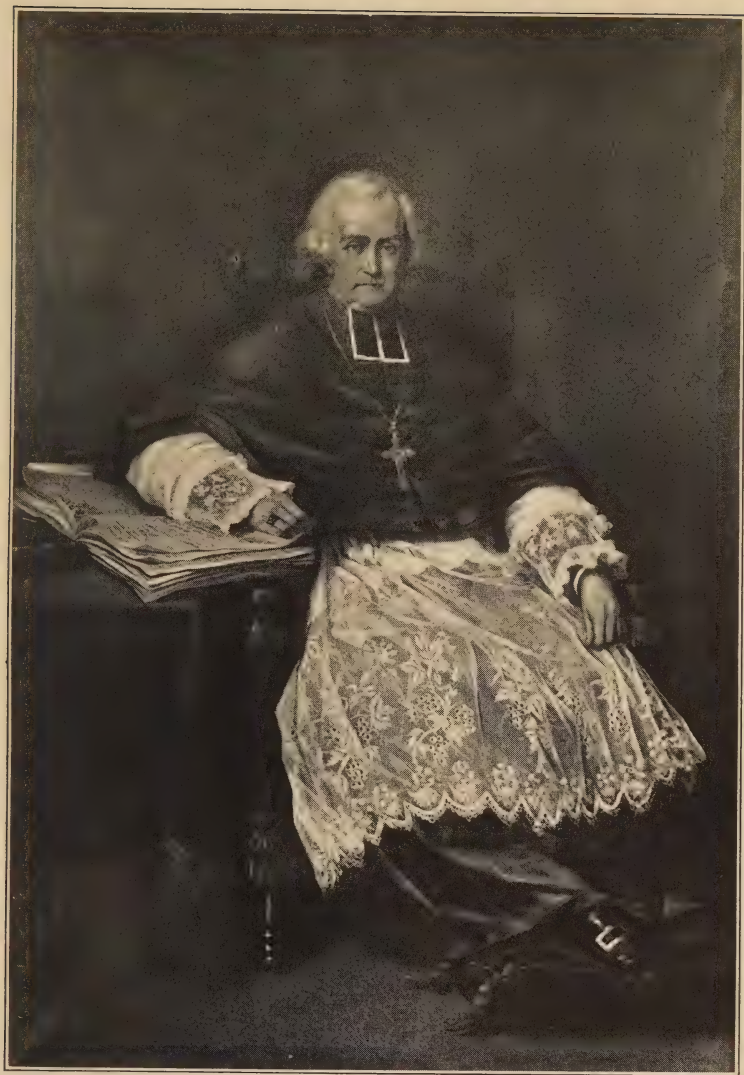
The chiefs, sachems & young men—the women & children of the several tribes of Indians, situated on St. John's Passamaquaddy, and other Rivers adjacent would address you with all humility, praying your acceptance of their unfeigned respect and dutiful obedience.

Father

It is to you we look for help, as children to a bountiful Father. It is long since we were blessed with the sight of a spiritual teacher. Great numbers of our Young are grown up, who have never received the sacred ordinance of Baptism. Our Women deprived of attending the Holy Rites of the Church, after child-birth, & all of us cover'd with multitudes of Transgressions.

Father

⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-A1; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 219-221.



JOHN CARDINAL CHEVERUS

We have applied several times to our brothers the Americans. We have sent to the Fathers in the church of this state for a Priest, but none comes—it looks [as] if we were shut out from all the blessings and benefits of our Religion. We pray you, Father of the Church in this land, to think of us, & send one suitable for our purposes, to continue a year.—We wait, with anxious heart hoping a gracious answer.

Father

We speak for all the Indians, Northward & Westward as far as Canada. We all wish to be united with our brothers the Americans. Should a priest come there will be an assemblage of the whole tribes from the Bay Chelens to Penobscod. We have all been told that numbers of trading men have been trying to get a Priest for us, but as we know they have nothing else in view but what concerns trade, we fear they may encourage some person who is not qualify'd, which has been done already—therefore no attention must be paid any application but what comes from ourselves thro' the hands of our brother John Allan, who was our chief in the War.

In token of our sincerity and duty, we send with this the Holy Cross, by the consent & desire of all the tribes. *Done at the mouth of the River C—— in the Bay of Passamaquaddy, this 17th day of May 1791.*⁹

Again, on July 28, 1792, Allan returned to the same subject. The United States was at war with the Indians in the West at the time, and it was highly desirable to keep peace with those tribes on our northern frontier:

Rev. Sir: I did myself the honour of writing you the 17th ulto, & wait impatiently for an answer. . . . I have received letters from Passamaquaddy, with messages from the Indians, which informs me that Nokosellet is among them—his conduct gives satisfaction to the Indians, as well as the Inhabitants.

Before I received this I had an interview with Mr. Thayer, who acquaints me there is not probability of any clergymen from France—he proposed going himself, if an Indian chief would come and give assurance (in behalf of the tribes) of such desire—upon receiving my letter I immediately gave intelligence to him—he still is willing to go, provided I persuade the Indians to leave Nokosellet. This is a matter too delicate and sacred for me to interfere in & might be the means of making trouble and confusion among them (which I wish to prevent all in my power) they are unacquainted and unaccustomed to such disputes. As the Indians have put themselves under your protection & received your acquiescence (however they may have deviated from rule and methods by the insinuating address of Nokosellet) I think it more illigible [*sic*] & expedient to do nothing more on the subject until your pleasure is known, of which I have notify'd Mr. Thayer.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Case 3-A2; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 217-219.

In my last I hinted the advantage this attention to the Indians would be to the States. I am now confident of it. Tho' my circumstances oblig'd me to return to Publick life, diff't from the mode I was bro't up in, still my mind is greatly interested in the prosperity of our country. About the time your answer came to the Indians, we heard of the horrid scenes which happened at the Westward—my mind much agitated & distressed, on the evils impending, led me to examine into the state & situation of this business. It is not for me to say what may be the motives & reasons for carrying on this war; but if Pacific measures are necessary & desired to bring it to a conclusion, it is in the power of the States, at a small expense to do it, thro' this channel—the Indians, in our quarter may appear to some, contemptible, but I can assure such that however they may appear, their great experience, with the intercourse and connection with distant parts, makes them respectfull, formidable & maybe useful—this I fully experienced in the late contest. It is not in my power at present to communicate minutely every particular necessary to support this—I was determined to make a tryall (without suggesting to any person whatever). It has so far succeeded that by communicating at a distance, there was to be an assemblage of Indians to meet the priest, as well to have a conference on other matters. Several (supposed to be concerned in the late Tragedy) have sent for permission to come in—however this may be, a communication is open'd & can be easily keep'd up into that hostile country, which by prudent and careful management, might have a happy effect.

I thought it my duty to acquaint you of these circumstances. I have mentioned them to a few in this place but there seems a spirit for other pursuits than what concerns the publick weal. Whatever may be said against this, I know by long experience, it can be done, and all may end to our wish, if Peace is desired. Give me leave to urge your attention, respecting a Priest, at the same time requesting a line from you on the subject. I expect to proceed to Passamaquaddy in a few days, as the Indians are pressing for my return, there is some arriv'd from Canada.

P. S.—All business with Indians should be secret, both in regard to coming to the knowledge of opposite powers, as what concerns themselves, nothing permanent, can be established, or sure until the conclusion.¹⁰

Meanwhile, Bishop Carroll had written to the Indians (September 6, 1791) assuring them that he would send a priest to Maine as soon as one could be spared:

Brethren and Beloved Children in Jesus Christ:

I received with the greatest pleasure the testimony of your attachment to your holy religion, and I venerated the sacred crucifix, sent by you, as expressive of your faith.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Case 3-A4; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 222-224.

Brethren and Children:

I embrace you with the affection of a father and am exceedingly desirous to procure for you a worthy teacher and minister of God's holy sanctuary, who may administer to your young people, to your sons and daughters, the sacrament of baptism; may instruct them and you in the law of God and the exercises of a Christian life; may reconcile you to God, your Lord and Maker, after all your transgressions and may perform for your women after childbirth, the rites ordained by the Church of Christ.

Brethren and Beloved Children:

As soon as I received your request, and was informed of your necessity, I sent for one or two virtuous and worthy priests to go and remain with you, that you may never more be reduced to the same distressed situation in which you have lived so long. But as they are far distant, I am afraid they will not be with you before the putting out of the leaves again. This should have been done much sooner, if I had been informed of your situation. You may depend on it, that shall be always in my heart and in my mind; and if it please God to give me time, I will certainly visit you myself.

Brethren and Beloved Children:

I trust in that good God, who made us all, and in His Blessed Son, Jesus Christ, who redeemed us, that all the Indians, northward and eastward, will be made partakers of the blessing which my desire is to procure for you; and I rejoice very much that they and you wish to be united with your brethren the Americans. You have done very well not to receive amongst you those ministers who go without being called, or sent by that authority which Jesus Christ has established for the government of His Church. Those whom I shall send to you will be such good and virtuous priests as instructed your forefathers in the law of God, and taught them to regard this life only as a preparation for and a passage to a better life in heaven.

In token of my fatherly love and sincere affection I send back to you, after embracing it, the Holy Crucifix which I received with your letter; and I enclose it in a picture of Our Holy Father the Pope, the Head on Earth, under Christ, of our Divine Religion; and this my answer is accompanied likewise with nine medals, representing our Divine Lord Jesus Christ, and His most Holy Mother. I desire these may be received by the Chiefs of the River St. John's, Passamaquaddy, and Micmacs, who signed the address to me. They came from and have received the blessing of our Holy Father the Vicar of Jesus Christ in the Government of the Church.

That the blessing of God may come down upon you, your women and children, and may remain forever, is the earnest prayer of

Your loving Father, friend and servant in

Jesus Christ,

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Baltimore.¹¹

¹¹ Printed in *Researches*, vol. xvi, pp. 117-118.

Finally, after the arrival of Father Ciquard, Bishop Carroll wrote again in a style similar to the simple and childlike letter he had received from the Indians, telling them that at last a priest was on the way to them:

My Dear Brethren and Children in J. C.

I promised to you last year that I would immediately endeavour to procure a worthy pastor for your souls, to give to your children the holy rites of baptism, to administer to yourselves the sacrament of reconciliation & exercise all the other functions of the ministry.

Brothers:

It was not possible for me to obtain one so soon as I desired; many difficulties were first to be overcome. At length, however, thro' the goodness of our best Father, God himself, I have procured and send you one who will carry you this letter.

Dear Brothers:

In him you may put the utmost reliance. He will renew in your hearts those sentiments & the same good customs of prayer & the service of God, which some of you yet remember in your good Fathers of former days. Hear his counsels, & you will be virtuous here and happy hereafter.

Brothers:

He will not be afraid of, but will partake with yourselves of all hardships. He seeks no reward from you but the salvation of your souls. He will content himself with a very moderate subsistence such as necessity requires but as he has been at great expense to go to you, I hope that you will by degrees, and as you get able, make him some compensation for this expense.

Brothers:

Him you are to receive as the only person appointed to give you the Sacraments of Holy Church, to instruct you in the ways that lead to a virtuous life here & to happiness in heaven. My most fervent prayer shall be that you all obtain that blessing; and I beseech you to pray that I may be your companion hereafter in the enjoyment of eternal bliss.¹²

Father Francis Ciquard remained with the Indians from 1792 until the arrival of Abbé Cheverus in 1796. For five years Father Matignon struggled alone in the missions of New England, with Boston as a centre for his sacerdotal work. Among his former students in France was a young priest, then in exile in England, Father John Lefebvre de Cheverus, then in his twenty-seventh year. Father Matignon needed assistance for the scat-

¹² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-A3; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 221-222; cf. *Puritans and Indian Missions*, by G. F. O'DWYER, in *America*, vol. xxvi, pp. 275-276 (January 7, 1922).

tered missions of his vast parish, which was coterminous with the present New England States, and accordingly he wrote to Cheverus, soliciting his help for these missions.

John Cheverus, New England's first Catholic bishop, was born at Mayenne, France, on January 28, 1768. At a very early age, as was then the custom in France, he received tonsure, the mark of his selection for the ecclesiastical state; and while still a youth, he was nominated to a benefice and was entered in the College of Louis-le-Grand at Paris. After completing his classical studies, he entered the Seminary of St. Magloire, Paris, where he had as fellow-students the famous preacher, Abbé McCarthy and the future Bishop Dubois of New York. On December 18, 1790, Cheverus was ordained to the priesthood and was sent to assist his uncle, the parish-priest of Mayenne. After his uncle's death (January, 1792) Father Cheverus was given the parish and was appointed Vicar-General of the Diocese of Mans. The Revolutionists soon marked him as a victim, and Cheverus was obliged to flee to England, where he arrived in September, 1792. It was here, in the capacity of private tutor to the children of a Catholic nobleman, that Father Matignon's letter found him. He concluded to accept the offer of his friend and set out for America, arriving in Boston on October 3, 1796. His first duty was to announce his arrival to Bishop Carroll, and in a characteristic letter written after his arrival, he says: "Send me where you think I am most needed, without making yourself anxious about the means of my support. I am willing to work with my hands, if need be."¹³ At first, Bishop Carroll desired to place the young French priest at St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia. But he begged permission to decline, being unwilling to forsake his friend Father Matignon. Dr. Carroll allowed him to remain in Boston, but placed under his care the Indians of Maine.¹⁴ When the General Court of the State of Massachusetts awarded (1798) an annual salary of two hundred dollars for a Catholic

¹³ Cheverus to Carroll, Boston, January 26, 1797, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-M9. For a bibliography on Cheverus, cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. v, pp. 292-293. The best biographies of this first American Cardinal are: HAMON, *Vie du Cardinal Cheverus*, Paris, 1837, translated by STEWART, Boston, 1839; DU BOURG, *Cardinal De Cheverus*, translated by WALSH. Philadelphia, 1839. Cf. also *My Unknown Chum* by "AGUECHEEK" (New York, 1917).

¹⁴ Cf. *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. iv, p. 263.

missionary to care for these Indians, Father Ciquard had already left for Canada, and Father Cheverus now took up the work systematically, visiting the Indians every year until his elevation to the episcopate. His letters to Dr. Matignon from Pleasant Point, Me., and from Penobscot, Me., contain interesting sidelights upon the life of these Catholic Indians. In 1797, he decided to send to London for Father Romagné, a refugee French priest, who was also born in Mayenne, and who arrived in 1799, and remained for eighteen years ministering to them.

One untoward incident marred the generous welcome accorded Father Cheverus by the non-Catholics of New England. While in Maine, in January of 1800, in the performance of his duty, he married two Catholics. The law of Massachusetts (of which the district of Maine was then a part) prohibited all marriages except before a Protestant minister or a justice of the peace. Father Cheverus advised the couple to have this civil ceremony performed the following day. The Attorney-General of the State, James Sullivan, was the son of Catholic parents, but had fallen away from the Church. He seemed moved to hostility against the religion of his parents, and instituted of his own accord legal proceedings against Father Cheverus, who was arrested in October, 1800, and brought to trial at Wicasset. Two of the judges, Bradbury and Strong, were rather vehement in their denunciation of the gentle priest, the former threatening him with the pillory. Cheverus was quite undismayed in the presence of this brutality; he had seen specimens of it in Paris in the days of the Jacobins, and he fought the case to the end. The civil action was finally allowed to go by default. The Constitution of Massachusetts did not at that time contain a clause granting tolerance in religious affairs. The judges of the Supreme Court unanimously declared at Boston (March 5, 1801): "The Constitution obliges every one to contribute for the support of Protestant ministers, and them alone. Papists are only tolerated, and as long as their ministers behave well, we shall not disturb them; but let them expect no more than that."¹⁵

¹⁵ Cheverus to Carroll, Boston, March 10, 1801, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-N3; Matignon to Carroll, Boston, March 16, 1801, *ibid.*, Case 5G-4: "The Judge declared the word *Protestant* was also understood before the word *Minister*." The Matignon-Carroll correspondence on this case is printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 198-205.

Fathers Matignon and Cheverus were providential men during these days when the last embers of the old Puritan bigotry were dying out. Both were uncommon characters. Their piety, their blameless lives, and their thorough disinterestedness won the good-will of all their neighbours in the old Puritan stronghold; and especially were Cheverus' brilliant mind and innate refinement prized by the leading social and intellectual families of the city. He became an American citizen and identified himself in all public movements. At a banquet given by the State to President John Adams, Father Cheverus was placed next to the distinguished guest. "The whole population began to know him," says one writer, "some on one side, some on another, of his large personality. Before long, with no effort, by the magic of simple friendliness, he had laid the Puritan community under something like a spell."¹⁶ Besides the two pastors of the Boston mission, there were other priests from time to time in New England. Father John Thayer was at Hartford in 1796, and in 1797 Canon Sougé resided there as Chaplain to Vicomte de Sibert Cornillon; in 1798, he was joined by another French refugee, Father Tisserand.

From one of Father Matignon's letters at this date (April, 1798), we learn that within one year (1797-1798) the number of baptisms was 81, marriages 17, deaths 14, and Easter Communion 249.¹⁷

<i>Baptisms</i>	<i>Marriages</i>	<i>Deaths</i>	<i>Easter Communion</i>
Boston:	17	14	1798
30 children			Boston 210 About
7 adults			Plymouth 15
Other Places:			Newbury 21
30 children			Salem 3
1 adult			—
Among the Indians:			249
13 children			

Unfortunately, these statistics are of little value for estimating the number of Catholics under the care of Matignon and Cheverus. Shea gives total Catholic population as between six and

¹⁶ LEAHY, *The Archdiocese of Boston, in the History of the Catholic Church in the New England States* (2 vols., Boston, 1899), vol. i, p. 27.

¹⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-G9; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, p. 193.

seven hundred. There was comparatively little change in the condition of the Church in New England from this time down to the consecration of Cheverus as first Bishop of Boston. The lease held by the Catholics on the building in School Street, which served as their church, was about to expire in 1799, and the growth of the congregation warranted their securing a larger house of worship. On March 31, 1789, a meeting was held and a committee of seven was formed to consider plans for building a new church. A subscription was opened, Fathers Matignon and Cheverus acting as treasurers, and both non-Catholics and Catholics quickly responded to the appeal of the two priests, who enjoyed a singular popularity with all classes. President John Adams, who had a high regard for Cheverus, headed a special list of subscribers.¹⁸ In all, some sixteen thousand dollars were collected. On May 2, 1799, Matignon wrote to Carroll of their success up to that date:

My Lord:

At last I have the satisfaction of being able to tell you that a subscription has been opened among our Catholics for the purchase of the ground and for the building of a church in this city. The subscription amounts to nearly \$4,000, of which a little over \$1000 is already paid, the rest to be given between now and next October. The sum will probably be scarcely enough to pay for the ground; we shall be fortunate if we can get for that amount a lot that is suitable and in a convenient location. For there is hardly a corner to be found here that is not built upon, unless we go to the remotest parts of the city, which would be a great disadvantage. We hope for some help from the people of the city; but as since the death of Mr. Russell we have no one who is remarkable for generosity, this help will likely not amount to much. Our consul (Spanish) thinks that he can get a thousand dollars from the King of Spain through his family influence, if communication become freer. God grant that that poor kingdom may not be destroyed before that time!

You are, my lord, the father of your entire flock, and as you have shown in many circumstances the tenderest interest in your poor faithful children of Boston, we have no doubt but that you will be anxious to help us by all the means in your power, and that you, much more than any one else, will be convinced of the great importance of the success of this enterprise. Without a church here there will probably be in a few years no longer any congregation, and hopes for the progress of the faith throughout the state will end in smoke; whereas if we have a church, decent in appearance and of sufficient size, whilst we have Mr. Cheverus here,

¹⁸ *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. iv, p. 263.

there is reason to hope that God will bless his indefatigable labors by more numerous conversions and more important ones than the small number that have taken place up to the present time.

In accordance with your advice I have written to Mr. Du Bourg to ask him if he will undertake to do some collecting for us at Havana; I have had no answer; I do not know if he have started. The only other place, outside the United States, from which we can hope for anything, is Martinique. Mr. Cheverus and I have already written there with this object. But in order that the affair may be done in a regular manner and with greater success, it is essential that we address to our ecclesiastical superiors, and perhaps to the government authorities, a request supported by your recommendation and under your seal. So as not to double or triple the postage, I have written some points on the following page. Will you please, my lord, after having made whatever changes and additions that you may judge proper, have three copies inscribed by one of the gentlemen of the Seminary, to which add in your own hand whatever you think it necessary to say that would be most effectual by way or recommendation, and after having appended your seal, send them to us by the first boat, or other safe opportunity. We have great assurance that your recommendation will not be without fruit. Mr. Cheverus received in due time the consecrated (altar) stones, and he as well as I make our grateful acknowledgments to you. The little congregation at Newbury Port has experienced a great diminution through the departure for the islands of four or five French families of whom Mr. Cheverus had made fervent Christians. He proposes to return in about a month to visit his beloved Indians. No news from England yet about a missionary. Our governor (Mr. Sumner) is in the last extremity, with no hope for his recovery. He is a great loss to us; he was universally respected, and rich, and his name at the head of a subscription for us, would have had great influence. The lieutenant governor who will succeed him until May next is a close man and of limited capacity.

Your humble and obedient servant,

MATIGNON.¹⁹

The printed circular asking for subscriptions makes an earnest appeal on the score that "this country is probably destined to serve as an asylum for the Catholic religion, persecuted in Europe."²⁰ No church existed at the time "in the five United States that compose New England;" and in the joint letter sent by Matignon and Cheverus to Carroll, on March 19, 1800, we learn that within the short space of a year, through the liberality of the citizens of Boston, they were ready to begin building the first

¹⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-G11; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 193-195.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Case 5-H1; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, p. 196.

Catholic Church in Massachusetts.²¹ Dr. Carroll was invited to lay the cornerstone, but owing to the outbreak of yellow fever in Baltimore, he was unable to go to Boston until the completion of the church two years later.

The Church of the Holy Cross, as the edifice was called, was completed in 1803, and on September 29, of that year, Bishop Carroll, who had journeyed to Boston for the occasion, dedicated the new house of worship. Cheverus preached the sermon, and tradition has it that Carroll was so overcome by his eloquence that tears covered his face when Cheverus concluded his discourse. No doubt, another reason which induced Carroll to make the long journey to Boston was the fact that Cheverus was then contemplating a return to his own diocese in France. He wrote to Carroll on May 3, 1803, stating that he had been asked to return, not only by his own family, but by the Vicar-General of Mans:

Rt. Rev. Sir:

My mind is perplexed with doubts, my heart full of trouble and anxieties. Duty, respect and confidence bid me apply to you for advice and comfort. I received last week a letter from the Vicar-General of the ancient Bishop of Mans who died three years hence. On the decease of the Bishop this same Vicar-General was appointed by the Sacred College Apostolic Vicar to govern the diocese, *sede vacante*, and now the new Bishop of Mans has made him his Vicar-General. His letter to me is dated June 10, 1802. Three copies of it have been sent, only one has come to hands and not till last week. He writes as follows:

Il n'est plus temps de balancer. Nous avons un très bon Évêque, Mons. Pidot, Suffragant de Trèves. Il va incessamment prendre possession. Il s'occupera à fixer les limites des paroisses, et aussitôt après ce travail il nommera les curés. Votre intention n'est pas de renoncer à votre patrie et à votre Diocèse. Je vous somme en conséquence de votre parole; et je vous prie de partir aussitôt la présente reçue pour venir vous réunir à nous. Il s'agit de rétablir la Religion dans notre pays, et vous y êtes nécessaire; n'hésitez donc pas, je vous prie.

He alludes to what I wrote to him, before the articles of the Concordat were known. He then begged of me to return to my parish, but I answered, that being usefully employed here and being exposed to find

²¹ Cf. DEVITT, *Boston's First Catholic Church*, in the *Records*, vol. xv, pp. 35-45. The joint letter (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-H2) is printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 197-198.

another Pastor appointed in my place, I thought it better to defer my return, although it was not my intention to forsake either my country or my Diocese. My Father and other relatives who have written to me and begged of me to return to France immediately, call the letter of Mr. Duperrier a positive order from my Ecclesiastical Superior; but for my part I do not see any such order in it, but merely a strong invitation. My Father says: Si un Père pouvait avoir encore de l'autorité sur son cher fils, ce serait l'occasion de s'en servir et de le sommer . . . pour venir se joindre à une famille qui le désire depuis si longtemps et à un Père à qui il donnerait dix années de plus. . . . In consequence of these letters I had resolved to return to France next May, and was going to write to you upon the subject, but the whole congregation here have shown such a grief, and have so strongly represented the case to me that I have promised, if you think I can do it conscientiously, to stay at least until next Autumn. Even, if in your opinion, the good of Religion requires my presence here, I am very willing to remain in this mission. I shall beg the Almighty to give myself and my dear Father the strength to make this sacrifice to him. Dr. Matignon will give no advice in this case, where, he says, his heart feels too interested, he confines himself to Prayer that I may remain here.

For the present be so kind as to write whether you think I can at least wait until next autumn. The rest will be settled when we shall have the happiness to see you in Boston. The hope of seeing you then, would be a sufficient motive to put off my going to France, if I can do it. I must observe that I am uncertain whether I am reappointed to my former station and under the present circumstances, I do not wish it, have even some objections to the oath, tho' after the decision of the Holy See, I think, I would, if necessary get over that difficulty. Last year forced by the importunities of my Father I promised to go and at least pay him a visit this Spring, but then I had no idea the Church should be fit to be consecrated and that we would be honored with your visit. You have the goodness to express the wish to be personally acquainted with me, and I assure you that I shall think it a happy day when I shall have the opportunity to pay you my respects. As I wish to write soon to the Abbé Duperrier and my Father, I hope your known condescension will excuse me if I presume to request the favour of a speedy answer. Begging your prayer and blessing, I have the honor to be with the most profound respect, etc.²²

On April 29, 1803, he wrote to Carroll again saying that after mature consideration he had decided to remain in America.²³ From this time until his election as Bishop of Boston in 1808, no letters exist in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives from either

²² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-N4; printed in the *Records*, vol. xxiii, pp. 189-191.

²³ *Ibid.*, Case 2-N5.

Matignon or Cheverus, upon which an historical account of the growth of the Church in New England might be based. There were congregations at Salem, Newburyport in Massachusetts; Damariscotta, Portland, Newcastle, and Pleasant Point, in Maine; at Portsmouth in New Hampshire; at Providence and Bristol in Rhode Island; and at New Haven, Hartford, and New London, in Connecticut. These existed before the year of Carroll's death, since evidence exists for Cheverus' visitation of these towns. But the real growth of the Church in New England must be traced to his successor, Bishop Benedict Joseph Fenwick (1823-1846).

After his consecration as first Bishop of Boston, Dr. Cheverus returned to his episcopal city and took up the old routine of duty without changing in the slightest his simple mode of life.

Among the qualities which made him a fortunate interpreter [*of Catholic life*] to the Puritans was his aversion to luxury. He had seen the gorgeous civilization of France fall to pieces by its own weakness and he knew the hollowness of pomp. It was by poverty and simplicity that the creed of Christ had won its earliest triumphs. He strove to bring himself daily nearer to these virtues of its Founder. His episcopal house was a two-story cottage; his reception room the chamber in which he slept. When the chairs were all occupied, visitors sat on the bed. His dress was almost shabby. He rarely took more than one meal a day, and he studied all winter without a fire in his room. Even in his later years, when he was a Cardinal and a peer of France, he absolutely refused to own a carriage. Yet people flocked to his barren threshold. The man interested them more than trappings and furniture. A bishop who chopped his own wood was, at least, a good democrat, and might bring a message worth heeding.²⁴

Shortly after his consecration Bishop Cheverus received a letter of congratulation from Bishop Plessis of Quebec (January 6, 1811), in which the Boston prelate was appointed a vicar-general of the Canadian diocese, and in which Plessis asked for a similar concession for himself. This was to facilitate the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction along the borders of the two contiguous dioceses:

Monseigneur:

A young notary of this city, Canadian-born and Catholic, of the highest respectability as you will judge for yourself when you have seen him,

²⁴ LEAHY, *ut supra*, p. 31.

has requested me to recommend him to your Lordship to whom he intends to pay his respects in the course of a few weeks' trip he is making in the United States.

I reproach myself, Monseigneur, with not having sooner satisfied the desire I felt to congratulate you on your accession to the episcopate, or rather, to congratulate your diocesans for having at their head a Pastor according to God's heart, whose piety and enlightenment will place on a good footing their new-born church. Judging by the difficulties of every nature offered me by a Diocese established 137 years ago, I well understand how many your Lordship will encounter in establishing a diocese which is still in a fallow condition and under a government of a different religion. But divine Providence whose will it is that the Kingdom of God wrested from several nations of Europe be transferred to America, will render even your ways and will arm you with a courage proportionate to the contradictions inseparable from our labouring ministry.

I have requested, Monseigneur, the Archbishop, to be so kind as to acquaint me with the divisions of the new Diocese so as to know those bordering on mine. I have also asked him to tell me who was the administrator of that of New York. His answer has not yet reached me. But, as I have no doubt that your diocese and mine are coterminous in the direction of New Brunswick and apparently in several other places, I take the liberty of addressing you the letters of a Vicar-General, which will also be common to all your Vicars-General, so as to avoid inconveniences arising from uncertainty or a want of jurisdiction. The only extraordinary powers I am empowered to communicate and to which the enclosed Commission alludes, are those in 29 articles which the Holy See is accustomed to give to Missionaries Apostolic and which your Lordship has doubtless received as well as I. I trust, Monseigneur, that you will have the goodness of appointing me your Vicar-General, and that my Vicars-General will share in the same favour. As we are united by the bonds of a same commission and of a same priesthood, nothing will be more agreeable to me, in any and every case than to correspond with your Lordship, and to be often able to repeat the sentiments of esteem and veneration with which I remain etc.²⁵

Bishop Cheverus received this letter on January 20, 1811, and immediately penned a reply, of which the following is a translation:

Monseigneur:

It was between Mass and Vespers that M. Bisserer came to bring me the despatches from your Lordship. You may be assured that in his behalf and in that of any body else you may recommend to me I shall be happy to do all in my power.

²⁵ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, États-Unis*, 7,240; printed in the *Recherches*, vol. xxix, pp. 15-17.

I received with respect and gratitude the faculties you were kind enough to communicate to me. I have already made use of them by communicating them to M. Romagné, a respectable priest who is here, but will soon leave Boston, and who lives with the Indians at Passamaquoddy, on the frontier of the United States and of New Brunswick. M. Duvert, who leaves tomorrow morning at four o'clock does not give me time to send you official letters like those with which you have honoured me. I shall do so on the first occasion, and I pray you meanwhile to consider as sufficient the request I make you to look upon such faculties as being granted and to deign to accept all the powers I am entitled to communicate to Your Lordship and to Your Vicar-General. My lately consecrated colleagues and myself have received the 29 articles which you mention, and moreover the faculty of dispensing from the impediment between sponsor and godchild, of reciting Matins every day of the year at two o'clock in the afternoon, of granting permission to read and to keep prohibited books, provided this faculty be used sparingly, and with the exception of obscene books and several others described by name.

I will try to obtain from Baltimore, a copy of the Bull indicating the limits of the different dioceses, and I will try to have it sent to you. My diocese touches yours East by the District of Maine towards the frontier of New Brunswick, North by the State of Vermont, and in the Northwest of the district of Maine on the frontier of Canada. My diocese comprises the whole of New England, namely, Massachusetts and Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Vermont. The Diocese of New York which also touches yours, embraces all the states of New York and a part of New Jersey. The Diocese of Philadelphia does not touch you. It comprises all Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the southern portion of New Jersey. The Diocese of Bardstown in Kentucky includes all the Western territory from Louisiana to the Northern lakes, like Erie and Huron, and is, consequently, one of your neighbours, at least so I think, for I don't remember exactly the limits of that immense diocese. That of Baltimore comprises Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia.

The Vicar-General at New York, *sede vacante*, is Mr. Kohlmann, pastor of the Church of New York. He is a holy priest and most zealous. I shall write to him and he will give without delay the faculties you desire. I am also going to write to Monseigneur Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, who will leave for his diocese early in the spring. He intends, I believe, to bring M. Vegina who edified everybody at the Seminary of Baltimore, where I saw him myself during four weeks. Monseigneur the Archbishop had written to you concerning him and was expecting an answer. He had received him on November 19th when I left him. [*I am rather*] a Bishop *in partibus*, than a Bishop with a [*diocese*]. God grant that I may do some good. When passing through New York I gave confirmation. I have an immense field to cultivate, but, as you say, it is fallow, and I have, at the present moment, only two fellow labourers to help me to clear it. My very dear and very worthy friend, M. Matignon,

asks me to present you his respects. I beg of you a share in your prayers and holy sacrifices and I have the honor to be with deep respect, etc.²⁶

On February 11, 1811, Bishop Cheverus conferred equal rights and privileges upon the Ordinary of Quebec:

To all those who may these presents behold, be it known that as the Diocese of Boston (to the government of which, howsoever incapable and unworthy, We have been elected and canonically consecrated) borders upon the Diocese of Quebec, and it has pleased the most Illustrious and Reverend Lord Bishop of Quebec to create and appoint Us his Vicar-General. We, desiring to give a token of our gratefulness and of our profound veneration to the said most illustrious Prelate, and providing at the same time for the needs of our Diocesans, earnestly and beseechingly pray the most illustrious and Reverend Joseph Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, to deign to bear the title and to assume the duties of our Vicar-General, and, by these presents, according to the best and most efficacious form, right, way and manner within our capacity, we create and constitute him our Vicar-General so that on all our diocesans, wheresoever they may be found, he may, either by himself, or, in those matters that do not require the episcopal order by his Vicars-General, exercise the same jurisdiction as we ourselves exercise towards them either according to ordinary law, or by a special Indult of the Holy Apostolic See, inasmuch as it is communicable, promising that We shall ratify whatsoever shall have been acted, ordained or desired by the said Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord Joseph Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, in his aforesaid quality of Vicar-General, or by his Vicars-General, either within or beyond the limits of our Diocese.

In testimony whereof we have delivered this present letter under our Seal and Signature at Boston, New England, on the eleventh day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eleven.

✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Boston*.²⁷

The juridic effect of this interchange of canonical power was that both bishops might give faculties to the priests of both dioceses. Plessis and Cheverus were to meet in 1815, when the Ordinary of Quebec made a visit to the United States. As early as 1812, Bishop Plessis had planned such a journey, but the outbreak of the war deferred his visit until the summer of 1815. On May 22, 1815, Cheverus wrote to Plessis:

Monseigneur:

A letter which Mr. Ryan, bearer of the present, handed me on the part of Mr. Burke, allows me to expect the happiness of seeing you here this

²⁶ *Ibid.*, *États-Unis, Diocèse de Boston*, p. 17.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, l. c., pp. 18-19 (G. 216).

summer. I greatly desire to know at about what time you calculate to be here; it would cruelly disappoint me to be absent, and to miss the precious occasion of becoming personally acquainted with Your Lordship. It is only to an Apostolic prelate that I may offer a cell in my little dwelling, and, I, therefore, do not hesitate in offering it to you and hope you will accept it. I will receive you as well as I can and in the joy of my heart. I have just returned from New York where I presided at the dedication of the beautiful Cathedral Church of St. Patrick. As the New York papers reach Quebec, you have no doubt read a description of the ceremony. They daily expect the Right Reverend John Connolly who was consecrated in Rome Bishop of New York in the month of November last. He is a Dominican and has lived in Rome 37 years. My worthy and venerable fellow-worker, M. Matignon, presents his respects to Your Lordship and rejoices with me in the hope of seeing you here. Please honour me with a word through Mr. Ryan. I have the honour to be, &c.²⁸

We have an account of this visit in Henri Têtu's *Visites Pastorales par Mgr. J. Octave Plessis, Évêque de Québec*.²⁹ Plessis visited Father Romagné at Pleasant Point, Maine, in August, 1815, and from that town set out for Boston. Here he was entertained by Matignon and Cheverus in the bishop's house, close to the cathedral. "These two worthy ecclesiastics," he says in the diary of his visit, "by their virtues, their talents, their hospitality, and their politeness have overcome the prejudices of Protestants, and have attracted many to their congregation, which is on the whole very edifying, and their new converts persevere fervently."³⁰ One of these converts, Thomas Walley, of Brookline, entertained the distinguished visitor, and here Plessis met Father Brosius, who was then conducting a private school near Harvard College. From Boston, Bishop Plessis set out on September 7, for New York City, stopping at Worcester, Hartford, and New Haven, where he noted the preparations for the Commencement at Yale College. From New Haven he journeyed by sea aboard the steamboat *Fulton*, and arrived at New York on September 9th. There he remained for several days, jotting down in his diary valuable historical data for the future historian of that city.

Bishop Cheverus was to rule the Diocese of Boston for eight years after the death of Archbishop Carroll, and had he been able during that time to dispose of a score of priests for his

²⁸ *Ibid.*, l. c., p. 22.

²⁹ Quebec, 1903; cf. *Records*, vol. xv, pp. 37ss.

³⁰ Cf. *Records*, vol. xviii, p. 44.

extensive diocese, there is little doubt that religion would have made much greater progress. It was, in fact, only after Carroll's death that Dr. Cheverus received his first missionary recruits, such as Father Denis Ryan, Philip Lariscy, O.S.A., Paul McQuade, Patrick Byrne, William Taylor, and Virgil Barber—all pioneers in the upbuilding of the great Church of the present-day New England. Cheverus had resisted the entreaties of his friends in France to return when Catholic worship was restored there in 1801, and in 1816, when the question arose of naming a coadjutor to Archbishop Neale, the Metropolitan of Baltimore urged him to accept the nomination. His desire to remain with his flock in Boston was granted, and Maréchal was selected instead. The traditional story that, with the return of the Bourbons to the throne, Louis XVIII, who had known and befriended Cheverus as a boy, had him nominated in 1822 to the See of Montauban, is not altogether correct. It would seem, rather, that Cheverus, who had begun to feel the burden of age and the fatigue of so many years in the arduous missions of New England, decided to return of his own accord, without announcing that fact to the authorities in France. Some time after his return he was appointed to the insignificant See of Montauban, and three years later he was transferred to the Archbishopric of Bordeaux. Charles X made him a peer of the realm, and on February 1, 1835, he was created cardinal. He died at Bordeaux, July 19, 1836.

Such was the man whom the non-Catholics of Boston called "a blessing and a treasure in our social community." They joined in the protest to the Church of France, which they believed had coveted Cheverus for so long, declaring that they could not part with him, for "without injustice to any man, we may affirm," they wrote, "if withdrawn from us, he can never be replaced."

CHAPTER XXXI
THE SUFFRAGAN SEES: II. NEW YORK
(1790-1815)

The history of the Catholic Church in New York State during the first twenty years of Carroll's episcopate (1790-1810) centres around that valiant missionary, Father William O'Brien, of the Order of Friars Preacher. The year of Carroll's consecration saw the end of the notorious quarrel between the factions devoted to the two Irish Capuchins, Nugent and Whelan, and with Father O'Brien's appointment as pastor of St. Peter's Church (1787) there began an era of domestic peace, which was not to be disturbed for many long years. For the next two decades, Father O'Brien, with his brother, Father Matthew O'Brien, Fathers McMahon, Mahony, Flynn, Matignon, Fitzsimons, Byrne, Bourke, Bushe, Sibourd, and others of whom there are but faint records in our annals, laboured amongst the scattered Catholics of New York and New Jersey. St. Peter's Church was the centre of this widespread activity. As pastor of St. Peter's, Father William O'Brien governed the Church in New York City so admirably that Dr. Carroll's letters are filled with praise for the Irish Dominican. His loyalty to Bishop Carroll gained for him the enmity of the erratic pamphleteers, Fathers Poterie and Smyth. In order to complete the interior of St. Peter's Church, Father O'Brien obtained Dr. Carroll's permission to make a visit to Mexico City, where his former classmate at Bologna, Archbishop Alonzo Núñez de Haro was metropolitan, with the result that he brought back some six thousand dollars in donations and several handsome paintings for the adornment of the Church. He was not present at the Synod of November 7-11, 1791, and so was probably absent about a year. During this time, Father Nicholas Bourke, who, according to Shea, was drowned in February, 1800, officiated at St. Peter's.¹ Some time after Father

¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 429.

William O'Brien's return he wrote to his brother, Matthew, who was also a Dominican, and then living in Ireland, asking him to come out to assist in the work of caring for the faithful in New York City and State. Father Matthew O'Brien came to America probably in 1798, and Dr. Carroll appointed him to the congregation in Albany. He was a man of erudition and an attractive preacher. In those days the sentiment of the Catholics was rather outspoken in the matter of pulpit oratory; and the pastor of Albany pleased his flock so much that they readily voted him all the financial support he needed for his church, parish school and residence. Dr. O'Brien was offered a parish in Natchez by Bishop Carroll on September 23, 1799,² when that territory was ceded to the United States by Spain, and there are several letters in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives from the trustees of Albany (November 10, 27, 1799) protesting against his departure.³ His successors in the Albany parish (between 1799-1808) were Rev. Dr. Mahony, Luke Fitzsimons, John Byrne, and James Bushe. The congregation was made up almost exclusively of Irish immigrants, and they had little respect for a clergyman unless he were a good preacher.

It was in St. Peter's Church in March, 1805, that Father Matthew O'Brien received Mrs. Seton into the fold, and it was there she made her first Communion on March 25 of the same year. A very serious riot occurred at St. Peter's on Christmas Eve, 1806. It originated, as we learn from the *American Register*, with "a desperate association of unprincipled men, calling themselves *Highbinders*, who under pretence of demolishing houses of ill fame, commit the most disorderly practices upon peaceable and unoffending citizens."⁴ A group of fifty of these banditti assembled in front of St. Peter's, hoping to create a disturbance at midnight Mass. The next evening the rioters attacked the locality where the Catholics were then residing, and one man, a watchman, was killed. This aroused the fury of the mob, and only the presence of the Mayor, DeWitt Clinton, saved the Catholics from further outrage.

This same year (1806) saw the repeal of the last intolerant

² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-U1.

³ *Ibid.*, Case 11-L7-9; printed in the *Researches*, vol. viii, pp. 60-63.

⁴ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xvi, pp. 149-150.

clause in the New York State Constitution. The law of 1700 against "Popish Priests and Jesuits" was repealed by the Legislature in 1784, but the clause requiring an oath for public officials, which no Catholic could in conscience take, was passed in 1801, and remained a law of the State until 1806, when, on the occasion of the election of Francis Cooper, a Catholic, to the State Assembly, a petition asking for its repeal was drafted by the trustees of St. Peter's Church.⁵ On June 23, 1805, the trustees, who then included such prominent citizens as Thomas Stoughton, Andrew Morris and Cornelius Heeney, wrote to Dr. Carroll requesting an assistant priest for St. Peter's: "In consequence of the pleasing circumstance of the daily growth of the congregation of St. Peter's Church, which keeps pace with the rapid extension of the city of New York, they find it morally impossible that one clergyman, however active, zealous and diligent, can attend to all the functions and important duties required by so numerous a Congregation."⁶ Carroll's reply to this letter has not been found, but it would appear that he sent the Rev. Louis Sibourd to New York to assist Father O'Brien. The following year we find the trustees writing again, on March 9, 1807, asking Carroll to remove the "little Doctor," because of his lack of facility in English.⁷ The following year the German Catholics of the city sent a formal petition to Bishop Carroll asking for a priest of their race, or at least one who could minister to them in the German tongue. On this petition (March 2, 1808) Dr. Carroll took no action, knowing that the division of the Diocese of Baltimore had already been decided upon and that it was a matter to be dealt with by New York's Bishop. This petition is an exception both in spirit and in tone from those Carroll had grown accustomed to:

Right Reverend Father in God.

We the undersigned for ourselves and a considerable number of our German Brethren, who are all educated in the holy Catholick faith,

⁵ Hurley to Carroll, New York, January 6, 1806. *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-G8-9; cf. *A Memorial of Penal Times in New York*, in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. vi, pp. 394-395; HENRY, Stephen Girard, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iv, p. 280.

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case II-L3. For an interesting estimate of Cornelius Heeney, cf. *A Self-effaced Philanthropist: Cornelius Heeney (1754-1848)*, by MEEHAN, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iv, pp. 3-17.

⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-E2.

approach your Reverence and pray you to allow and send us a Pastor who is capable of undertaking the spiritual care of our Souls in the German Language, which is our Mother Tongue. Many of us do not know any English at all, and those who have some knowledge of it, are not well enough versed in the English Language as to attend Divine Service with any utility to themselves. As we have not yet a place of worship of our own we have made application to the Trustees of the English Catholic Church in this City to grant us Permission to perform our worship in the German Language in their Church, at such times as not to interfere with their regular Services. This permission they have readily granted us. During the course of this year we shall take care to find an opportunity, to provide ourselves with a building of our own, for we have no doubt that our number will soon considerably increase. We leave it entirely to your Reverence to choose for us a man, who is capable of Taking upon him our Spiritual Concerns and instruct us in our holy religion, and we humbly beg to grant our prayers as soon as it is possible for your Reverence. In our religion the diversity of Language makes indeed no difference but from the reasons alleged. Your Reverence will deign to perceive that it is of consequence to our repose that we perform our Worship in the Language we best understand. We shall take care to provide for our Pastor as our abilities go. If your Reverence will deign to answer this our earnest prayer, we humbly beg you to direct the answer to Mr. Werneker, No. 32, Corner of Warren and Church Street in New York.

For this great favor we shall feel ourselves for ever grateful to your Reverence and beg leave to Subscribe ourselves with the greatest Respect,

*Your Reverence's Most Humble and obedient Servants.*⁸

These are scanty records, indeed, for the early years of the great Archdiocese of New York, but few as they are they are precious memoranda of those days. Both Father William O'Brien and his brother, Father Matthew, were men of fine ecclesiastical training, and on several occasions Dr. Carroll had made use of Father William's talents in settling delicate matters in church discipline. Father Matthew O'Brien was a better scholar than his brother, and had attracted favourable notice from the members of the Legislature at Albany by his clear and fearless interpretation of Catholic doctrine. During the days of uncertainty, when the opposition to the creation of a bishopric at Baltimore was strongest, Dr. Carroll found a supporter in Father William O'Brien, as is evidenced by the correspondence which passed between them.⁹ Notwithstanding the prominence of the two

⁸ *Ibid.*, Case II-L4.

⁹ Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 689, 923, 973.

brothers, Dr. Carroll says in his letter of nomination to Cardinal di Pietro (June 17, 1807), regarding the priests to be chosen for the new dioceses, that for the time being the Church in New York State should be left to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Boston, "for among the priests there seems none fit to be intrusted with the episcopate and therefore I refrain from recommending anyone to such a grave post (*Namque inter sacerdotes illic constitutos nullus mihi videtur episcopatus capessendo idoneus, itaque supersedeo cuidam ad tam grave ministerium commendando*).” Carroll was ill at the time these nominations were forwarded to Rome, as we learn from a letter to Father Plowden, dated Baltimore, January 10, 1808:

At the time of receiving the first [Plowden's letter of May 27th, 1807], I was exceedingly ill at my sister's in the City of Washington, and had not recovered when it was followed by the second [dated: July 28-August 12 (?), 1807]. My complaint originated with a most excruciating and, I may say universal, rheumatism, and was afterwards accompanied with other disorders, especially an influenza which was universal through the U. States. After enjoying an uncommon state of health to my 73d year (on the 9th, inst. I closed the 72d), I ought to expect and gratefully submit to the dispensation of divine providence, when it pleases to give me a serious admonition of my mortality.¹⁰

On December 3, 1808, he writes from Baltimore to Father Strickland:

You have heard no doubt of the new ecclesiastical order of things in our ecclesiastical government here; that four new Bishops are nominated, and this See is erected into an Archbishoprick. As the most excellent Dr. Matignon refused absolutely to be comprehended in the number of new Bishops, and was determined rather to return to Europe than accept, Mr. Cheverus is named for Boston, having under him the five states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont. Amongst the clergy resident in N. York, when my letters went to Rome, there was no one here, whom I ventured to recommend for the Episcopacy, and suggested the propriety of leaving the Diocese subject for some time to the Bishop of Boston: but His Holiness was desirous to fill up all the Sees, and nominated for N. York, Fr. Concanen, an Irish Dominican, at Rome, of whom I have always had a favourable account.¹¹

This he repeats substantially on December 5 in a letter to Father Plowden. There is no mention in this part of his cor-

¹⁰ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

respondence with the English Jesuit of either of the two Fathers O'Brien. One other clergyman at that time stood out prominently among his brethren as capable of ruling a diocese, as great in extent as New York, and that was Father Matthew Carr, the Augustinian, of Philadelphia. But, unfortunately, Dr. Carr was at the time in difficulty, a serious charge having been made against him by some of his fellow-priests, and he had lost heart. On November 22, 1807, he wrote to Carroll that his usefulness in Philadelphia was ended owing to the malicious calumny spoken against him.¹² He resigned his vicar-generalship, but at Carroll's request remained at St. Augustine's. Dr. Carr was undoubtedly the man for the Bishopric of New York in case neither of the O'Briens should be nominated. And it is difficult to understand just what prompted Carroll to allow the see to remain vacant. The most careful search among his correspondence in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives has failed to reveal his secret motive for this strange omission. Judged by ordinary standards, the missionary success of Dr. Carr or of the two O'Briens far outshone that of the priests nominated for the new sees, with the one exception, perhaps, of Flaget.

In any account of John Carroll's life and character, this action—so singular at the time and as far as the early history of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States is concerned, so filled with danger to the independence of the American Church—ought to be more thoroughly understood. To most historians of the Diocese of New York and of the American Church in general, Carroll's abstension from nominating either of the O'Briens, is viewed as having proved fatal to the peace of the Church in this country, since it seemingly threw open the door to intriguers and to foreign ecclesiastical politicians. Father William O'Brien, the elder of the two brothers, had come to America in 1787, well recommended by Archbishop Troy of Dublin, who, at that time and till long afterwards was friendly to Carroll and to the American Church; and in Carroll's correspondence with the Metropolitan of Dublin there is occasionally a flattering reference to "my very good friend, Mr. O'Brien of New York."¹³ But until further documentary evidence is brought to light, the problem

¹² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-15.

¹³ Cf. MORAN, *Spicileg. Ossor.*, vol. iii, p. 504.

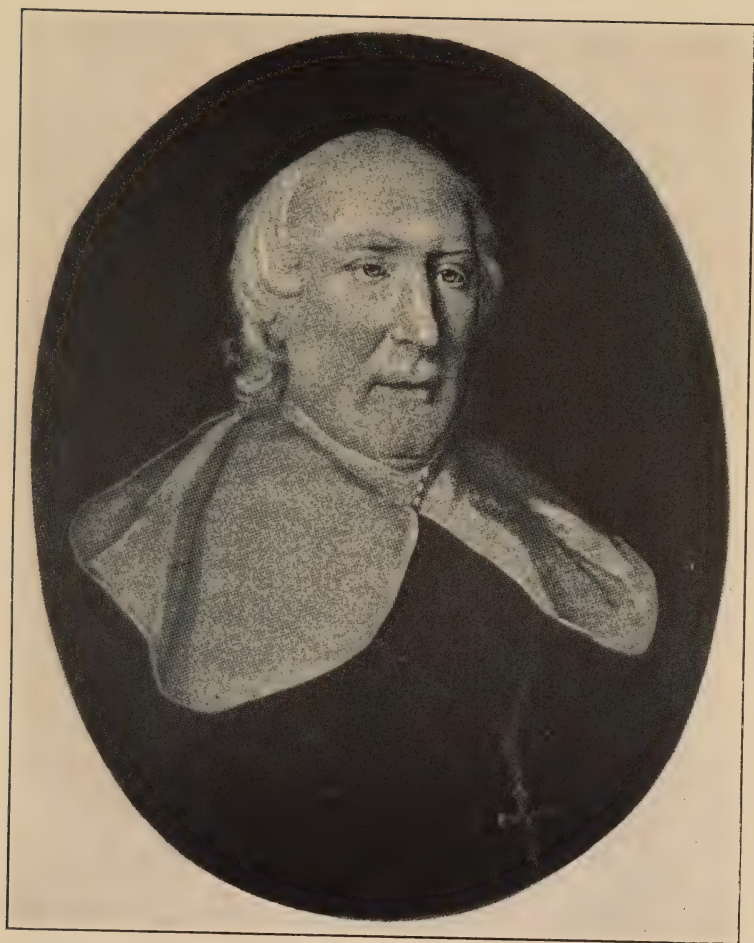
must remain unsolved. It is true that Father Anthony Kohlmann, as a member of the Society of Jesus, was prevented by its constitutions from accepting the episcopal dignity; but the Society was not then completely restored, and as one of the most distinguished priests in America at that time, it is curious that Bishop Carroll did not mention his name among the possible recipients of episcopal power.¹⁴

The choice of Richard Luke Concanen, as first Bishop of New York, could not come as a surprise to Bishop Carroll, who had learned to value the learned Dominican's judgment during the years he acted as American Clergy Agent at Rome (1792-1808).¹⁵ Concanen had escaped the burden of the episcopate on several occasions before his nomination to the See of New York, and when that post was offered to him, he pleaded the fact that he was then too old to take such a laborious task upon his shoulders and urged the appointment of his fellow Dominican, Father John Connolly, who succeeded him in 1815. Concanen looked upon his own selection as an "unfortunate appointment." He confessed to Carroll (August 9, 1809), that he had ever had "a sensible predilection for the Americans and a desire of serving on that mission; but never indeed had I the ambition of appearing there in the quality of a Bishop, especially in my advanced age and weakened by my late infirmities."¹⁶ Propaganda did not hide its pleasure in having the opportunity of concurring in the election of Concanen for one of the new American sees, and Carroll could have taken no exception to its action; for, "as Your Grace did not propose for New York any clergyman whom we could place over that diocese as its prelate, the Holy Father himself chose for this position a man whom long experience and the high esteem of all Rome prove to be most worthy of so exalted a dignity, and whom Your Grace has time and again shown to be very dear to

¹⁴ Father William O'Brien is said to have lost health of mind and body at this time, though he remained at St. Peter's until his death, on May 14, 1816. His brother had been transferred meanwhile to Philadelphia, and later to Baltimore, where he died October 15, 1816.

¹⁵ Cf. O'DANIEL, *Concanen's Election to the See of New York (1808-1810)*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 19-46.

¹⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-T1; printed in O'Daniel's article, *ut supra*, p. 23-24.



BISHOP RICHARD LUKE CONCANEN

yourself—Richard Luke Concanen, of the Order of Saint Dominic, and one of the theologians of the Casanate.”¹⁷

Richard Luke Concanen, the first Bishop of New York, was born in Ireland about the year 1747. Entering the novitiate of the Dominican Order at an early age, probably at Louvain, he came to the Minerva in Rome for his philosophical studies. Having completed these, he entered the College of San Clemente, Rome, for his theological course, where he studied under the learned Father Thomas Levins and Father Thomas Troy, who became Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland in 1786. Ordained to the priesthood in 1770, he continued the study of theology, obtaining the lectorate on February 4, 1773. On March 17 of the same year, he was appointed master of novices at San Clemente, a position which he held with great credit and skill for six years. Various posts of prominence in his Order were conferred upon him, and he was ably seconded in all his undertakings by his fellow-countryman and future successor in the See of New York, Father John Connolly, O.P. When Dr. Troy became Bishop of Ossory in 1776, Father Concanen was employed by him as ecclesiastical agent at Rome, and when ten years later Dr. Troy was promoted to Dublin, Father Concanen's duties involved much of the correspondence between the Church in Ireland and the Roman Curia. After the death (1792) of Father John Thorpe, who had been Agent for Dr. Carroll, Father Concanen was asked by the Bishop of Baltimore to arrange various ecclesiastical matters for the Church of the United States. In November, 1798, Pius VI appointed Concanen to the united Sees of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora in Ireland, but Father Concanen declined the exalted dignity. "I am resolved to live and die," he wrote to Father William O'Brien in New York, "in the obscure and retired way of life I have chosen from my youth." Again in 1802, he was proposed for the See of Raphoe in Ireland, but again his humility saved him from the honour. Both Pius VI and Pius VII claimed Concanen's intimate friendship, and this friendship proved of great value to Bishop Carroll. Through Father William O'Brien of New York and Archbishop Troy of Dublin, Dr. Carroll cor-

¹⁷ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura originale, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 306-307; printed in O'Daniel, *ut supra*, pp. 22-23. For the principal documents on Concanen's election, cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 73-82.

responded with the eminent Dominican, and many of the letters in this correspondence, together with Carroll's direct correspondence with Father Concanen are still preserved.¹⁸ Father O'Daniel rightly claims for this correspondence a spirit of absolute trust, confidence and strong friendship between Carroll and the future Bishop of New York. No one showed a more profound interest in the progress of the Faith in the United States than Dr. Concanen, and it is highly interesting to see that on the same day Bishop Carroll sent to Propaganda his list of names for the new Sees (June 17, 1807) he wrote to Father Concanen asking him to act as his Agent in the matter at the papal Court. Father Concanen's busy career in Rome had extended over a period of more than thirty years when this request came to his hands, and with no thought of himself, the learned Dominican set to work on the commission entrusted to him. At a special session of Propaganda (March 4, 1808), the business of increasing the American hierarchy was considered. In a recapitulation of previous acts of the Sacred Congregation under date of 1814, we learn that Propaganda suggested in 1807, three names for the See of New York—Concanen, Connolly and Joachim Cowan, all three Dominicans. Father Concanen was without doubt the choice of the Congregation, and also the choice of Pius VII, who wrote in the Brief of his appointment to New York: "We immediately turned our eyes upon you." Concanen's great love for America was so well known, as was also his friendship with Dr. Carroll, that the Roman officials felt certain he would accept the appointment. On April 24, 1808, Dr. Concanen was consecrated by the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda, Di Pietro, in the Church of St. Catherine, Rome.¹⁹ Of the sad days which now set in for the zealous old bishop, who was anxious to proceed at once to America, there is no need to make repetition here. It was not until the spring

¹⁸ In the *Archiepiscopal Archives of Dublin* (partly published in the third volume of Cardinal Moran's *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, (Dublin, 1884); in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives* (partly published in the *Researches*, for which cf. *Index*, Philadelphia, 1916); in the *Propaganda Archives*; and in Archives of the Dominican Master-General, at Rome, for which cf. NOLAN, *The Irish Dominicans in Rome* (Rome, 1913), and especially O'Daniel's two scholarly articles in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. i, pp. 400-421, vol. ii, pp. 19-46), where the important documents will be found.

¹⁹ It is to be noted that the charge made by De Courcy-Shea, by Clarke, and by others that he declined the appointment in Ireland to accept that of New York is without foundation; the two appointments are ten years apart.

of 1810, owing to the blockade of all shipping in Italy by the French fleet, that he was able to obtain a berth in the ship *Frances* of Salem, Mass., then in the harbour at Naples. But even after boarding the vessel, the authorities refused to accept his passport, and he was obliged to disembark and take up temporary lodgings in the city. The vessel was scheduled to sail on June 17, and two days later Bishop Concanen died in the arms of Father Lombardi, a fellow Dominican, who was to accompany him to America. The next day he was buried in the Church of San Domenico Maggiore, Naples.

The new See embraced the present State of New York and what was then known as East Jersey. Geographically it was a compact diocese, and had Concanen been successful in quitting Italy with the group of missionaries he contemplated choosing for his new field of labour, the early history of the diocese would no doubt be filled with splendid things planned and achieved for the Church of God. Concanen would have had as his chief aid in organizing his diocese a member of his own Order, and one who had spent more than a score of years ministering to the congregations within its limits. When it became evident to the venerable Dominican that his journey to New York might be delayed much longer than he had at first anticipated, he wrote to Archbishop Carroll (July 23, 1808) authorizing him to appoint to the New York Diocese a vicar-general "with all necessary powers you and I can delegate to him."²⁰ Again it would seem but logical that "my old friend and companion, Rev. Mr. William O'Brien," as he styled him, would have been chosen for this important post, but on the receipt of this letter (October 11, 1808), Carroll appointed Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., to this position.

Father Kohlmann was born in Alsace, June 13, 1771. Ordained to the priesthood at Fribourg, Switzerland, during the French Revolution, he joined the Fathers of the Sacred Heart, and laboured for some time in Austria and Italy. In 1803 he entered the Jesuit Novitiate at Dünaburg in the restored Russian Province of the Society, and the following year came to America to take part in the restoration of the Society of Jesus in this country. He was one of the most distinguished members of the

²⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-T1; cf. O'DANIEL, *ut supra*, p. 32.

restored Society, and when Bishop Carroll sent him to New York in October, 1808, he brought along with him Father Benedict Fenwick, S.J., and four scholastics, with whom he organized the New York Literary Institution, a classical school for boys. Bishop Carroll sedulously avoided naming any of the members of the Society of Jesus to the new Sees, otherwise Father Kohlmann might have found a place in the list. As pastor of St. Peter's Church, and vicar-general or administrator of the diocese, in the absence of Bishop Concanen, Father Kohlmann was virtually the founder of the New York Archdiocese.

Father Kohlmann was about forty years of age at this time, and had under his immediate care in the city about 15,000 Catholics. His presence in New York City filled a double necessity—that of occupying the place of the bishop until he should reach the newly-created see and also that of satisfying the German Catholics of the city who had appealed to Dr. Carroll in March, 1808, for a pastor who could preach to them and hear their confessions in German. The appointment of Kohlmann proved satisfactory to New York's exiled bishop, but a misunderstanding arose later, when the energetic Kohlmann, in his desire to provide for Catholic education in the city, founded the New York Literary Institution, which was at first located near St. Peter's on Barclay Street, but was later moved to the site of the present Cathedral. "From the very start it rejoiced in no less a number of pupils than fifty, among them the children of Protestants like Governor Tompkins; and had circumstances permitted its founders to continue their good work, undoubtedly it would have been the foundation of a great College."²¹ In 1807, Father Kohlmann visited the German Catholics around Goshenhoppen and in the city of Philadelphia, where he remained for two weeks, instructing the children in Christian doctrine, preparing them for their first Holy Communion, and hearing the confessions of many who had grown careless. "Almost all the confessions I heard," he wrote to Carroll, "were general or at least for three, six or ten years back."²² The leading Catholic laymen in Philadelphia at that time was James Oellers, the proprietor of Oellers' Hotel, where many an historic banquet occurred during the days

²¹ SMITH, *History of the Catholic Church in New York*, vol. i, p. 45.

²² KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 176 (original in *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-L9.

when the city was the nation's capital; and like all his race, who have emigrated to America, the chief interest of Oellers was the education of the young. Oellers had been a leader in the opposition to Bishop Carroll's authority and was likewise an opponent to Bishop Egan. At the time of Kohlmann's visit, peace had been established temporarily, and Oellers proposed to the Jesuits to found a college in the city. He promised to bestow the land and the building, if the Society would furnish the masters. Dr. Carroll does not seem to have approved of the project, no doubt considering it prudent to allow the problem of collegiate education to be decided by Philadelphia's bishop. Perhaps, also, he knew of the sentiments expressed by Kohlmann, March 7, 1808, in which the Jesuit said: "At this critical moment of the appointment of five [*sic*] new Bishops, the great point for the Society is to take possession of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, for fear we may be prevented by others."²³ Father Anthony Kohlmann was far-sighted enough to realize, more keenly perhaps than the Americans themselves, that the future of the United States lay no longer with the South and that it was in New York that the nation would find its greatest centre of population. Hughes gives us an abstract of a letter written by Kohlmann to Grassi, then the American Superior of the Jesuits, dated April 24, 1815, in which the shrewd Jesuit protests against confinement of the Society within the State of Maryland—"the State of New York is of greater importance to the Society than all the other States together." Next in importance, he places Pennsylvania, and he trusts that the leaders of the Jesuits will not "doom" the Society to such a State as Maryland. Referring to the suppression of the New York Literary Institution (1813), he says quite boldly that had the Superior been far-sighted he would have sacrificed Georgetown College in preference to the New York College. The narrowing influence of the Neales was, however, predominant in Jesuit circles at the time, and "instead of getting a footing at New York, there appears a determined disposition to recall all ours to a State [*Maryland*] the worst and poorest in the Union, a State from which even seculars retire into the wilderness of

²³ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xviii, p. 168.

Kentucky . . . a State . . . in which the Society will be eternally buried as in a tomb . . ."²⁴

Bishop Concanen was in correspondence (1809) with Maréchal, then Rector of the Lyons Seminary, France, with a view to the establishment of a college and seminary in New York City, and when the news reached him of Kohlmann's foundation, "the good man, mild as he was, was somewhat indignant that such a step should have been taken without his knowledge and consent."²⁵ He expressed his opinion in no uncertain terms to Troy, and for a time seems to have harboured the feeling that Dr. Carroll had overreached his authority. Letters from the Archbishop of Baltimore, however, set his mind at ease. In a letter to Maréchal, on February 10, 1810, Dr. Concanen, by way of apology, as O'Daniel states, explained that the New York Literary Institution "was erected, as he (Carroll) informs me, before he heard of my appointment to that See. He gives me, moreover, the pleasing news of the thriving state of religion in my Diocese, and that there is also a Catholic school opened at New York for female children . . . Had I known before of the establishment of the new Academy at New York, I probably would not have engaged the two young Franciscans to accompany me . . . Another piece of news that Doctor Carroll gives me is, that there is a new Church now building at New York, which is to be dedicated to St. Patrick."²⁶

Fathers Kohlmann and Fenwick had persuaded the trustees of St. Peter's that a second church was necessary in the metropolis, and accordingly land was purchased on the outskirts of the city and the new church (Old St. Patrick's) was begun on June 8, 1809. When the news of Dr. Concanen's death reached New York, a solemn Mass of Requiem was celebrated on the first Sunday in October, 1810, for the happy repose of his soul.²⁷ Father Kohlmann remained in New York as administrator of the diocese. The Jesuits sealed the fate of the Institution by transferring it to the Trappists, who arrived in New York in 1812-

²⁴ Cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 945-946 note; that Carroll saw the opportunities for Catholic education and progress in New York is evident from his correspondence at this time. (Cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 800-801.)

²⁵ O'DANIEL, *ut supra*, pp. 37-38

²⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 14-U3; printed in O'DANIEL, *ut supra*, p. 38.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Case 4-M5. (Kohlmann to Carroll, October 29, 1810.)

1813; and when the Ursuline nuns, who came in 1812, returned to Ireland in 1815, Catholic education in the diocese was at a standstill.

From the death of Concanen (June 19, 1810) until the consecration of Father John Connolly, his fellow-Dominican, as second Bishop of New York, on November 6, 1814, the see remained vacant. It was during these years, especially, that correspondence between Rome and Baltimore practically ceased. The imprisonment of Pius VII by Napoleon, the decision of the Holy See not to appoint bishops to vacant bishoprics so long as the Pope was kept in duress, and the disturbances caused by the War of 1812, rendered it impossible for Dr. Carroll to provide for the Diocese of New York. The appointment of Bishop Connolly followed quickly upon the return of Pius VII to Rome; and it may be safely concluded that the Holy See had decided shortly after Concanen's death to name his companion to the vacant diocese. On the eve of his death, Bishop Concanen had proposed for the appointment of Father Ambrose Maréchal as his coadjutor; and it is evident from Carroll's correspondence at this time that Maréchal was also his own choice. The election of Father Connolly has been interpreted by the historian of the Catholic Church in the United States, John Gilmary Shea, as the culminating point in long years of intrigue for the control of the American Church on the part of the Irish hierarchy, the chief offender being a member of the same Order to which Bishop Concanen and Connolly belonged—Archbishop Troy of Dublin. Shea sums up the charge of foreign interference as follows: "The danger which the old Maryland priests had feared had proved no delusion. Bishops and others in Europe were urging appointments to Sees in this country, ignorant of the actual state of affairs and of the qualities required. Archbishop Troy of Dublin was the centre of these movements, and his interference can be traced in Canada and England, as well as in the United States. The nomination of Bishop Concanen had been chiefly on his recommendation . . . Archbishop Carroll and Bishops Flaget and Cheverus saw with gloomy forebodings their advice set aside at Rome in deference to that of prelates strangers to the country."²⁸

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, ff. 664-665.

After the death of Dr. Concanen, continues Shea :

The appointment made for New York at the instance of Archbishop Troy and other Irish bishops was one almost unparalleled. The choice fell on Rev. John Connolly, of the Order of St. Dominic, and a subject of George III. The United States and Great Britain were then actually at war, and no country in Europe would have failed to resent, under similar circumstances, the appointment of an alien enemy to a bishopric within its borders by refusing him admittance into its territory. The nationality of Bishop Concanen had prevented his reaching America; but without learning experience from that appointment, the authorities at Rome committed a grave national discourtesy in electing to an American See the subject of a country actually at war with the United States, and which had just laid its national capital in ashes.²⁹

This is the popular American tradition of Dr. Concanen's appointment, as well as of that of his successor. If it is to stand as historic fact, then the problem rests between an error of judgment on Bishop Carroll's part in not protecting his Church from this alien interference and an error of judgment on the part of Rome. The appointment of Dr. Concanen has been studied from the original documents by the Rev. Victor O'Daniel, O.P., the historian of the Dominican Order in this country. As a Dominican, it must be conceded that Father O'Daniel's interpretation of so important a page in American church history, in which all three of the participants were members of his own Order (Troy, Concanen and Connolly), might be open to question, but he has given us from the Archives of the Dominican Master General at Rome and from other important archival collections all the documents bearing on the problem. It is his interpretation, therefore, which should settle the question of interference, at least in the appointment of Dr. Concanen, in which Archbishop Troy of Dublin had no part. "Nowhere," say O'Daniel, "in these lengthy minutes of Propaganda is the name of the great metropolitan of Dublin mentioned. Other documents show that all communication between Ireland and Rome at this period had been interrupted by the enmity between France and England, and that Troy had no idea of his friend being appointed Bishop of any place."³⁰ Bishop Concanen's letters to Archbishop Troy prove

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 665-666.

³⁰ *Ut supra*, p. 21 note.

quite conclusively that there was no intrigue in the appointment of New York's first Ordinary, and what is true of Dr. Concanen's elevation to the American episcopate is equally true of his successor. In summing up this interesting problem, Father O'Daniel says: "It is but fair to Shea's memory to suppose that he had at his disposal only partial or imperfect copies of these documents; for he could hardly have written as he did, had he seen the originals . . . the great churchman (Troy) in no way deserves the sweeping accusation of interference urged against him by various authors and especially by Shea."³¹ That Dr. Carroll shared the opinion with his fellow-priests regarding the interference of the new prelate can be seen in his correspondence with Troy, which Cardinal Moran must have deliberately kept out of his *Spicilegium*.³² But Carroll does not accuse Troy in the case of Connolly; he brings the charge to Troy's own act in the question of the Irish ecclesiastical politicians who were determined at this time to foist the unwelcome disturber of the peace, Harold, on the vacant See of Philadelphia. In this instance, as will be seen in the next chapter, Troy protests against having acted irregularly or improperly.

On March 22, 1815, Troy wrote to Carroll to say that he had been requested by Bishop Connolly to announce the latter's election and consecration.³³ Dr. Carr wrote to Carroll from Philadelphia, on May 22, 1815, saying that the news of Connolly's consecration had reached him; and on October 29, 1815, Carroll heard that Connolly was about to sail for New York.³⁴ Bishop Connolly was about sixty-five years old when he landed in New York City on November 24, 1815. As a British subject, he prudently waited until the Treaty of Ghent before coming to the United States.

Archbishop Carroll, at this date, was in his last illness. There were few who did not know that the venerable prelate was nearing the end, and it would be much to Bishop Connolly's credit, if among the Carroll documents, a letter announcing his arrival to

³¹ *Ut supra*, pp. 25-26 note.

³² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-T1-5.

³³ *Ibid.*, Case 8-N8.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Case 2-P7; cf. Carroll to Plowden, June 25, 1815, *Stonyhurst Transcripts*; Clorivière to Carroll, London, June 19, 1815 (printed in *Records*, vol. xxi, p. 91), announces Connolly's near departure.

his metropolitan were to be found. Archbishop Neale wrote on December 3, 1815, to New York's Ordinary, announcing Carroll's death, and on the 7th Connolly replied: "I have long admired and esteemed him on account of his learning, zeal and piety. His death will be regretted in Europe as well as in America, particularly at Rome, where his Holiness often spoke to me of him . . . My intention during my voyage to America was to wait on Dr. Carroll before I should take possession of this See, but I have been hindered from so doing by a cold contracted at sea, which still continues, with a cough . . ." ³⁵ Bishop Connolly's failure to communicate with Archbishop Carroll seemed to many at the time to indicate that in some way a strong prejudice against Baltimore's archbishop had grown up at Rome. Carroll was past caring at the time, but a visit from Bishop Connolly would have cheered his final days on this earth. Two days before Connolly arrived in New York, Archbishop Carroll had received the last sacraments, and a week later, on December 3, 1815, John Carroll passed away.

At the time of his arrival, Bishop Connolly found in his Diocese five priests (Fathers Benedict Fenwick, S.J.; Peter Malou, S.J.; Maximilian Rantzau, S.J.; Thomas Carbry, O.P., and Michael Carroll). His cathedral (Old St. Patrick's) had been dedicated by Bishop Cheverus on May 4, 1815, and his flock was estimated at between thirteen and fifteen thousand souls.³⁶ Bishop Plessis of Quebec, who visited New York in September, 1815, makes mention of the fact that the Church then had suffered much owing to the uncertainty of canonical jurisdiction. Kohlmann's resignation left the diocese under the care of Fenwick; but without an express delegation by Connolly, the young priest could exercise no power. Archbishop Carroll could not name an administrator, since the see was filled, and so, in summary, the condition of Catholic affairs in the metropolis and in the State was acephalous. Bishop Connolly, according to Plessis, was not received with much enthusiasm at first.³⁷ The following year (1816) Fenwick

³⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 12-M8.

³⁶ Connolly to Propaganda, February 26, 1818, *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iv, no. 21.

³⁷ Têru, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161.

was recalled by his Superior, and during the ten years of his episcopate (1815-1825) Bishop Connolly found himself out of sympathy with some of his priests and people, and more than once during that period his attitude on grave questions imperilled the safety and the peace of the Church in his diocese.

CHAPTER XXXII
THE SUFFRAGAN SEES: III. PHILADELPHIA
(1793-1815)

"On the division of the original Diocese of Baltimore, which had embraced the whole United States, Pennsylvania and Delaware, into which the services of the Church had been extended from Maryland, and which had even in colonial days enjoyed a freedom and toleration denied the faithful and their devoted priests in the land which Sir George Calvert had made a sanctuary, were erected into a bishopric with part of New Jersey. Next to the Diocese of Baltimore that of Philadelphia seemed to promise most consoling results; but in the course of time it suffered more than the Church in any other part of the country from enemies within and to a terrible extent from enemies without."¹ In his Report to Propaganda (April 25, 1792) on church conditions in the new Republic, Bishop Carroll penned what is virtually the opening paragraph for the history of the disorders in Philadelphia, which lasted during the whole of his own episcopate (1790-1815) and during that of Bishops Egan (1810-1814) and Conwell (1820-1842). Laymen fretting under church discipline, and unruly priests who had not brought with them to America a respect for ecclesiastical authority, were the chief causes of the disturbed condition of affairs in Philadelphia for half a century. The schism of the priests and the trustees of Holy Trinity was no sooner brought to an amicable settlement than a similar situation arose in the parish of St. Mary; and if a minor share of the energy displayed in writing and publishing pamphlets and diatribes had been expended for the good of souls and for the promotion of religion, Philadelphia might have held the pre-eminence in Catholic American life it enjoyed at the time of Bishop Carroll's consecration. The Philadelphia "stirs" do not furnish an edifying chapter in the Catholic history of Carroll's

¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 206.

time; but they are essential to an adequate knowledge of his episcopate. Bishop Carroll in his lengthy Report says:

Besides those disturbances at Boston, of which I have already written, a certain prejudice to the state of religion both here in Baltimore and in Philadelphia has been enkindled. The origin of the whole trouble comes from two priests whom, on account of the great need of labourers and pressed by necessity, I accepted some years ago as sharers of my labours. Both were impatient at any subjection to rule, and one of them, already led gradually to the height of irreverence, has done his best to arouse a factious spirit among certain German Catholics, on the pretext that they rarely hear sermons in their own tongue, and are without churches specially set aside for their own nationality. Since both these priests are German, they have gathered about them a certain number of followers, men indeed of a humble condition in life; and having deserted the posts assigned to them both in Baltimore and Philadelphia, without any authority, in fact against my express command, they are daring to minister sacrilegiously to these people.

The trouble in Philadelphia, as we have seen, started with the foundation of Holy Trinity Church and the appointment by the trustees of the Capuchin, Father John Charles Heilbron, to the pastorate there. Philadelphia and the surrounding country had attracted German immigrants from the days of Pastorius, the founder of one of its suburbs, Germantown; and many Catholics came with these emigrants. Pastorius mentions a Catholic as one of the servants he brought with him to Philadelphia. All through the colonial history of Pennsylvania down to the death of Father Farmer, on August 17, 1786, the German- and English-speaking groups in the Catholic Church were about equally divided. When Father Greateon, in the 'thirties, gathered his little flock at St. Joseph's Chapel, the congregation numbered thirty-seven souls, fifteen of whom were Germans. From that time, down to the period under study, German Jesuits were sent to Pennsylvania, and the names of Father Schneider, who ministered to the German settlement of Goshenhoppen; Father Farmer (Steinmeyer) at Lancaster and Philadelphia; Father Manners (Sittensberger) in New York County; Father Luke Geissler at Conewago, and Father James Pellentz, who was Carroll's vicar-general—all Germans, are written indelibly into the history of the Catholic life of the State. There is hardly any doubt that the German Catholics formed a majority of the congregations in the State

down to the end of the eighteenth century and even later. In Father Harding's official census (1757) of the 1,365 Catholics in Pennsylvania, 949 were Germans. When St. Mary's Church was erected in 1763 to relieve the burden of the little Chapel of St. Joseph's, not a small portion of the money advanced for its construction came from the German Catholics, and in 1768 we find them taking the first steps towards separation by purchasing a burial-place of their own. The death of Father Farmer had deprived the German Catholics of the advantage of religious ministrations in their mother tongue, and shortly afterwards meetings were held for the purpose of founding a separate German church. Dr. Carroll appointed Father Laurence Graessl to take up the work left vacant by Farmer's death. He arrived in October, 1787, whether before or after the advent of the two German Capuchins, the brothers, Fathers John Baptist and Peter Heilbron, is uncertain. These latter priests had come unannounced and apparently without the consent of the superiors, in response to the rather fervid letter written on June 10, 1785, by Paul Millar, a prominent Catholic of Conewago. The need of priests was so pressing that Dr. Carroll welcomed the two brothers and appointed them to the congregation in Goshenhoppen.² In 1784, a German Franciscan left his convent with-

² In one of Molyneux's interesting letters to Carroll (Philadelphia, November 29, 1785), he relates that a letter, which he encloses, from a young Catholic priest in Ireland, was brought to him by a Mr. John Irwin, a Presbyterian, who had lately returned to Philadelphia from Ireland. The letter is as follows: "I have examined seriously and with attention into the method of being established as a Catholic Priest in North America, and I find that there has lately been a Vicar Apostolick appointed by the Holy See, with all ordinary power in Spirituals, under whom in consequence and by whose sole direction everything regarding the Catholic Mission of the U. S. must be conducted. There are two things therefore necessary towards my legal establishment. The first is to be called upon by V. Apost. and the 2d is to have a testimony of my past conduct, and an explicit approbation of my undertaking and the intention of my proceedings from the Ordinary, or the Bishop of the Diocese, in which I have been ordained and where at present I am employed as a Missionary. The latter will be readily granted, and there are numbers of our Clergymen totally unoccupied in this diocese; and the former I do not hesitate to obtain by yr. kind exertions in my favour on which I chiefly rely. The Vicar Apostolick will doubtless be well pleased to find subjects qualified to undertake the arduous task of a Missionary as the French and the Clergy of Catholick Countries are entirely unqualified through the want of the knowledge of the English language. You will be kind enough therefore to enquire for the principal Roman Catholick Priest at Phila. and represent to him, that a Priest of yr. acquaintance employed at present upon the mission in Ireland who can be well attested by his Superior as well as for necessary abilities as moral conduct makes him an offer of his services. I have had an acct. since yr. departure from Ireland that a Priest is much wanted at Baltimore, as well as in many other

out permission and came to Philadelphia. This was the Rev. John Baptist Causse, or Father Fidentianus, as he was known in religion. Father Farmer took pity on the fugitive and obtained his pardon from his superiors, and Father Carroll authorized him to minister in case of necessity to his fellow countrymen.³ Causse was another of the *vagabundi* who caused so much unrest to the infant Church of the United States. He went to Boston, then to Quebec, spent the winter of 1784-1785 at Halifax, and after many trials returned to Philadelphia on August 5, 1787. He was then sent to Lancaster, but the lure of Philadelphia called him back (1789). It is interesting to note that in 1787 he was one of the original trustees of Franklin College, Lancaster, in the foundation of which he had a part.⁴

On November 22, 1787, when Father Carroll was in Philadelphia, the Germans presented him with a petition requesting his approbation of Father John Heilbron as their pastor. The prefect-apostolic considered it prudent to refuse this request, stating that he had already appointed Father Graessl to that post. Two days later, James Oellers, in the name of the Germans of the city, wrote to Father Carroll, stating that, in their opinion, Father Graessl was unfitted for so important a task as caring for the Germans of Philadelphia. They were persuaded, he writes, that Father Heilbron "is the Gentleman best fitted to answer our

places in America and would undoubtedly have set off upon this encouragement, if I had any assurance of meeting the approbation of the Vicar Apostolic; wch. I have already notified to you is absolutely essential for my undertaking. Beside it wd. be a great argument of temerity and imprudence in me to proceed without the least certainty of being employed and hereby expose myself perhaps to misery and the danger of starving in a foreign land; wherefore you will obtain the Vic. Ap. approbation in scripts with the emoluments I may expect and depend upon. HENRY CONWELL." (Printed in the *Records*, vol. xxix, pp. 275-276.) Thirty-five years later, Conwell was to come to Philadelphia as its second Bishop.

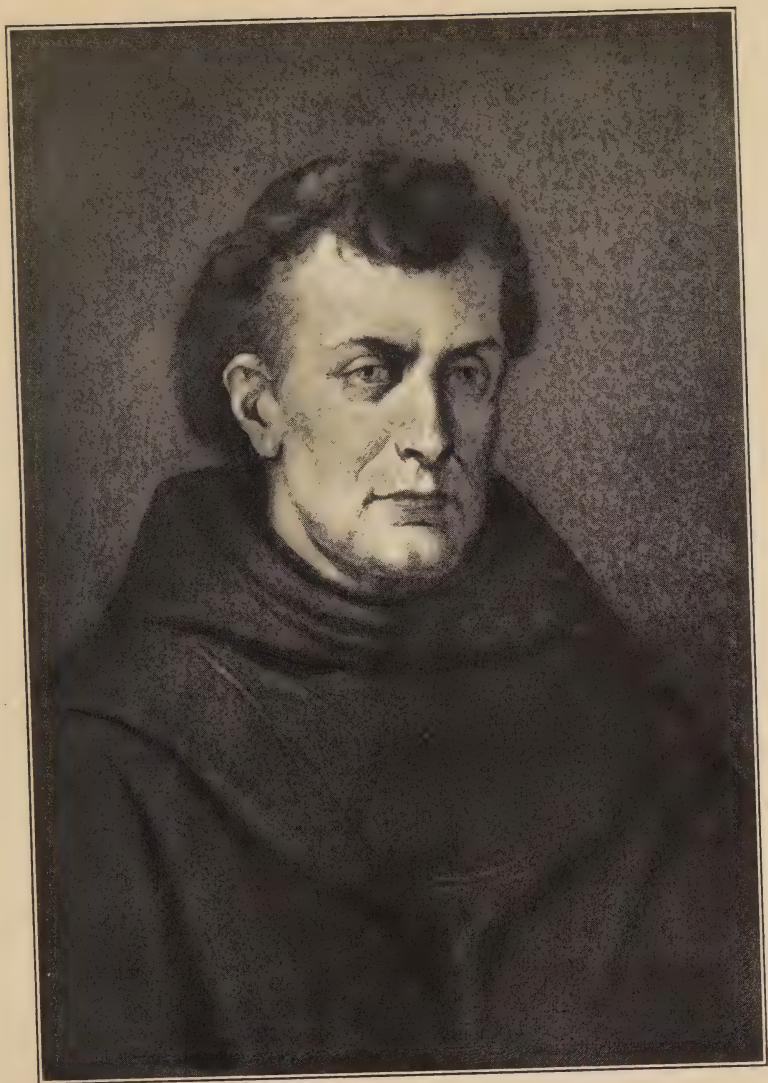
³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-M2.

⁴ Causse's later career is not known with certainty. It would seem that after being cashiered by Carroll about 1789, he took refuge with Father Theodore Brouwers at the Sportsman's Hall, now the site of St. Vincent's Abbey, Beatty, Pa., whom he attended during his last illness. Father Brouwers died on October 29, 1790. After this date, Causse bought a circus called "Jerusalem," with which he toured the country. On June 4, 1793, he wrote to Carroll: "I would sell my show called the Jerusalem, if I could be reinstated as pastor somewhere." Carroll accepted this sign of returning sanity, and promised to pardon the Franciscan, if he would make a public reparation for the scandal he had given. After this Causse is lost to sight. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-M3.) There is a record of a pension (£35.3.4) paid to Causse by the Select Body on May 18, 1789, "a balance due from the time he commenced to serve the congregations of Lancaster." (Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 69.)

purposes, as we are all confident that he will by his good Example in a very short time Collect the Flock again together, which has in some Measure through Neglect gone astray within this 15 months past . . . Should it be still your determination to have the said Mr. Cresler [*Graessl*] appointed against our will, we beg leave humbly to request that you will be pleased to leave us the Rev. Mr. Heilbron, Junr. here, whom we will support in all necessities at our own Expense . . .”⁵ What part Father John Heilbron (or Helbron, as the name is sometimes spelled) had in this declaration of independence is difficult to say. The project of the separatists continued, however, and at the house of Adam Premir a subscription was launched for the new Church. The ground was purchased by Adam Premir on February 21, 1788, and two days later, Premir, as “President of the Society of Germans,” wrote to Carroll, disclaiming any other reason for their action than the good of souls. Carroll replied on March 3, 1788, upholding the right of the prefect-apostolic alone to promote priests to pastoral charges in this country. The actual building of the church was begun on March 31, 1788, and in April the leaders wrote to Carroll asking him to come to Philadelphia to lay the cornerstone of Holy Trinity Church, as the new edifice was to be called. Dr. Carroll was unwilling to go to Philadelphia for the ceremony; and gave authority to any one of the priests in Philadelphia to lay the cornerstone. This ceremony took place on May 29, 1788, with Father John Baptist Causse and the two Fathers Heilbron present. Carroll’s letters show that he had accepted the assurances of the German leaders that peace and unity in the Catholic ranks of Philadelphia should be preserved.⁶ They now proceeded to elect a pastor, and on March 22, 1789, Father John Heilbron was elected to that post. Both Causse and Graessl were candidates and the result of this unique election gave Heilbron 75 votes, Causse 12, and Graessl 5. The result was announced by letter to Father Carroll on the same day. Basing their action upon the old canonical right of patronage, they believed, and no doubt with honesty, that having built the church

⁵ The story of this phase of the schism at Holy Trinity Church has been set forth in a thoroughly documented way by GRIFFIN, in the *Records*, vol. xxi, pp. 1-45. (Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 12-13.)

⁶ Cf. *Records*, vol. xxi, pp. 1-45 (originals in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-N1-4).



BISHOP MICHAEL EGAN

out of their own resources and assuring the pastor of maintenance, they had the right to elect their own spiritual chief. Carroll, naturally, could not agree to this novelty in his prefecture, and he refused to accept Heilbron's election. A letter to Carroll from Father John Charles, dated Philadelphia, October 8, 1789, showed a good spirit, for Heilbron averred that he would never be "anywhere placed as an officiating clergyman without submission and dependence to the Ecclesiastical Superiority." Nevertheless, Heilbron imprudently exercised parochial functions in the church, and was given peremptory orders from Dr. Carroll that he would be suspended unless he acknowledged the prefect's authority. This he did, signing a document to that effect, and Carroll then accepted him as pastor of the new church. The trustees, however, showed fight for a time, on the ground that they could not "under any consideration cede those Rights so gracefully granted by our Dear Mother in promoting religion in particular in this country." Peace came finally on January 6, 1790, when Bishop-elect Carroll came to Holy Trinity to administer Confirmation.⁷ The following year Father John Heilbron left for Europe in order to solicit alms for the completion of Holy Trinity Church. In August, 1791, he applied to Bishop Carroll to have his brother Peter appointed *locum tenens* during his absence, and Father Peter assumed the pastorate on September 3, 1791. Carroll gladly gave permission to John to leave, hoping that he would not return. Nothing was further heard of him, and it is supposed that he was a victim of the French Revolution. For the next five years, the situation of the Church in Philadelphia was a satisfactory one. As an example of the difficulties, which seemed to multiply with the years, Dr. Carroll had to fear the effect upon Antonelli and the other officials at Rome of such misguided explanations of these revolts against his authority as that contained in Smyth's *Present State*.⁸

Father Peter Heilbron was assisted in 1793 by the Rev. Lawrence Phelan, and everything appeared to be going well under their administration until July, 1796, when there arrived in Philadelphia from Austria a "trouble-breeder, intriguer, an interloper, the hireling," Rev. John N. Goetz, who presented himself

⁷ *Records*, vol. xxi, pp. 29-30.

⁸ For the draft of Bishop Carroll's reply to Smyth, cf. *ibid.*, l. c., pp. 30-31.

to Bishop-elect Neale at Philadelphia, asking permission to exercise his priestly duties at Holy Trinity Church.⁹ He was accordingly appointed assistant to Father Peter Heilbron, and was so elected by the trustees. The subordinate position hardly tallied with Goetz's opinion of his own worth, and he protested that nothing less than equal pastoral rights would satisfy him. A breach ensued, the congregation being soon divided into two factions. On September 28, 1796, the trustees passed twenty-six resolutions that are models for lay effrontery and ignorance. Father Peter Heilbron wisely refused to accept them, and the trustees then deposed him (October 14, 1796) from the pastorate, appointing Goetz in his place. The city soon learned of the bitter dispute these outrageous proceedings had caused, and after being informed by Bishop-elect Neale of the sad condition of affairs in Holy Trinity Parish, Bishop Carroll warned the rebellious trustees that they and Goetz ran the grave danger of excommunication. Goetz was joined at this time by another "trouble-breeder," Father William Elling, who had already given Bishop Carroll much concern at Lancaster and Goshenhoppen. On December 8, 1796, Bishop-elect Neale published a *Pastoral to the German Catholics frequenting Holy Trinity Church in Philadelphia*, in the hope of averting the coming schism:

Dearest Brethren,

It is with the greatest concern I see the very agitated and disorganized state of Trinity Church; and the more especially as I have been ever studious to promote its interest, welfare and respectability, both by removing from the minds of my own people all animosity and unfavourable impressions in your regard, and also by restoring that cordial and fraternal intercourse between the Pastors of the two Churches, which had unfortunately been too long interrupted. You cannot have forgotten the period when I appeared in your Church in public testimony of restored peace and harmony. You yourselves as well as other well-disposed brethren, felt the happy effect and mutually congratulated each other on the occasion.

Indeed, so happy a union of Parties could not fail of exhilarating both your and my feelings, as it reflected respectability on the body of Catholics at large, and held forth the fairest prospect of promoting the grand cause of religion.—But, alas! . . . How soon did these auspicious appearances vanish! . . . Scarcely was peace restored without, when you burst into internal rebellion. But against whom did you rebel? . . . Against

⁹ HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

your lawful and esteemed Pastor . . . against your Diocesan Bishop . . . nay, and even against your Mother the Church. . . . But how? 1st. Against your Pastor by expelling him in a most humiliating manner from the Church where he had officiated for five years, both to your satisfaction and the edification of the public.—2dly. Against your Bishop, by refusing to abide by his decision, by openly rejecting his authority and jurisdiction; and 3dly. Against your Mother the Church, by uniting with and patronizing the unfortunate, the unhappy Priest, Goetz, who under the heavy weight of ecclesiastical censure, even a total suspension from all Priestly Functions, continues to add profanation to sacrilege, by a prohibited celebration of Holy Mass, and an unauthorized administration of the Sacraments.

But you will say, that your Pastor was turned off for refusing to subscribe to the regulations of the Trustees.—To which I answer, as those regulations included many things totally distinct from the temporalities of the Church, he did right, he acted the part of a true and genuine Pastor, in refusing to subscribe to them; and his conduct, in that particular, merited not only your approbation, but also your firmest support.—Let us however for a moment suppose that you were really aggrieved by his conduct.—Why then did you not apply to his superior, the Bishop, whose conscience was charged to redress the grievance? Why did you arrogate to yourselves the power of discarding him? Who gave you this power? Or has the Catholic Church in any case whatever, acknowledged in the laity a power of discharging their lawful Pastors at will? No. She neither has, nor ever will.—But you will say that you were authorized to act as you did by a title termed *Jus Patronatus*.—Ah! my brethren, and it is thus you expose yourselves to the laughter and pity of a discerning public, by spouting forth terms, which you understand not, and repeating the reveries of an illiterate and factious LEADER, who will never reflect honour on you? The truth is, you have no *Jus Patronatus*: You can have none, because your Church has no FIXED, PERMANENT and UNALIENABLE fund for the support of a Pastor. Such is the doctrine of the Council of Trent: and therefore Doctor Carroll in his letter to me on this subject dated 11th of October, 1796, speaks thus: “Their pretended *jus patronatus*, must be resolutely resisted, and is absolutely untenable.”—Besides, though you really possessed the *jus patronatus*, it would entitle you merely to present, and not to appoint or discharge your Pastor. For according to the practice and doctrine of the Catholic Church, from the Apostles’ days down to the present time, all Pastors are appointed by their respective Bishops, without whose concurrence and approbation they can have neither *mission* nor *jurisdiction*. And therefore, to assert and obstinately maintain the contrary, would be Schismatical and Heretical.—The sentiments of our Bishop Doctor Carroll, on this subject, will appear from his letter to me bearing date 20th of Oct. 1796, which is as follows: “You call for my opinion and directions on the contents of your alarming letter of the 15th and 16th instant.—My opinion is obvious; viz. that the proceedings of Goetz and his adherents, are schismatical and

deserving every censure, even the highest which the Church can inflict: and that the man, who can put himself at the head of such a party so soon after getting footing in the country, must be a man of most turbulent and unprincipled disposition. My farther opinion is, that unless the poor misled Germans can be undeceived and reclaimed soon, they and their church will shortly be separated from the Catholic communion, as *those of them already are* who have excited and fomented this rebellion; and Goetz in particular, who with his better knowledge, has gone into so outrageous a breach of episcopal authority in those points which are purely spiritual, and entirely unmixed with any thing of a temporal nature. And on this account it becomes necessary to proceed with every act of vigour against him. Wherefore you did right to signify to him a total suspension *a divinis*: And as there is too much reason to apprehend that he will disregard the suspension, and act in violation of it, it will be proper to have it published in such manner, as is sufficient to caution all concerned from attending his ministry, or partaking in his sacrilegious administration of the Sacraments. If you find it necessary to publish his suspension in the face of your congregation, you have my approbation." And again, in another letter dated November 24th, he says: "If ever there were cause for excommunication against any one, Goetz, the trustees, and Elling, deserve it." Thus far Doctor Carroll.

Now, my brethren, from all that has been said, you may form a just idea of the situation in which you stand.—You have at your head an unfortunate priest, who cannot offer the sacrifice of Mass without sacrilege, who cannot administer the Sacraments without profanation; who cannot absolve with any validity; who acts in open opposition to, and defiance of, his Bishop, whom he is bound by oath to obey; and finally, who, in the judgment of his Bishop, has by his misconduct separated himself from the communion of the Catholic Church. . . . And will you unite with him in his unwarrantable proceedings? Will you communicate with him in his sacrilegious profanations? Will you support him in his obstinate contumacy against the authority of his Church? . . . To do so would be to place yourselves in the same predicament with him; to render yourselves equally guilty with him; and finally to separate yourselves from your Church equally with him.—Ah! . . . Can you bear the idea? What? . . . To be separated from the Catholic Church! Is it possible that you should have come to this determination? And still such infallibly must be the case, if you persist to adhere to, and patronize that unhappy man. For the Catholic Church, which is as immovable in her doctrines as the Rock upon which she was built, cannot long contain within her bosom those her deluded children, who obstinately fix themselves in opposition to her decisions. She, indeed, like a tender mother, alarms them by her cries, and solicits them to return to their duty. But if they obstinately resist her motherly call and pressing solicitations . . . Oh . . . then, though reluctantly, she will, nay, she must raise her melancholy voice, to pronounce the sentence of separation. . . .

But still, I cannot entertain the idea of your desiring to be separated

from the Catholic Church. I still persuade myself that your departure from duty has arisen, not so much from malice, as from misrepresentation, and an undue influence of a designing and corrupt party. I still persuade myself, that, being now called on by the Church, through me, though an unworthy instrument, you will by a speedy return to your duty, convince the world that your deviation was merely human, and that you deem it honourable to correct your error, as soon as you are rendered sensible to it. That the Father of Mercies may enlighten your minds, and dispose your wills to this happy effect, is the most earnest prayer of

Your sincere friend, and Humble Servant in Christ,

LEON^d. NEALE, Vic. Gen.

*Philadelphia, Dec. 8, 1796.*¹⁰

By the end of the year, however, Goetz was in open schism, and after vainly striving to bring the trustees to a saner counsel, Bishop Carroll addressed (February 22, 1797) a Pastoral Letter *To my beloved brethren of the Congregation of Trinity Church, Philadelphia*, exhorting them to unity:

Your peace and union, my dear Brethren, have been disturbed for some time past, by a daring invasion of the sacred and purely spiritual authority transmitted by Christ to his Apostles, and their Successors in the Apostolical ministry. Though the occasion was sufficiently important and alarming, yet I deferred till the present time to address myself *immediately* to you; still hoping, that the violent breach of the laws of the Church, which originated, as I knew, with a few only, would be soon disavowed by your almost general voice. It was not difficult to persuade myself of this; for I relied much on the sincerity of your attachment to your religion, to the faith you received in Baptism and which you have cherished ever since in your hearts. But my expectations have proved vain: some of you have supported the usurpation, and deserted the pastor, who, to use the language of the Saviour of Mankind, *entered by the door into the sheepfold*, and have delivered themselves up a prey to him, whose intrusion has all the marks attributed by Christ to a *hireling*, not entering *by the door with the fold*, but as a *thief and a robber*. . . . Some months ago, the clergyman, who is the chief author of all this evil, arrived in the United States: according to the regular and established usage of our Church, he exhibited to the Vicar-General, at Philadelphia, the certificates of his ordination, and others respecting his conduct and manners; and he wrote to me, *most humbly requesting*, to use the expressions of his letter of July 28, 1796, *to be admitted into the diocese, and to be allowed to exercise priestly functions, in Trinity Church, at Philadelphia, solemnly promising—that he would so diligently acquit himself of the sacerdotal*

¹⁰ From printed copy in *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-V3.

duties which might be committed to him, as to render himself worthy of further favours.

Dr. Carroll then recounts the different stages of Goetz's insubordination, and lays special stress on the new element brought into American life by the schismatics—namely, the declaration on the part of the trustees of their independence of Rome and of the bishops appointed by Rome, on the plea that the hierarchy represented a *foreign jurisdiction*. The fatal consequences of the action of the trustees is then accurately set forth, and Carroll concludes with an appeal to all the malcontents to obey the spiritual authority of the Church.

As this revolt against the lawful authority of your ecclesiastical superiors was begun without any pretense of injury, or a single cause of complaint, ever made known to me; and as I am conscious to myself of feeling every disposition, not only of good-will, but of tender solicitude to promote the welfare and respectability of your congregation, and the increase in all godliness; so I cherish the hope, that a sense of religion towards God, of due submission to the rightful authority of his ministers, an attachment to revealed truths, and an awful horror of the guilt of schism and apostasy, will revive in all hearts and banish out of them discord and disobedience, and bring back again the pleasing prospects of extending the reign of Jesus Christ in truth and holiness.¹¹

When this appeal failed, he excommunicated Goetz and Elling; the first for having the erroneous doctrine that "the power of ecclesiastical ministry and government is derived to pastors from the community or congregation of the people"; the second for having "disregarded his suspension," and for daring "profanely to administer the Sacraments and even to offer up the great Christian sacrifice, thus adding sacrilegious aggravation to his other guilt."¹²

The schismatics now made common cause with another German disturber of the peace—Father Reuter, in Baltimore. Goetz was dismissed for other reasons by the trustees and disappeared, but Elling continued the schism in spite of the decree of excommunication. The following year, 1798, Bishop Carroll came to

¹¹ Printed copy in *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-W2. This pastoral was printed from a rare copy, by Archbishop Maréchal, in 1820 (copy in Catholic University of America Library, 268.3:P.293); printed also in *Records*, vol. xxiii, pp. 102-114.

¹² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-V6; printed in *Records*, vol. xxiii, pp. 114-116.

Philadelphia to bring concord to the distracted parish and was arrested on complaint of the trustees. He was brought into court "to hear from your lawyers," he writes to Oellers, one of the schismatical ringleaders, on November 17, 1801, "the foulest abuse of our Church, its laws, doctrines, and government, Pope and Holy Council of Trent, etc., as if they had ransacked all Protestant libraries to defame it. You, with others, were present, without attempting to moderate the rancor of their invectives. On that occasion your counsel denied on your behalf that I was your Bishop, saying that Trinity Church was out of my jurisdiction."¹³

Reuter had meanwhile gone to Rome to petition for the erection of a German diocese with a German bishop in the United States.

The trustees of Holy Trinity still maintained their rebellion against Bishop Carroll, even after the excommunication of the two clergymen, "but their supporters were dwindling away or growing lax in their allegiance, for men who had rebelled against authority are not apt to be submissive to the usurper. The better-minded among the people had grown weary of their anomalous position of a Catholic congregation cut off from the Catholic Church and banned by their fellow-Catholics. No doubt the hopelessness of securing their unreasonable demands for independence had much to do with bringing the schism to a close. At any rate negotiations were entered into to bring about the restoration of the congregation to Catholic unity."¹⁴ There was no longer any doubt to all concerned that so far as John Carroll was concerned, the incident was closed. Submission to his spiritual authority alone would restore the congregation to Church unity, as he told Thomas FitzSimons, Philadelphia's leading Catholic layman, when the latter tried to make peace. The trustees made overtures to Carroll in November, 1801, and Dr. Carroll commissioned his vicar-general, Dr. Carr, O. S. A., to treat with the insurgents. On November 30, 1801, James Oellers, secretary to the trustees, wrote to Bishop Carroll asking for a "speedy reconciliation."¹⁵ Dr. Carroll agreed to the terms

¹³ Cf. HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁴ KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-W8; cf. HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

proposed by Oellers, except in one particular: the formal submission of Father Elling to his episcopal authority. Dr. Carr was not successful in persuading the unhappy priest to submit to his bishop, as we learn from Elling's letter to Carroll, dated December 1, 1801:

Right Rev. and dear Sir:

I was extremely pleased, when a few days ago your favour of November 18 and 19 was handed to me, in which you mentioned that you had commissioned Revd. Mr. Carr to receive proposals at a reunion between you and us at Holy Trinity Church. Mr. Carr and I met together yesterday at Mr. Primer's, and after a mutual communication of opinions, I told Mr. Carr that in my opinion the only one and most peaceable way of effecting a reunion would be:

1. to bury into everlasting oblivion all kinds of animosities occasioned by the unhappy differences beginning in the year 1796, and lasting till this day
2. to withdraw all law suits. And then
3. to transact everything as it was done *ante dissidium*.

If you will not disturb the congregation of Holy Trinity in the exercise of their rights, which they claim as free and independent citizens, subject to nothing but the laws of God and the land where they live, on which account they surely have the same power of choosing and rejecting what other most Christian, most Catholic, most Apostolic, and most faithful nations or their kings and parliaments have chosen or rejected; if you let them enjoy their rights, then they will never fall out with you, they will love and revere you. I am sure they will then not hesitate to present me to you as the object of their choice to be their pastor and all things will be done with the greatest harmony, and edification. May the Lord of peace dwell in your heart and all will be at once settled. I remain with the highest veneration.

*Right Revd. and dear Sir,
Yr. m. o. h. Servt.,*

WM. ELLING.

P. S.—Very often I would have written to you these five years, but I always apprehended that you would not like to enter into any correspondence with me, but Mr. Carr encouraged me, by saying if not I myself would communicate to you these proposals, which I asked him to transmit to you [*sic*] ¹⁸

The following day (December 2, 1801), Dr. Carr informed Carroll that "the pleasing prospect of reuniting the Germans of Holy Trinity had vanished. Nothing will meet their ideas, but what you never will concede. At Elling's particular request, I

¹⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 11B-W9.*

had an interview with him in the presence of Premir, after several amicable conversations with Oellers; the result of all is that if you leave them to go on as in 1795 and 1796, and allow them hereafter to nominate a clergyman, they will become your dutiful children. . . . Everything must be left in *Statu Ante*.”¹⁷ Further reflection, however, led the trustees to the realization that Carroll would never sacrifice the principle of non-interference in the sanctuary, and in January of the next year, the trustees submitted. Elling agreed to sign a form of submission, which he did on January 28, 1802, and these documents Carr sent to Baltimore on February 2, 1802.¹⁸ Elling had written to Dr. Carroll (January 6, 1802): “I shall always acknowledge in you my Common Father and Bishop, so as I did formerly. . . . I ask you one thousand times pardon, my dear Sir. . . . Was it not winter, I would have immediately gone to see you at Baltimore.”¹⁹ The church was reconciled by Dr. Carr, and all censures were removed from Father Elling, who was then appointed pastor of Holy Trinity by Bishop Carroll. Thus ended the first schism in the Church of the United States. Father Elling resigned the pastorate of Trinity Church on October 25, 1806. He remained in Philadelphia for several years; probably he went to New Orleans, but later returned to the scene of his former labours, and died in Philadelphia, on April 2, 1811.²⁰

Bishop Carroll then appointed one of the priests who had come to America for the purpose of reëstablishing the Society of Jesus, Rev. Adam Britt, S. J., to the pastorate of Trinity. It is highly interesting to find Britt writing on August 31, 1807, that he needs an assistant who can speak English, since so many of the Germans who make up his congregation have forgotten their mother-tongue: “Et omnino necessarius est aliquis propter Germanos complures qui cum a Germanis hic nati descendunt linguae patriae obliti, non nisi Anglicam fere loquuntur, et tamen in eadem quam frequentant ecclesia confiteri cuperent, et etiam concio-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Case 11B-W10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Case 11B-W13; printed in HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Case 11B-W11.

²⁰ Father Thorpe had advised Carroll (September 15, 1790) when Elling was planning to go out to America, that he “has an itch for rambling,” and warned him that the man was a malcontent. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-K10.)

nantem Anglice audire.”²¹ Father Kohlmann was the first to be sent to Philadelphia for this purpose, and later Father Patrick Kenny was appointed by Bishop-elect Egan, as “English Pastor.” As a priest, Father Britt was subject to his immediate superior, Father Charles Neale, and it was Britt’s removal from Trinity in January, 1811, which precipitated the last phase of Carroll’s difficulties with the restored Society and ultimately brought about Neale’s deposition by the Father-General.

Father Michael Egan, the future Bishop of Philadelphia, who had been appointed pastor of the neighbouring congregation of St. Mary’s on April 12, 1803, was chosen by Carroll to be Philadelphia’s first bishop, and his election on May 24, 1808, separated Pennsylvania, Delaware and West Jersey from Baltimore and constituted the third of the new dioceses. Michael Egan was born in Ireland, 1761. At an early age he entered the Franciscan Order, and advanced so rapidly that in his twenty-sixth year he was appointed Guardian of St. Isidore’s, Rome. Three years later (1791), he was sent to Ireland, and after labouring there for a short time, came to America with the double purpose of assisting in the scattered missions and of establishing a Province of the Franciscan Order in this country. It was at St. Mary’s that the letter of May 24, 1808, from Propaganda, announcing his election to the newly-created See of Philadelphia reached him. Archbishop Carroll described him at the time as a man of about fifty, endowed with all the qualities necessary for the proper discharge of the functions of the episcopate. Bishop Egan was never very robust; his experience was not a wide one; and a greater degree of firmness in his disposition might have bettered conditions during his episcopate. He was a learned, modest and humble priest who maintained the spirit of his Order during his whole life. Cardinal di Pietro, Prefect of Propaganda, in his official appointment advised Bishop Egan to begin immediately after his consecration a Visitation of his large diocese, in order that all bad customs might be corrected, abuses abolished, and the priests encouraged to perform their duties zealously (*ut naviter sua munera sequantur*). He was especially warned against allowing his clergy to be too lenient in administering the Sacrament of

²¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 2-A10.*

Penance and he himself to neglect nothing that would tend towards the peace and tranquillity of the Republic.²²

During the two years' delay before his consecration (October 28, 1810), the trustees of St. Mary's, then the cathedral church, welcomed (November 24, 1808) an assistant to Bishop Egan in the person of the eloquent Dominican, Rev. William Vincent Harold. Father Harold had come to New York in 1808, hoping to find Bishop Concanen already installed there and expecting to be assigned to parochial work in that diocese. He came well recommended by Archbishop Troy, and the trustees of St. Mary's elected him to that church as assistant-pastor with the bishop-elect and Father John Rossiter. On December 3, 1808, Harold's arrival was joyfully announced by Egan to Dr. Carroll:

Rev. Sir:

When the good and worthy Rev. Mr. Byrne arrived here in N. York, on his way to Georgetown, I endeavoured to prevail on him to remain with me during the winter and he seeing how very much I wanted an assistant, consented to remain, provided His Lordship the Bishop had no objections. He had preached and given public instructions during Advent very much to his honour as well as edification and spiritual advantage of the congregation, and now as another Rev. gentleman is arrived, who can supply his place, he wishes to go to Georgetown as he originally intended. Whenever he goes I shall always consider myself very much indebted to him. The Rev. gentleman who is to supply the good Mr. Byrne's place here, is a Rev. Mr. Harold of the Dominican Order, just arrived from Dublin with strong recommendations from Doctor Troy and the Provincial of his Order. I have also received letters from Ireland in which he is mentioned in a very favourable light as a gentleman of good sense and most excellent conduct. He heard in Ireland, long before the news had reached America, of the appointment of the new Bishops and came with the intention of fixing in N. York where he thought Dr. Concanen was already arrived. But finding that city well provided with Clergymen, and hearing of my situation and how much I wanted an assistant, he arrived last Saturday in Philadelphia and offered me his services which I joyfully accepted. He preached yesterday at St. Mary's and gave general satisfaction, so much so indeed that the trustees and several others came to congratulate with me on having so able an assistant. As there are some doubts of my jurisdiction as Bishop, as the authentic documents for the establishment of the new See are not yet received, I have given him the requisite faculties as the Bishop's V. G., and hope my so doing will meet his Lordship's approba-

²² *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 294, f. 11.

tion. His arrival is very providential, as Mr. Rossiter continues in a feeble state, and I will gain fresh strength and health by having his assistance.

Prayers were offered up yesterday in all the R. C. Churches of the city for the repose of the soul of the Rev. and much lamented Mr. Molyneux and next Thursday there will be a Solemn Requiem at St. Mary's for the same purpose. I am with profound respect your

Most humble Serv't

MICHAEL EGAN.²³

Father William Vincent Harold accompanied Bishop Egan to Baltimore for the consecrations (October 28-November 4, 1810), and the brilliant Dominican's sermon at the consecration of Bishop Cheverus was by far the best delivered in this country up to that time. On Bishop Egan's return to Philadelphia towards the end of the year 1810, there occurred the first of a long series of misunderstandings and quarrels between the trustees of St. Mary's Church, the pro-Cathedral at that time, and episcopal authority in Philadelphia. The story has been told so often and with such largess of detail that only those aspects of the local history in which Archbishop Carroll played a part are here necessary. Harold first came into conflict with the trustees over the amount of his salary; his overbearing attitude towards the gentlemen who made up the Board aroused some to question the proprietary right of Bishop Egan and the clergy over the Church itself. This, in another form, was the same vital question which had alienated the Church of the Holy Trinity.²⁴

There came about this time (March, 1811) to Philadelphia a priest who "was destined to play an important part in the history of Philadelphia, as a source of scandal and disruption,"²⁵—the Rev. James Harold, uncle of Father William Vincent. James Harold was parish priest of Saggart in Ireland in 1798, when he was transported to Botany Bay by the English Government, on suspicion of being concerned in the political movement of that year. In 1810, he obtained permission to go to America, and he

²³ *Catholic Archives of America*, Notre Dame University, printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 123-124.

²⁴ The property was originally deeded to Father Harding and his heirs. Harding transferred the property to Father John Lewis; Lewis, to Molyneux; and Molyneux, to Father Francis Neale, S.J., who deeded it to Bishop Conwell, on November 7, 1825. (Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 363-364.)

²⁵ KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

was welcomed by Bishop Egan, since Father John Rossiter of St. Mary's was then in ill-health.²⁶ James Harold was chosen as a trustee of the Church, and his nephew was appointed by Bishop Egan vicar-general of the diocese.²⁷ Kirlin has well said: "The installing of the two Harolds in power seems to have been the signal for the beginning of the trouble," which broke out after Bishop Egan's return from his Visitation of the diocese in the late summer of 1811.²⁸

The Church in Pennsylvania outside the limits of Philadelphia possessed a venerable history and tradition.²⁹ The chief centres of Catholic life were the districts around Loretto, where the prince-priest, Gallitzin, was stationed; and around Lancaster, Conewago, and Pittsburgh. The Catholic history of Pittsburgh, one of the first of the second series of dioceses created in the United States (1843), goes back to the days of the French occupation of Fort Duquesne, the present site of that city. Mr. Felix Hughes came to Baltimore in 1784 to solicit the establishment of a parish there from the prefect-apostolic, and in the long list of missionaries who laboured there from that time down to Bishop Egan's visit are found the names of the celebrated Carmelite,

²⁶ Egan to Carroll, March 16, 1811, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-H6.

²⁷ Cf. *Records*, vol. xxi, pp. 93-94.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 199-200. Egan had not been very prudent in the interim, while the diocese was awaiting the official documents for his consecration. Carr wrote to Carroll (April 16, 1809) that Egan was causing anxiety by assuming the authority of an ordinary bishop (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-19).

²⁹ "When the see of Philadelphia was established, there were in Philadelphia St. Joseph's and St. Mary's churches, attended by Rev. Michael Egan, O.S.F., the Bishop-elect, assisted by Rev. John Rossiter; Holy Trinity, attended by Rev. William Elling and Fr. Adam Britt; St. Augustine's, by V. Rev. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., and Rev. M. Hurley, O.S.A. Holy Trinity had by a successful lottery in 1806 erected a parsonage and St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, the first institution of its kind erected by Catholics in the United States. Rev. Louis de Barth attended at Lancaster and Conewago; Rev. Paul Erntsen had begun in 1793 his quarter century pastorate at Goshenhoppen; Rev. S. V. Phelan had reared a log church at Sugar Creek, and Father Peter Heilbron, O. Min. Cap., another log chapel in Westmoreland County; Rev. Demetrius A. Gallitzin was laboring in the district of which Loretto was the centre, and Rev. W. F. O'Brien had just left Brownsville to restore to a permanent footing Catholicity in Pittsburgh, where in the days of the French the brave men who so gallantly strove to hold that point knelt before the altar of Our Lady. There were a few churches without resident priests, as at Elizabethtown, Westchester, Carlisle, and not a few stations scattered far and wide. Such was the diocese over which the mild and humble Franciscan was called to exercise his pastoral care, create resources to meet ever-increasing wants, and instill into all the lessons of harmony and peace." (SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 209-210); cf. SENER, *The Church at Lancaster*, in the *Records*, vol. v, pp. 307-356; GANSS, *History of St. Patrick's Church, Carlisle*, *ibid.*, vol. vi, pp. 266-422.

Father Paul de St. Pierre; the Capuchin, Charles Whelan, who had been so badly treated in New York City by his brother religious, Nugent; Flaget, who visited Pittsburgh in 1792; Fathers Badin and Barrières (1793); Father Michael Fournier (1796-1797); Father Theodore Brouwers, who became the first resident priest in 1790; and Father Peter Heilbron, who retired to Pittsburgh in 1799, when the schismatics of Holy Trinity Church dismissed him. The Rev. William F. X. O'Brien, who had been ordained at Baltimore on June 11, 1808, came to Pittsburgh as resident pastor (1811-1820), and began the erection of the church known as "Old St. Patrick's." This church was dedicated by Bishop Egan in August, 1811.³⁰ The little community known as Maguire's Settlement, and later as Loretto, where Prince Gallitzin began his long and faithful career of missionary, was visited by Bishop Egan, who confirmed there some two hundred Catholics.³¹ He visited also Lancaster where Father Beschter was then stationed.

On his return to Philadelphia in October, 1811, Bishop Egan found himself very weak, and, in the presence of the priests, he informed them that his physician strongly recommended him not to preach for a time, owing to a weakness of the chest.³² The Harolds refused to accept his request that they preach on alternate Sundays, so as to save his strength. The bishop was so hurt by this action that he endeavoured to persuade Father James Harold and Father William F. X. O'Brien to change places. Pittsburgh had no attractions, however, for the turbulent Irishman, and Bishop Carroll could not persuade him to accept the appointment. On October 8, 1811, Bishop Egan wrote to Dr. Carroll, expressing his satisfaction in the progress of the Faith he had witnessed during the three months of his Visitation. He had administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to about 1460 persons in the different congregations he visited.

The first sign of the coming scandalous condition of affairs in Philadelphia appeared in a Circular Letter of August 22, 1812,

³⁰ Cf. LAMBING, *History of the Diocese of Pittsburgh*. Pittsburgh, 1889.

³¹ *Souvenir of Loretto Centenary*, pp. 216-218. Loretto, 1899.

³² As early as October 3, 1805, Father Brosius wrote to Carroll from Philadelphia that Dr. Egan was apparently suffering from tuberculosis. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-B6.)

signed by Bishop Egan, and the two Harolds, protesting against the non-payment of their salaries.

A letter from one of the leading Catholic laymen, one of the trustees of St. Mary's, John Carrell, dated Baltimore, September 15, 1812, to Archbishop Carroll, tells us of the effect of this Circular Letter:

Most Rev. Sir:

I greatly regret that I have twice this Summer, missed the pleasure of meeting you here. I have now brought my son William to place him at the College. The trustees of St. Mary's Church requested me to present to you the inclosed pamphlet and to explain to you more fully than it does, the causes that led to the fatal disunion which unfortunately prevails in that congregation, which has heretofore been remarkable for peace, unity and liberality in support of the Church and Clergy.

The address of the Clergy being circulated here and elsewhere, the Trustees are desirous their answers to it should have a co-extensive circulation, to remove the unfavourable impression that would otherwise prevail against them, where they are not known; to you, Revd. Sir, most of them are personally known. I have long served the Church with them, and I believe their motives to be as pure, as disinterested at least, as those of their accusers. There is besides the papers now sent you, a protest against the proceedings of the meeting, signed by a great number of the most respectable pewholders, and in circulation for more, when I left the City. I was present at the meeting, and was grieved at the shameful disorder and tyrannical conduct that prevailed there, and moved for a postponement, to give the Trustees time to vindicate themselves, this was opposed violently by some of the Clergy, and denied; I endeavored to remonstrate against this act of injustice, and was several times threatened to be knocked down, by some of the fellows who were placed in different parts of the house, to intimidate everyone that ventured to speak in behalf of the Trustees, my life was threatened by an Irish porter. Mr. Carey, Mr. Byrnes, my brother and several other gentlemen were also insulted, the friends of the Trustees had to quit the meeting, and leave it to themselves to avoid bloodshed; there was a set of fellows collected, as infuriate as your Baltimore mob, and as keen for blood if they had an opportunity; most of the Trustees had received letters, threatening their lives, and the burning of their property, one of them had five such letters. Is the cause of the Clergy to be supported by such means as these! The Trustees and their friends are not to be intimidated by such conduct, they are determined to pursue all lawful and honorable means, in order to prevent the affairs of the Church going into the hands of the Men, whom the Messrs. Harold have selected as their creatures. The causes alleged in the address are only made use of, to inflame the minds of the people against the Trustees, in order to remove them and put in Men, who are mostly of a class

to be dreaded in any society, violent Jacobins, and nearly strangers amongst us and however subservient they may be at present, to the views of those gentlemen, will injure the Church and in the end tyrannize over the Clergy and people; should they succeed most of the respectable members will leave the Church. I was twenty-three years a Trustee, and for more than 20 years of that time, was honoured with the confidence and friendship of all the Clergy, and of my colleagues; the business was always conducted with harmony, until the Revd. W. V. Harold entered the board, when he immediately opposed all former rules of conducting the business that did not accord with his will, he found in me a steady opposer of his innovations. When the Church was about to be enlarged, I differed in opinion with my colleagues to the manner of opening the Subscriptions, I thought the rights of the old Pewholders were unjustly sacrificed to accommodate the new subscribers (this I could clearly demonstrate to you was the case). Mr. Harold took advantage of this to remove me from the trust, and secretly employed every measure to prevent my election, by aspersing my character and even sending his Tickets out by the Newscarrriers the morning of the election; I was not apprized of this until just before the election, when some of my friends called on me and wished to take measures to defeat him, I refused to permit it. I was at first put into the board without my knowledge, and continued in it since without ever having solicited a vote, and had no desire to serve with Men I could not agree with. I had for several years before been desirous to quit the trust, but remained in it at earnest request of Dr. Egan and Mr. Rossiter. Whilst the Church was building, Mr. Harold flattered the members of the trust, as they very liberally devoted their time and money for that purpose; but no sooner was it finished than he began to turn them out by degrees, and to put his creatures in their places, the old members who were re-elected refused to serve with those he put in, the consequence was that the whole proceedings of last year were illegal, some of the board not being citizens they could not form a board as required by our laws. The whole of the old members, with the addition of my brother Edward, were elected last Easter since when Mr. Harold has been constantly at variance with them, and I firmly believe there never will be peace in the Church whilst him and his Uncle remain there, they ought not to have been appointed Pastors of the Church; the secret manner in which the former left Ireland leaves room to suspect that his conduct was as turbulent there as it has been here and they were glad to get rid of him, we know that Clergymen of abilities cannot easily get leave to come here. As to the latter, I refer you to Sir. Rich'd Musgraves hist. of the rebellion in Ireland, for an account of his conduct there, and to "Wonders of Nature and Art" published lately in Philadelphia by Dr. Mease, in 10th Vol. Pages 59 and 62 for a sketch of his conduct in Botany Bay, from which he was afterwards exiled to an Island for his misconduct, and I am sorry to say that his conduct since he has been in Philadelphia fully confirms these statements; are

"such Men as these" fit Pastors for St. Mary's Church? When they taking advantage of Dr. Egan's timidity and love of peace tyrannized over him and his family, he threatened to put Revd. J. Harold away he defied him and told him he had ten friends in the Congregation where the Bishop had one, and gave him abusive language; this I know from the best authority and Dr. Egan told me himself a week after the quarrel that he had not then recovered from the effect it had on him. I strongly urged him to remove him and try to get over his Cousin—he said it was his intention to do so—but he has since said that he could not remove Mr. H., in fact he cannot do anything they will not approve of. I am Most Revd. Sir, your devoted son,

JOHN CARRELL.³³

Bishop Egan's interpretation of the quarrel is contained in a letter to Archbishop Carroll, dated September 28, 1812:

Most Rev. Sir:

It is painful to me to be under the necessity of writing to the Archbishop on any subject that could for the moment give him the least uneasiness. I think it however my duty to inform him that the unfriendly dispositions, and I may say hostile spirit manifested by the Trustees of St. Mary's against their clergy since their election into office, and a just apprehension of consequences injurious to Religion if they were permitted to proceed in their designs without meeting any opposition on our part induced me to call a meeting of the pewholders at the school-room on the 24 of Aug. where Resolutions were passed disapproving the conduct of the present board of Trustees. I believe I have no occasion to inform the Archbishop with what extreme reluctance I had recourse to this measure. But there was no alternative. Every conciliatory expedient was previously tried in order to redress the grievances we complained of. A respectable Person of the Congregation was deputed to them, for that person, even Charles Johnson, a Member of the Board, but who declined having anything further to do in their designs, was informed by us of our intention to call the congregation and allowed full liberty to communicate this our information to the Trustees, but all to no purpose. I did hope that after the Congregation had expressed their disapprobation of their conduct in so public and unequivocal a manner, they would remain quiet, and give no further trouble, but in these expectations I have been unhappily disappointed. They have made a reply to our address, in the form of a pamphlet, and to make the circulation as extensive as possible, they have caused 1000 copies to be printed. Of this pamphlet, I am told there are several copies distributed in Baltimore, and the Archbishop will find, in perusing it, many gross misrepresentations, and expressions highly injurious to our character which if passed by unnoticed, would make such an impression on the minds of our People as would effectually

³³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 2-K4.*

destroy all confidence in their pastors. Under the circumstances, I considered a second meeting of the pewholders absolutely necessary. And in order to render it more solemn, and the same [time] prevent any disturbance which otherwise might arise, in discussing a subject of this nature. I appointed the little chapel as the most convenient place to hold the meeting. Accordingly on Monday evening the 23 of September the meeting took place, and the result was such that reflects the highest honour on the Congregation of St. Mary's, and will prove an instructive lesson to all future Trustees in what manner they ought to conduct themselves toward their clergy. I enclose the resolutions passed at the last meeting, and have only to observe that the reason why the Congregation rejected the motion made by Mr. Carey was because it supposed a division in the Congregation, which they denied to be the case. This unfortunate Business has made some noise, but I hope it will be soon forgotten. While the minds of the Trustees continue in their present perturbed state, and their passions irritated, I can have slender hopes of their submission, but when their passions begin to cool, and they seriously reflect on the scandal they have given, in so wantonly attacking their clergy, I am persuaded that some of them at least, will return to their duty. All I shall require of them in that case is an acknowledgment of their regret for an expression contained in their pamphlet injurious to their clergy, and permission from them to mention this from the pulpit or altar. One of them with whom I had a conversation on that subject last Saturday morning declared that was not requiring too much. But in the afternoon of the same day, I found him a quite different Person. He had then seen and consulted with his colleagues, and neither my entreaties nor those of Mr. Harold had any effect in persuading him to make the necessary reparation, at least for the present. I shall say no more on this disagreeable subject, which I know must be painful to the Archbishop, and has kept my mind in constant agitation since it happened.

I remain, most Rev. Sir, your most humble and obedt

Servt and Br. in Xt.

✠ MICHAEL, Bishop of Philada.³⁴

Bishop Egan later confessed in a letter to the Archbishop (October 29, 1812): "I candidly acknowledge the words of that address were never approved by me though from pliability of disposition I unfortunately sanctioned it by my signature, but it has been an instructive lesson to me by which I shall profit on all future occasions."³⁵ Bishop Egan began to realize that the Harolds were fighting the trustees with his episcopal authority as their shield.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Case 2-P7; cf. Carroll to Plowden, June 25, 1815, *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

³⁵ Egan to Carroll, October 29, 1812, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-Hz, printed in GRIFFIN, *Egan*, p. 69.

Another interesting letter, sent to Bishop Egan, over the signature "A Catholic," found in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, throws still further light on the situation in Philadelphia at this time:

Philadelphia, Jany. 30th, 1813.

Rt. Revd. Sir,

It would ill comport with the duty I owe you as my Bishop, or those under your charge, my fellow-Christians, to preserve a criminal silence, when I behold you betrayed into measures, so injurious to your own, as well as our eternal welfare; instead of endeavoring to avert the evil, by showing, in the most respectful manner, the dangerous tendency of the proceeding. You cannot question the propriety of my motive when you consider the important stake we all have in your doing right, nor of the mode adopted, so long as truth and reason are my guides.

A report, believed to be founded on fact, is in circulation, that you have signified your intention of depriving one of your clergy of his trust, without any cause, you could safely allege as a justification, and the inference necessarily is, that it is done to appease those who are known to be hostile both to them and yourself. It is to show the injustice of this step both to yourself, your clergy and your flock, that I now address you, and altho the wound inflicted on your reputation requires to be probed, in order to be healed, I confidently hope the spirit of wisdom and charity may enable you to appreciate my motive and profit by the operation.

However strange it may seem, nothing can be more certain than that the adoption of such a measure would be the highest injustice to yourself inasmuch as it would hold you up to your flock either as the instrument of unprincipled men, to gratify the most abandoned designs; or as ungratefully sacrificing your best friends, to conciliate your enemies, for some purposes you cannot avow, and thereby shake the confidence of your charge in your understanding, or heart. Should the former be the result, in what a deplorable situation will you have placed yourself, when those under your care are furnished with such good grounds for questioning the propriety of, perhaps, your most necessary action; and, in the latter case, how poignant must be your anguish, when you will find your example cited to justify any conduct, however reprehensible. In the first instance you deprive yourself of all means of doing good; in the latter it were preferable never to have been born. Let me beseech you not to be so unjust to yourself.

The injustice of this measure in regard to your clergy is so glaring as to excite the astonishment of those who heard of it, that you could, for a moment, harbour the intention. They have rendered themselves obnoxious to some of your relatives by introducing reform and economy in your household; a measure of which you must now be sensible of the benefits, and which you should have anticipated, and to the present Board of

Trustees by their generous exertions to enhance your means of comfort and dignity as well as by their able defence of your character and conduct, when both were assailed in the most insolent and shameless manner by those men, whom you are about to gratify in dismissing our aged pastor in this shameful manner. How can you reconcile such a proceeding to your conscience, or any idea of gratitude or honor? Surely you cannot have forgotten that scandalous compound of falsehood and insolence, in which you are represented as avaricious, unfeeling, mean and intriguing? or how could the manly, eloquent and admirable defence of your conduct by the man you are now about to injure in the tenderest point, ever be obliterated from your memory? Well might he ask for which of these services he is now to be recompensed by the banishment of his beloved Uncle? When you announced from the altar of the searcher of hearts that a reconciliation had taken place between "us" (meaning yourself and clergy) and the Trustees, was it to be expected that the terms of it were of such a nature, that those very clergy, so immediately concerned, could not be entrusted with them, much less that you would so shortly give the strongest reasons to believe, that they were of the most unjustifiable nature, by proscribing one of your clergymen, to satisfy the diabolical malice of those whom you thought fit to take to your bosom, without making the least apology or atonement, that I could ever hear of, for their former abominable proceedings? How must that transaction appear in the sight of him, "who searcheth the reins and the heart," which could not be submitted to the consideration of a fellow-mortal?

The injustice that would be sustained by your flock is by far the most deplorable of all the evils that would result from this infatuated determination, as it would poison at once the great source of their consolation in this world and happiness in the next; for let the matter be presented in whatever shape it may to their view, it must exhibit either their Bishops or Pastors in the wrong, and thus furnish one of the most powerful arguments ever made use of by Infidelity or Corruption for the destruction of souls; and which, in this case, would no doubt prove fatal to many for whom you must consider yourself accountable. And as it is highly probable that if one of your clergy is sent off in this way, the other cannot be prevailed upon to remain, it is not to be supposed they will be so destitute of all regard for their reputation as to leave it to the mercy of those who have evinced such an uncharitable, rancorous and malicious disposition towards them. Be assured they will exhibit the transaction in such a way as it will be difficult for the ablest of your advocates to palliate; and the probability is that the first Catholic Bishop of Philadelphia may appear in such a light to its inhabitants as he would gladly relinquish his mitre to be relieved from. Pause for a moment, I entreat you, before you adopt a measure that would not only justify, but render such a proceeding indispensable, and consider the injustice you should do your flock by inducing this scandal and disgrace to religion, the consequences of which are horrible to think on. I trust it is unnecessary to dwell on the injury we should sustain in being deprived of the services

of men we have so much cause to love and venerate. Yourself can bear witness to the uncommon abilities of one of them, and their useful application. Suffice it to say, the poor of St. Mary's would be deprived of their ablest advocate, and all ranks of the benefits of a Pastor of the most capable of any they have ever known to lure them to virtue and deter from vice—besides declaring in a manner that cannot be mistaken, they must ever look for the permanent services of any other, who is not prepared, when interest may require it, to lay down his integrity and independence at the feet of that portion of the Congregation who may happen to have wealth or influence, however profligate or unprincipled. In this case, all they could hope for, would be to mitigate the evil by turning out those from their trust and confidence who should abuse it—which, from all I can learn they intend doing with the present *worthy* incumbents.

Believe me, Sir, this has been a painful duty, I trust to your good sense that it may not prove unprofitable; but that you will give the subject of it all the consideration its importance demands, and act thereon as you could wish to have done on the last day.

A CATHOLIC.³⁶

When a temporary peace was imposed in the beginning of 1813, it was agreed to on condition that the Harolds be sacrificed.

Secure in their hold on the people whom they felt sure Bishop Egan could not oppose, the two Harolds arranged a dramatic coup, which fortunately failed in effect. On Sunday, February 21, 1813, the Rev. James in the presence of the Bishop and Father William Vincent, announced from the pulpit that both he and William Vincent had resolved to perform no more duties in that church. Obviously the scheme was that the Harolds considered themselves invaluable, and that a public resignation might have the effect of bringing forth a public and popular request that they remain at St. Mary's. To their amazement the design was frustrated by Bishop Egan gladly accepting their resignation.³⁷

The trustees now took up the gage for the Harolds, and threatened to build a separate church for them unless they were both reinstated in the pastorate of St. Mary's. But the bishop's "pliability of disposition" had passed, and he refused to listen to any threats. Father William Vincent journeyed to Baltimore

³⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-Mr.

³⁷ KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 210. "Noli irritare leonem!"—William Vincent said to Egan in an interview in February, 1813 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-O9). Barth wrote to Carroll, Philadelphia, September 7, 1814: "Rev. Wm. Harold, Sr. [James], is at Sea at last! All parties wished him to be gone, and were all alarmed, when the vessel was sent back to Wilmington on account of some irregularity in the papers . . . cessante causa, cessat effectus!" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 1-N9.)

and placed his side of the case before Archbishop Carroll, and there is no doubt that he impressed the Metropolitan of Baltimore, since Carroll wrote to Bishop Egan recommending his reinstatement as pastor of St. Mary's. This Bishop Egan refused to do, in a letter, dated April 27, 1813, even though it meant that the diocese would suffer for want of priests, saying that in the event of the Harolds' restoration "the peace of the Church would be insecure, the advancement of piety will not be favoured, and my personal happiness would be sacrificed. Every day and every proceeding give additional force to this my unalterable resolution."³⁸ Thus the situation remained until July 22, 1814, when Bishop Egan passed away. Later, when the schism at St. Mary's had been reopened by another unfortunate priest, Father William Hogan, the stormy petrel of Bishop Conwell's episcopate (1820-1842), the trustees of that day stated that the real cause of the quarrel was Bishop Egan's refusal to have William Vincent Harold appointed his coadjutor. The prospective coadjutor left Philadelphia for Ireland in 1813, in company with another malcontent, Father John Ryan, O.P., who had been in Baltimore, and who caused difficulty for Carroll in Ireland and England. Later the younger Harold went to Lisbon, only to return to Philadelphia (1821) and to become a leader in the scandalous Hogan schism then at its height in Philadelphia. Father James Harold returned to Ireland, and did not come back to America.

As Father Kenny, who had been appointed pastor of St. Mary's in Harold's place, said in a letter to Archbishop Carroll, dated Philadelphia, July 10, 1814: "He (Egan) is incontestably a Martyr of the following truly Catholic principle: That the laity never had nor never will acquire by any means the right of nominating and appointing their priests as Pastors, in defiance of the will and approbation of a Catholic Bishop."³⁹ On the

³⁸ "The condition of the diocese in 1813 may be stated briefly. Bishop Egan was at St. Mary's with Rev. T. McGirr; Rev. M. Carr at St. Augustine's, with Rev. Michael Hurley; Rev. Mr. Roloff at Holy Trinity; Rev. Michael T. Byrne at Lancaster; Rev. Dr. A. Gallitzin at Loretto; Rev. Mr. O'Brien at Pittsburgh; Rev. L. de Barth at Conewago; Rev. Paul Erntsen was at Goshenhoppen; Rev. Patrick Kenny was in Delaware." (SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 216.)

³⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-L2; an interesting sketch of Father Kenny will be found in the *Records*, vol. i, pp. 117-159. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. vii, pp. 27-79, 94-132.

day of Egan's death, Kenny wrote: "But fell persecution effected what sincere attachment and best medical art could not prevent—I mean his dissolution. That he has been the first Victim of Episcopal rights, there can be no doubt . . . He bid the ungrateful City an eternal adieu." ⁴⁰

Sometime before his death Bishop Egan had appointed the Rev. Louis de Barth, then pastor at Conewago, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Philadelphia; and when the news of the Bishop's demise reached Baltimore, Archbishop Carroll wrote to the trustees (July 27, 1814), informing them that Father de Barth would act as administrator of the diocese until the Holy See had appointed a successor.⁴¹ Father Louis de Barth de Walbach was born in Alsace, in 1764. He was the son of Count de Barth, Baron de Walbach, and a brother of General John Barth de Walbach of the American Revolution. After his ordination (1790) he came to America, and for many years was in the mission fields of Maryland and Pennsylvania. At the time of his appointment to the Vicar-Generalship of Philadelphia, he was one of the most noted priests in the diocese; and on receipt of Bishop Egan's letter, he wrote at once to Archbishop Carroll refusing the appointment. "Death," he said, "would not be so frightful to me as Philadelphia." Unmoved by his appeal, Archbishop Carroll insisted upon his administratorship of the diocese. This included the pastorship of St. Mary's, and the trustees immediately rebelled against his presence there, setting up the old cry that they would have Harold or none. "While the trustees of St. Mary's were writing these abusive letters to the Archbishop in the summer of 1814, that prelate's soul was filled with the horrors of the war raging about him. Washington had been seized by the English, and . . . the victors destroyed the public buildings and public library, and the government archives. Baltimore was infested by the enemy, Fort McHenry bombarded and along the Potomac sacrilegious destruction and pillaging of churches took place." ⁴²

Philadelphia was not to escape the baneful influence of the

⁴⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-L4.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Case 11-F30; cf. FOIN, *The Rev. Louis de Barth*, in the *Records*, vol. ii, pp. 29-37.

⁴² KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

Harolds, even in the long interim of six years which followed Bishop Egan's death, as we learn from Carroll's letter to Plowden, dated June 25, 1815:

By letters from Archbishop Troy, it is given to me to understand that a Rev. Mr. John Connolly, Dominican resident at Rome for 37 years, was nominated in Sept. and consecrated in Novr., as Bishop of N. York. . . . the foregoing lines having remained by me for several days, it has afforded me time to receive a letter from Card. Litta, the prefect of Prgd., by which he confirms the intelligence sent by Abp. Troy of Mr. Connolly's nomination; he moreover states his surprise, that no advices from me have been received at Rome for a long period, that the Rev. Mr. Harold, who two or three years ago was one subject of some correspondence between us, in consequence of his leaving the U. States after an outrageous quarrel with his (now) deceased Bishop and Countryman, Dr. Egan of Phila., and who reported gross falsehoods to Bisp. Milner and others, concerning his Revd. Brethren here, and of myself likewise; that this Mr. Harold is recommended to the Congr. as a fit subject to succeed the deceased Dr. Egan. An uncle of the former, a priest transported from Ireland many years ago to Botany Bay, for disaffection to the British Govt., and who either took or obtained leave to quit that station, arrived at Philadelphia after Dr. Egan's appointment to the government of that diocese, and was associated by the Bp. himself to the pastoral functions of one of the churches there. But he soon differed. Mr. Harold Junr. with his uncle from Botany, gave such continual disgust to the worthy and infirm Bishop, that in a few months after the uncle and nephew were dismissed from pastoral functions, the nephew left America, and some months after, the poor Bishop died. It now seems that tho' the nephew remains in Ireland, the uncle, who was not allowed to return thither, is gone to France and writes from Bordeaux, previously to Bonaparte's return into that kingdom, that the good Abp. of that city had recommended Mr. Harold Junr. to his Holiness to be appointed Bp. of Phila. Dr. Troy confirms this advice adding that some prelates of Ireland have joined in this recommendation, without, however, avowing or denying that he is one of those prelates as I believe he is. (N.B. By a subsequent letter the Abp. acknowledges that he has done so.) How any of these Prelates, and particularly the Ven. Abp. of Bordeaux, could determine themselves to interfere in an affair so foreign to their concern, and to which they are so incompetent, is a matter of surprise. Intrigue must have been very active, but besides this some fatality has befallen my letter to Rome. The original of Novr. 1814, and triplicate copies of them were forwarded, and two of them by safe persons, under cover to the Nuncio at Paris. Yet none were received at Rome, March 11th. They conveyed the names of the two persons recommended by all the Bishops here, one of whom shall fill the vacant See. I need not add that not one had an idea of nominating

Mr. Harold. It is a satisfaction to read the following words in Cardl. Litta's letter—"Relatum est S. Congri. neminem ad regendam illam Diocesim aptiorem esse P. Gul. Vinco Harold, concionatore praestantissimo. Non satis nobis compertum est, an in illo concurrant reliquae dotes omnes quae Episcopum decent, et num illius electio satis probata sit Amplitudini Tuae, quae in ipsa diocesi Metropolitanum jus exercet. Cupio igitur ut sententiam tuam de proposita hac electione mihi aperire in Domino velis; ac optata tua responsa quam citius expectans, etc." As to my personal feelings on this subject, I am almost indifferent, but for the sake of the Clergy and congrs. of Pennsa. and especially Philada., I deprecate his appointment which would be a signal for rancour, religious, and political; religious, between the friends of the holy deceased Bp. and partisans of Harold; political between the opponents of furious democracy and innovators upon established governments, or rather, those who are always ripe for innovations, glossed over with the fair pretexts of the *rights of the people*.⁴³

Notwithstanding the assurance contained in Cardinal Litta's letter, as above quoted, the Haroldites of Philadelphia were exhibiting some correspondence from William Vincent to the effect that he had been actually appointed to the See of Philadelphia, chiefly on the recommendation of the Irish bishops. Archbishop Carroll lost no time in informing the Metropolitan of Dublin that he would brook no interference from foreign sources in the management of his archdiocese, and that no "irregular interposition or recommendation" of the friends in Ireland of Mr. Harold, not even of Archbishop Troy himself, would be allowed to stand without a strong protest. "I do not and probably shall not hear of Harold's appointment," he caustically remarks to Plowden in a letter dated October 13, 1815—probably his last letter in a correspondence stretching over forty years.⁴⁴ That he was ready to contest Harold's reappearance in Philadelphia, even though appointed by Propaganda to the See, is evident from a letter to Bishop Neale, ordering him to communicate at once with Father de Barth, so that "no time should be lost in giving directions to Mr. de Barth to repair to Philadelphia, maintain the mastership of the house, the old chapel and premises."⁴⁵

⁴³ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 861.

Shortly after Bishop Egan's death, Archbishop Carroll communicated with the other bishops of the country (Neale, Cheverus, and Flaget), calling their attention to the fact that the suggestion made in their joint letter to Rome (November, 1810) to the effect that the nomination for vacant dioceses proceed "solely from the archbishop and bishops" of this country, had not been answered :

Right Revd. Sir,

The lamented death of our venerable Brother in God, the Rt. Revd. Dr. Michael Egan, Bishop of Philada. on the 22d of July, has without doubt caused you to reflect with pain that an answer has not been received to our joint letter to His Holiness written in consequence of our deliberations in Novr. 1810, concerning several points for the future government of our American churches, and especially for filling up the vacancies, which would certainly ensue in the Episcopal Sees. That of New York has been long vacant, and the same has lately happened in Philada. You may remember and see by referring to our proceedings, chapter 4th, that we respectfully solicited the permission of the Holy See, (provided it would permit the nomination to proceed solely from the Archbishop and Bishops of this ecclesiastical province).

No answer has been received, nothing can be done authoritatively in this matter. Yet the conditions and distractions of the Church of Philada. require immediate attention. With respect to N. York, it has transpired, that His Holiness whilst prisoner at Savona, soon after the death of Dr. Concanen, had it in consideration to appoint a successor, but it being uncertain whether the appointment was made, no step should be taken in that concern, till we hear from Rome. The case is different at Philada. for the reason alleged above, and tho' no nomination can proceed for any person or persons in the United States, yet I deem it advisable to consult you on the propriety of recommending one or more subjects to the Holy See, one of whom may be approved and appointed to succeed Dr. Egan. If such be your opinion, and that of the other Bishops, I propose moreover to you to inform me whether in your opinion likewise we may proceed immediately on the business, transacting it by letter on account of our immense distance. The mode, which appears to me the best suited to the present exigency is for the Bishop of Boston, the administrators of the diocese of N. York and Philada., the Bishop of Kentucky, the Coadjutor Bishop of Gortyna and myself to join in choosing one, two or three persons, best esteemed by us and send on their names, character &c. to Rome, with our respective recommendation. But however our choice be completed, I must request your approbation for me to consult the most discreet and experienced of the clergy of Pennsylvania, as to their opinions concerning the persons who will ap-

pear to us most worthy and fit to govern the Diocese with advantage and restore its peace.⁴⁶

Bishop Neale replied on September 1, 1814, from Georgetown as follows:

Right and Most Revd. Sir:

Your esteemed favour of the 23d ult. came to hand five days after date. The confused state of things here has delayed my answer till now. As to the two points on which you have requested my opinion, viz.: whether it be advisable to recommend one or more subjects to the Holy See, and one of whom may be approved and appointed to succeed Dr. Egan in Pennsylvania, and, 2d—whether it be not proper to proceed immediately on the business and transact it by letter on account of our immense distance.

I answer affirmatively to both, and I think that the disturbed and agitated state of the Church in Philadelphia loudly calls for an immediate dispatch in the business, as may possibly be.

The mode of procedure proposed in your R'v'ces favour is, in my opinion, the best that can be adopted, because it will not only effect the business more speedily but also will avoid tumult and bustle. Mr. Nesper being on his return to Europe, and well disposed not only to take charge of our dispatch, but also to have them conveyed to their destination, affords us the most favourable opportunity of approaching the Holy See and settling Church matters in America, give me leave to suggest the propriety of applying to His Holiness to furnish us with something in favor of the Society of Jesus, in America, which may extricate the Bishops from those difficulties which arise from the Ganganellian Brief. Perhaps we shall never meet with a better opportunity of effecting so desirable an object and I confide you will deem it obligatory to embrace it.

You have no doubt been fully informed of the humiliated situation of the City of Washington. I need say nothing about it, as the Federal Republican has given a temperate and just detail, not only of the destruction affected in the City, but also of the principal transactions that took place on the occasion. The British vessels are now lying in Alexandria, loading their craft with the spoils of the distressed inhabitants. Geo. Town is completely fortified against them and puts them in defiance. Porter, Rogers, and Perry with their chosen band are fixt some distance below Alexandria, waiting for the enemies' descent. Their situation is such as to afford sound expectations of completely intercepting them.

George Town has to be singularly grateful to God for His extraordinary protection. For during the enemies' stay and rage in the City, not one of them entered George Town nor injured anything belonging to it. Deo infinitas gratias. All are well here. The Sisters present their

⁴⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-91; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 66-67.

profound respects. Be pleased to remember me kindly to the Rev. Messrs. Fenwick, Mertz, Marshall, Morinville, and the Gentlemen of the Seminary. Receive my sincerest wishes and believe me with all respect and esteem.

Yr. Most Obt. H. Svt. and Br. in Xt.

✠ LEOND. NEALE, *Bishop of Grtnd.*⁴⁷

Bishop Cheverus wrote on September 2, 1814, from Newcastle, Maine:

I have sincerely lamented the death of our venerable brother in Philadelphia and the troubles and divisions which, I am told, have accelerated the mournful event. The mode you propose for recommending a fit person for his successor appears to be the best that can be devised, and I think, like you, that it is proper and even necessary that you should consult the most discreet and experienced of the diocese of Pennsylvania. Your Grace remembers, no doubt, that at the same time that the 4th resolution was agreed to, the recommendation to the Holy See of a fit subject for New York was left to you alone. I wish also in the present instance that you would take upon yourself to recommend a subject for Philadelphia. For my part I am not competent to give any opinion. I am very little acquainted with the clergy of Pennsylvania and I have never known exactly what were the difficulties of St. Mary's. Should you however wish that I should concur with you in this affair, have the goodness to direct me. I shall feel safe in following your directions. Whatever we do must certainly be done by letter. The distance and the times do not allow of any other mode. But the best mode would be that the venerable Father of the American Church should alone recommend whomsoever in his wisdom will be the most likely to restore peace to the distracted Church in Philadelphia."⁴⁸

In order to facilitate the speedy nomination of Egan's successor, the archbishop wrote to Neale, on September 27, 1814, announcing his choice of candidates:

Right Rev. Sir:

After having received the concurrent views of those whom it was my duty to consult, excepting that of Bishop Flaget not yet come to hand, I have now to consult you (privately) for your vote and nomination of the two persons whom you prefer for the See of Philada., not conceiving ourselves confined in our choice to the Diocese of Philada. I have the following persons particularly in my views: The Revd. Messrs. David, Du Bourg, Hurley and Gallitzin. As to Mr. Du Bourg I have some doubt

⁴⁷ Printed in the *Researches*, vol. x, pp. 181-182.

⁴⁸ Printed in the *Records*, vol. xxii, pp. 151-152.

of the propriety of his being offered by us to the consideration of His Holiness, he being out of this ecclesiastical province and his present station being that of administrator of the diocese of New Orleans immediately dependent upon the Pope, tho' he is quite disgusted with the situation which probably he would be willing to exchange for the Bishop of Philada., and which he would adorn by his talents and virtues. But there appears to me much more constancy and perhaps more prudence and perhaps more useful talents in Mr. David. There is in the opinion of all a great fund of capacity in Mr. Hurley, but some contend that his outward demeanor requires to be matured by the lapse of a few more years and that his impetuosity is rather too vehement and uncircumspect. Of Mr. Gallitzin, for many years, I know but little, the load of debt which he has contracted and the uneasiness thereby produced is a serious objection. To give every information in my power it is proper to add that Mr. de Barth, now Vicar Gen'l of the Diocese has been mentioned by some as a fit person. He is certainly so in some respects, and in particular his firmness of mind is qualified to stand a turbulent party at Philada.; but his temper is very warm, his passions sudden and fearless; theological knowledge too limited for the contemplated station without a hope of improving it, and he has been long unable to bear steady reading, and very little writing, at least in his account of himself. One of the Pennsylvania clergymen is desirous of including the Rev. Ben. Fenwick in the nomination for Philada., and tho' I am sensible to the impropriety, if not the improbability of removing him from New York, yet to make you as knowing as myself it is proper to mention him to you.⁴⁹

To the other bishops, Carroll sent the following letter :

Right Rev. Sir:

The Right Rev. Bishops and Rev. Gentlemen, who have been consulted about providing for the vacant Diocese of Philadelphia, conceive it to be their duty to look for the fittest subject and most likely to promote the glory of God, and the benefits of true religion, not only amongst the clergy of the vacant Diocese but likewise of other Dioceses, with a view of exhibiting their names and qualifications to His Holiness the Pope. The following persons have been mentioned hitherto of whom some one is most likely to meet the approbation of all concerned in the appointment to be made at Rome.

They are Messrs. David of the Diocese of Bardstown, and Du Bourg, administrator of the Diocese of Louisiana. The first of these is nominated by all consulted, and the second by Messrs. Gallitzin and Hurley, of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. The only objection to Mr. David is the difficulty of removing him from the good Bishop of Bardstown. He is eminent in prudence, constancy, ecclesiastical learning, piety, zeal for instruction. The talents of Mr. Du Bourg are

⁴⁹ Printed in the *Researches*, vol. x, pp. 183-184.

generally known, but it may be doubted whether it is proper to nominate him, who is out of this ecclesiastical province, and in an independent station, as administrator of the Bishopric of New Orleans, dependent immediately to the Holy See. You should know however that Mr. Du Bourg is much dissatisfied with his situation, and probably would be glad to exchange it with the Bishop of Philadelphia. The Rev. Mr. Gallitzin has for many years lived so far distant that I cannot speak with confidence of his present dispositions. He has made sacrifices of worldly rank and performed actions of disinterested zeal; his literary and I presume Theological requirements are considerable. But a strong objection to his preferment is a great load of debt, incurred rashly though for excellent and charitable purposes. The Rev. Mr. Hurley has uncommon talents which, with some leisure for improvement of them, will enable him to acquire eminence in science. He might now be a useful prelate, but in the opinion of some will be more unexceptional at a more advanced period of life.

While the prelates of the Church were counseling and recommending proper candidates to the Holy See, as successor of Bishop Egan, the Haroldites were not inactive. It has been stated that the ambition of Rev. Wm. V. Harold, and the cause of his discontent with Bishop Egan, was that he desired to be named as coadjutor with right to succession, but that Bishop Egan would not consent to so nominate.

After the death of the Bishop, however, the adherents of Father Harold began a vigorous movement to have him nominated as bishop. The influence of some of the prelates in Ireland was brought to the aid of the Holy See in determining the selection of a bishop in the United States.⁵⁰

William Vincent Harold's activities in his own behalf brought to unenviable light the plotting for episcopal power in America which was brewing in certain ecclesiastical centres abroad. On March 22, 1815, Archbishop Troy reported to Carroll that James Harold was busy securing recommendations from French prelates for his nephew's nomination to Philadelphia.⁵¹ On September 1, 1815, Plowden, who was prejudiced against Troy for other reasons, repeated to Carroll the current gossip of the day: "I must assure you of the interest which I take in your very grounded and just complaints of undue interference in the nomi-

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186; cf. HEUSER, in the *Records*, vol. vi, pp. 450-458.

⁵¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-N8.

nations to your new American Sees. I have long known the wonderful activity of Irish Friars [Dominicans] to get their heads into mitres, and I have often been amazed at the success of their paltry intrigues.”⁵² That Troy had directly interfered in the case of Harold is not altogether true, since in reply to one of Carroll’s letters, he says: “If I interfered in the appointment of a Bishop for Philadelphia by a direct recommendation of Rev. Mr. Harold, I must confess my having acted irregularly and improperly. But, if I recollect right, I only stated the interference of others, for your Grace’s information. However this be, I regret exceedingly any irregular act of mine should afford a moment’s uneasiness or anxiety to your Grace.”⁵³ This statement naturally has no bearing on the question of Concanen’s election to the See of New York. Whether Troy was responsible for that appointment has already been discussed in a previous chapter. Plowden wrote again (October 2, 1815), saying that the news was abroad in England that Harold’s appointment had been decided upon at Rome. Archbishop Carroll’s letter to Cardinal Litta, July 17, 1815,⁵⁴ placed the problem in a more definite light before the Roman officials, and the candidacy of Harold, so far as Propaganda was concerned, was not received with favour.⁵⁵

Before a final judgment is passed, however, on Father William Vincent Harold’s part in this first stage of the ecclesiastical history of the Diocese of Philadelphia, it is only fair to give *verbatim* a letter, written in his favour by Father John Ryan, O.P., dated Lisbon, December 14, 1819. Ryan, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter, had little affection for Dr. Carroll and caused him months of anxiety by certain charges he made regarding Carroll’s attitude towards Bishop Milner on the Veto question, then being intensely mooted in English Catholic circles. The letter, so far as can be ascertained, seems to have escaped research-students, and it is one of the few documents in English, in the Propaganda Archives. It is impossible to ascertain to whom the letter is addressed:

⁵² *Ibid.*, Case 8B-C1.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Case 8B-K2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Case 8B-C2.

⁵⁵ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 338-339.

My Lord,

If I were not well convinced of your Grace's esteem for my friend Harold, and of the interest you take in his welfare, I should hardly put even your Grace's characteristic condescension, to the test, by a letter from one so insignificant as myself. The truth however is; that accounts from Rome have lately reached him, which place him in a predicament, such as requires a defence of his conduct in America; and I agree with him in the opinion that he himself could not well undertake that task, without betraying some sort of egotism in its execution.

Your Grace is aware that the Catholics of Philadelphia have long, and most anxiously besought the Holy See, to give them Mr. Harold as their Bishop; whilst Doctor Marehall the Archbishop of Baltimore, has evinced an equal eagerness to procure the appointment of a Frenchman whom they consider incompetent to the duties of such a station in their Church. In truth the Catholics of the United States, consider the Archbp. and his advisers as engaged in a systematic plan, for the exclusion from the Church of America, of every clergyman who is not a native of France. The pertinacity with which this system is continued, together with the ridicule, and contempt excited among the various sectarians in America by the attempts of these foreigners to preach in the English language, has already goaded the Catholics to such a state of irritation that consequences truly alarming are but too likely to result from this conflict, between the ambition of the Frenchmen on one side, and the indignation of the people on the other. The laws of the United States, give each denomination of christians, an undoubted right to *elect* their clergy. Your Grace will perceive how injuriously the exercise of such a right, might operate against the essential spirit which pervades the discipline of the Catholic church. This consideration has served hitherto, in restraining the American Catholics, from any serious attempts to avail themselves of this legal right. How far it may continue to restrain them, must depend on the prudence, and moderation of their Prelates, and on the promptitude of the Holy See, in removing all reasonable causes of discontent.

It now appears that the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda had made arrangements to gratify the Catholics of Philadelphia, by the appointment of Mr. Harold, but was hindered by the interposition of the Archbp. of Baltimore, who stated that as an objection some former disagreements between Mr. Harold and some of the higher clergy in America. I flatter myself that by the time your Grace shall have perused this letter, you will have perceived, how shamefully the interested cunning of the Archbishop's advisers, has influenced or deceived him and through him misled the Cardinal Prefect. Altho' I am sure that the explanation will be too late, to affect the nomination to the See of Philadelphia, I do earnestly beseech your Grace to make it known at Rome, in justification of Mr. Harold's character.

The disagreement to which the Archbishop alludes, took place in 1813. The late Doctor Egan was then Bishop of Philadelphia and Mr. Harold

his Vicar General was one of the Pastors of the Church of St. Mary's; The Revd. James Harold was the second. Doctor Egan was attached to this church as his Cathedral, and resided with the Messrs. Harold, the congregation allowing a stipulated sum for their joint support. It is necessary to observe here, that most of the congregations in that country are legal corporations, and that they annually elect certain individuals as Trustees. These officers become in point of law, the exclusive managers of the temporalities of their Church. Unfortunately, the persons elected to this office for the year 1813, entertained some unaccountable antipathy against old Mr. Harold. Their first act under their new authority was to announce to the Bishop, that they considered his lordship and the Reverend William V. Harold sufficient for the performance of the various duties of the Church, and that they therefore demanded the dismissal of the Revd. James Harold. That this proposal should have appeared offensive to the Bishop, under any circumstance, will not surprise your Grace—How much more so when you hear that the Congregation of the district consisted of more than twelve thousand souls, and that the proposal of the trustees, implied nothing less, than that the Bishop should do the duties of a curate. He rejected it of course; and immediately received a notification from the trustees that they would discontinue all pecuniary support, not only to the Revd. James Harold, but also to the Revd. W. V. Harold, and even Doctor Egan himself.

This proceeding appeared to his Lordship not only an act of injustice, but an invasion of his right in the government of his church, which could not be opposed too soon, or too strongly; especially as it might lead to further innovations totally subversive of Catholic discipline. He therefore summoned a meeting of the whole Congregation, who heard of this strange conduct, with the utmost indignation, and passed resolutions reprobating the trustees, and declaring that not one of them should ever again be elected to that office. Such however was the strictness of the law, that no power remained in the congregation to remove these men, until the expiration of the year; so that the Bishop and clergy of St. Mary's were left destitute of all means of support, except what the voluntary aid of individuals, might casually afford.

Unfortunately Doctor Egan could not number the virtue of fortitude, among the many other virtues which certainly belonged to his character; and the Revd. James Harold who was the occasion of many privations now imposed on the clergy, became gradually an object of dislike to him. It was equally unfortunate that this poor old man's temper had been soured by age and misfortunes; and in a very short time, they became so totally estranged from each other as to involve the younger Mr. Harold in the utmost perplexity. Warmly attached to the Bishop as well by ties of personal regard, as by the respect due to his Lordship's station, Mr. Harold could not venture to espouse his Uncle's conduct, nor did it become him, on the other hand, to abandon his relative—Wishing to escape from this distressing alternative, he could find only one way; which was to resign his own place, and thus afford to his Uncle the

example of that submission to circumstances, which became both. Yet before Mr. Harold finally adopted this measure, he besought the interference of Doctor Carroll, the late Archbishop of Baltimore.

Hitherto your Grace has had no better authority than mine, for the truth of the facts I have mentioned. Permit me now to give you a much better, in that of Doctor Carroll—I transcribe his letter to Mr. Harold, dated February 20, 1813—

"Rev. Sir—

Yesterday I attempted in vain to give an answer to your esteemed favour of the 16th, received the preceding day. The bad weather this morning, will probably preserve me from the interruptions which I daily experience—You do me justice in believing that I have endeavoured, as much as I ought in discretion, to settle the differences of St. Mary's Church. When I undertook to advise the Bishop to hold an *extra official* conference with the trustees, it was with the fond expectation of its terminating in friendly explanations and a good understanding between himself and his two Revd. brothers on one side, and the trustees on the other. This expectation proved vain. I proposed nothing further, until you came to Baltimore—at least nothing which is now remembered. After your arrival here (tho' it gives me pain to mention, what it is painful to you to hear) the Bishop wrote, that your Uncle had again embittered his peace of mind, by giving vent to new outrageous sallies of temper, which made it highly inexpedient for them to live together, and that your Uncle must be removed. In this I concurred with him; knowing how common it is for families, and individuals, to cease living together, for some incompatibilities of humours, without a breach of charity or cause of disedification—I am still of this opinion, but do not foresee how matters are afterwards to be regulated. *My greatest apprehension is your disgust, and consequent determination of leaving Philadelphia;* which indeed your letter indicates, as a matter concluded, and which, in my estimation, *is one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall that Diocese, and the American Church generally.* The Bishop as I have been informed is to leave Philadelphia next week for Baltimore—For heaven's sake, suspend any further proceedings or engagements, until I can see him."

So far for Dr. Carroll's testimony on the real state of the differences which the present Archbishop has objected as a bar to Mr. Harold's appointment—Before I transcribe for your Grace's perusal a further confirmation of these facts from the same high authority, it is right to mention that Doctor Egan not having gone to Baltimore; and his disputes with the Revd. James Harold becoming more disagreeable to the Revd. W. V. Harold, he formally resigned his place & proceeded to Baltimore where I resided at that time.

The departure of Mr. Harold was productive of consequences which he could not have foreseen—On the following Sunday, the Church was quite deserted by all, except the trustees, and the renters of the pews,

locked out, going to other churches to hear mass. As soon as an account of this transaction reached Baltimore, I proceeded to Philadelphia, at the earnest request of Mr. Harold, and with the approbation of the Archbishop, and prevailed on the Congregation to return to their church. For this act which was, I assure your Grace, a matter of some difficulty, I received the warm acknowledgments of the Bishop of Philadelphia, who shed tears when I told him that I had come at the earnest request of W. V. Harold. He was however too far committed with the trustees who had lately begun to practice on him, and in truth too much irritated against old James Harold, to leave any hope for an adjustment of their differences.

Under circumstances thus distressing to the feelings of Mr. Harold, he considered it most prudent to return to Ireland, and make arrangements for his Uncle's settlement there—I returned with him for the same purpose, but before our departure from America the Catholics of Baltimore, made us most flattering offers to induce us to settle there. Your Grace will perceive the allusions of the Archbishop to this last circumstance, in the copy of his letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, which I now proceed to transcribe, for the purpose of proving to you that Dr. Carroll's testimony on this occasion as to the nature of the differences with the Bishop of Philadelphia, was the same at our departure, as his letter already quoted, shows it to have been in February 1813—

"Most Revd. and dear Lord,

The intended return into Ireland of the Rev. Messrs. W. V. Harold and Ryan, presents to me some prospects of the following lines reaching your Grace's hands, and I wish it could be added that there is some reasonable expectation of the renewal of our long interrupted correspondence. When the former of the above named Gentlemen came to America, he fell under the authority of the Right Rev. Bishop of Philadelphia, of course I have not enjoyed the advantage of his talents, excepting *in transitu* on which occasions his manners were always dignified, and highly becoming; and his sermons, when he was able to gratify public curiosity, and the earnestness of solicitation, will render his departure a lasting subject of regret. It belongs to the Bishop of Philadelphia in whose diocese, he has been constantly employed, to furnish him with the proper, and usual testimonials of his regular conduct, which he undoubtedly has done notwithstanding some late dissatisfaction, not occasioned, as far as I know and believe, by any impropriety in his public, moral, or ministerial deportment, but by discordancy of opinion. My flock, at least a considerable portion of them, were very anxious for his establishment here, and indeed I myself wished to preserve him in this country—He will be accompanied by his intimate friend Mr. Ryan. Since his coming to the United States, or soon after, he resided at this place, and gave not only to me, but to the Congregations generally, entire satisfaction, by the beauty and solidity of his discourses, and the suavity of his manners. I owe to him my testimony for his religious, and regular conduct

in my diocese. The loss of clergymen of their abilities, will be felt here very much.

(Signed) ✠ JOHN, *Abp. of Baltimore*

Baltimore, April 12, 1813—

I owe your Grace, many apologies, for this intrusion on your valuable time, and yet I must claim somewhat more of your kind indulgence while I allude to one more topic which, for aught I know, may have its share in affording to the French clergy matter for the ingenuity they have evinced, in deceiving the present Archbishop of Baltimore.

Previously to the American revolution, the piety of many Catholic individuals and the industry of the Jesuit missionaries, had accumulated a landed property amounting to many thousand acres, and lying in various parts of Maryland. These estates are now under the care of two or three clergymen allotted to each, and are cultivated by slaves. The whole (that is both land and slaves) belongs to the Clergy of Maryland in their capacity as a lay corporation, by law established. Your Grace is aware of the zeal of many sects in America, to discourage slavery. A trite topic of remark, and no trifling occasion for scandal, among those people, is furnished by the fact, that the Catholic clergy are principal slave owners, in their corporate capacity; and a great portion of the Catholics, lament the existence of such a system, which they consider injurious to the character of their religion, and consequently to its progress.

On the return of Mr. Harold and myself from America, we spoke of this circumstance, as an exception to those reasons which led to a hope for our faith rapidly advancing in America. This conversation which took place at the house of a London Clergyman, found its way to Archbishop Carroll, loaded with some misrepresentation, and in the year 1815, he wrote a rather angry letter to Bishop Moylan of Cork, on the subject. This being communicated to us, we lost not a moment, in giving an explanation which we requested Bishop Moylan to communicate to Archbishop Carroll. While we disclaimed any idea of blaming him for evils resulting from the system in question, we took occasion to urge our objections against it; in the hope (however faint) of inducing the corporation to farm out their estates; and thus remove a source of scandal to weak Christians. So anxiously did we feel on this subject, that we sent a copy of his Grace's letter of complaint, with our answer, to Cardinal Litta. His Eminence after perusing these documents told Bishop Conolly of New York who was yet at Rome, that they had made such an impression on his mind, as should induce him to preserve them.

I beg to refer his Eminence the Prefect of the Propaganda to the letters which I am sure that the above mentioned illustrious Cardinal will readily explain to him; and I confidently rely on their producing a conviction on his mind, not only that they cannot afford the least pretence for objections against Mr. Harold's nomination; but also that they will appear to possess some claim to his Eminence's attention, as connected with the slave establishments of the Maryland Corporation of Clergymen.

May I entreat your Grace to pardon my boldness in giving so much trouble—I remain with affectionate regard and veneration,

Your Grace's obedient Servant,

JOHN RYAN ⁵⁶

The vacancy in New York was four years old in 1814, and the vacancy in Philadelphia was to last even longer. Without an answer from Rome to the Agreement of 1810, Archbishop Carroll had felt great hesitancy in doing anything regarding these two vacancies. Nevertheless, he decided that the danger of foreign meddling was so proximate, that the names of several candidates should be sent at once to Rome. But no decision was reached before the end of the year (1815), and Archbishop Carroll passed away before a settlement for Philadelphia was made. Disaster was in the air, and "the angel of the Church in Philadelphia" must have shielded its face with its wings, when Irish meddlers prevailed at Rome, and the man, whose appointment to Philadelphia was more surprising to Archbishop Curtis of Armagh than if he had been made Emperor of China—the Rev. Dr. Conwell, of Dungannon, Ireland, arrived in Philadelphia, December 2, 1820, with what result it is unnecessary to mention here.⁵⁷ John Carroll had fought all his life long to maintain independence for the Church he governed. He died with the consciousness of failure and defeat.

⁵⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iv, ff. 348-353. This letter would seem to be in reply to a demand from Propaganda for further information on the difficulties in Philadelphia, since Father Ryan wrote to the Cardinal-Prefect, from Lisbon, on January 16, 1819, giving the Haroldite view. (*Propaganda Archives, ibid.*, ff. 273-275.)

⁵⁷ Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, p. 262.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE SUFFRAGAN SEES: IV. BARDSTOWN

(1808-1815)

"The story of Kentucky," says Father O'Daniel in his scholarly *Life of Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati*, "with the fascinating legends of its battlefields and hunting grounds of the aboriginal American, and the traditions of its daring explorer, Daniel Boone, the bold, hardy pioneer hunters, and its brave, picturesque backwoodsmen, never lacks interest. Indeed, the early annals of few of our States so abound in lustre, or are so rich in a charm that is ever old, still always new."¹ Few sections of the Catholic Church in the United States have been so thoroughly studied during the past century. One of the earliest, and from a critical point of view, one of the best local histories we possess is Badin's *Origine et Progrès de la Mission du Kentucky*, published in Paris in 1821. Spalding's *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky* (1787-1827), published in Louisville, Ky., in 1844, and his *Life, Times, and Character of Bishop Flaget*, published in 1852, are the main sources for the history of the vast Diocese of Bardstown. Later works, such as Maes' *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx* (Cincinnati, 1880), Alerding's *Diocese of Vincennes* (Indianapolis, 1883) and especially O'Daniel's *Life of Bishop Fenwick* (Washington, D. C., 1920), have added considerably to the documentary evidence for the story of Flaget's immense jurisdiction. In the Brief *Ex debito pastoralis* of April 8, 1808, which divided Bishop Carroll's diocese into five parts, the Diocese of Bardstown is thus outlined: "Quartam Barj—Goun, id est in oppido seu civitate Bardensi, eique in Diocesim statuimus provincias tam Hentuchiensen quam Tenassensem, ac illas quoque a Sede hac Apostolica aliter provideatur regiones, quae a ripa occidentali fluminis Ohio inter occidentem et septentrionem excurrunt ad ingentes lacus, qui eas

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

inter et Canadensem Dioecesim interjacent, hasque legendo pertinent ad fines Pennsylvaniae.”² Today this original territory is divided into twenty-five dioceses.³ With Kentucky and Tennessee as the actual limits of the Diocese of Bardstown in 1808, Bishop Flaget held temporary jurisdiction over all the territory northwest of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. Bardstown, says Shea, differed essentially from the bishoprics erected on the Atlantic coast—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia:

The State of Kentucky began to be settled about the commencement of the revolutionary troubles. Then men from Virginia and Maryland made their way to the lands south of the Ohio, and began to clear the forest and build up a new commonwealth. Many of the emigrants were Catholics; some of the first to fall by the way, or, after reaching Kentucky, by the hands of the Indian foe, were Catholics. They helped to found and build up the new State; sturdy backwoodsmen, strong, brave, earnest, they were the peers of those around them. Life was plain and rude, comforts were few, luxuries unknown. Priests struck into the wilderness to attend these clustered bodies of the faithful, who in God's providence selected generally the poorest, but perhaps the healthiest situations. The Carmelite Paul of St. Peter, the Capuchin Whelan, and Rev. Father Rohan, effected little. It was not till Bishop Carroll had ordained his first priest, Rev. Stephen T. Badin, and sent him to Kentucky, that any real commencement was made for the Church. Then came the day of log churches, and long priestly journeys to the Catholic settlements. Rev. John Thayer came and went. Rev. Fathers Salmon and Fournier came to labour till death. Rev. Charles Nerinckx came to toil like a hero, form church after church, create a sisterhood, draw recruits for the priesthood from his own Belgium, as well as vestments, plate, paintings, and other requirements for the churches, which he divided ungrudgingly. The Dominicans, guided by the advice of Bishop Carroll, established a convent and college. Thus Kentucky had a life of its own.⁴

There were Catholic congregations scattered over the whole of this large territory. On the morrow of his arrival at Bardstown, June 9, 1811, Bishop Flaget found himself chief shepherd of a flock that was scattered from the Canadian border southwards to the savannahs of Georgia. Where were his people

² DEMARTINIS, *Jus Pontificium de P. F.*, vol. iv, p. 510.

³ Nashville, Louisville, Covington, Columbus, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Marquette, Superior, Green Bay, Milwaukee, La Crosse, Duluth, Crookston, St. Cloud, St. Paul, Chicago, Rockford, Peoria, Alton, Belleville, Fort Wayne and Indianapolis.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 264-265.

located? what churches had already been built? what ones were under construction? who were his clergy? and what were the general conditions, favourable and adverse, under which his faithful were living in these wild and only partly known regions?—these were some of the problems he discussed with his companion and successor in the Bardstown episcopate, Father John David, as the two missionaries and apostles of the Faith made their way over the mountains of Maryland and western Pennsylvania down the broad Ohio during that wonderful journey in the summer of 1811. The States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and a part of Minnesota were to be his field of labour for the next forty years. In Kentucky alone was there any great nucleus of Catholics. Spalding, in his *Sketches*, says: "In the State itself there were about a thousand Catholic families, with an aggregate population, not exceeding six thousand souls. There were thirty congregations, ten churches or chapels already built, and six in process of creation."⁵ The earliest Catholic emigrants into Kentucky had come from Maryland and Virginia in 1775; and as the Catholic population increased they settled mainly in and around the little hamlet of Bardstown. After 1785, distinctive Catholic colonies came from Maryland, and settlements were made at Pottinger's Creek, Harrod's Town, and elsewhere. It was to these little congregations that the first resident missionary, Father Charles Whelan, came in the spring of 1787. After Father Whelan's departure (1790), the Rev William de Rohan visited the Kentucky missions, and it was he who built the first Catholic church in the State, that dedicated to the Holy Cross, at Pottinger's Creek. The Rev. Stephen Badin, the next missionary to come to Kentucky, had accompanied Flaget, David, and Chicoisneau from France in 1792, and arrived at Baltimore on March 26 of that year; he was then in minor orders. After completing his theological studies at St. Mary's Seminary, he was ordained by Bishop Carroll on May 25, 1793—the first priest ordained in the Diocese of Baltimore. Father de Rohan's activities did not meet with Bishop Carroll's approval, and on September 6, 1793, Fathers Badin and Barrières, the latter as vicar-general, were

⁵ P. 98.

sent to Kentucky by Dr. Carroll. The tide of immigration towards the West had set in so strongly, that in 1792, when Kentucky gained admission into the Union, the population amounted to about seventy thousand. No portion of the American Church, says the author of the *Sketches*, owes more to the exiled French clergy of the time than that of Kentucky; and among these refugees the name of Kentucky's great Catholic pioneer, Stephen Badin, will always hold, in spite of his eccentricities, a place of preëminence.⁶ Young as he was—he was then twenty-five—there was no one among the clergy of the country better suited to the rugged missionary life of Kentucky than Father Badin. Travelling on foot from Baltimore to Pittsburgh, Badin and Barrières took a boat and descended the Ohio, past Wheeling, Marietta, and Gallipolis, where they saw the last broken remnants of the Scioto colony. They remained for three days with this destitute congregation, baptized forty children, and reconciled many others to the Sacraments. From Gallipolis they travelled to Maysville, Lexington, and other villages. Father Barrières settled at Bardstown, and Father Badin at White Sulphur, Scott County, about sixteen miles from Lexington. Father Barrières soon grew despondent at the magnitude of the task before him, and, unable to accommodate himself to the rude condition of the times, deserted his post and set out on foot for New Orleans. This was in April, 1794; and alone amid all the dangers of a newly-settled country, the young Badin fought bravely to bring the message of salvation to every part of the State. There can scarcely be any picture more noble or inspiring than that of this cleric of twenty-six, standing bravely at his post, perilous in every way from Indian incursions and from bigots. For three years he was alone in what was a wilderness. The nearest Catholic priest was Father Rivet, who was sent to Post Vincennes in 1795. For many years (1794-1819), Father Badin attended to the spiritual wants of his people, and it is estimated that he spent over three-fourths of that time in the saddle, travelling at least one hundred thousand miles. During this time he received occasional help from other priests—Father Michael Fournier (1797-1803), Father Anthony Salmon

⁶ Pp. 60-61.

(1799), Father John Thayer (1799-1804), and from the Trappists. Father Rivet died in 1804, and so with the exception of two other priests in the whole of the Northwest—Rev. Donatien Olivier at Prairie du Rocher, Illinois, and Father Gabriel Richard at Detroit, Michigan—Father Badin was again alone from 1804 to 1805, when there came to Kentucky one of America's best-known missionaries, Father Charles Nerinckx, who was destined to have even a greater share in the Catholic history of Kentucky than Father Badin.⁷ Charles Nerinckx was ordained to the priesthood at Malines, Belgium, many years before his arrival in Kentucky. He was then (1805) forty years old, and seven years Badin's senior.

The same year (1805) saw the establishment in Kentucky of the American Province of the Order of Friars Preacher. Bishop Carroll, as we have seen, desired that they should make Kentucky the first sphere of their labours; and accordingly in the autumn of 1805, Fathers Wilson and Tuite set out for these missions, and were followed in 1806 by the Superior, Father Fenwick. A house and land were purchased near Springfield in December of that year, St. Rose's Priory, as the place was named, the Mother-House of the Dominicans in the United States, was then established. Bishop Carroll (April 25, 1806) had given his formal consent to the foundation of St. Thomas of Aquin College, which was opened in 1809.⁸

The resources of the Diocese of Bardstown were not, however, very abundant when Bishop Flaget arrived there in June, 1811. The West was not a new territory to Flaget. Born in France, in 1763, the first Bishop of Bardstown joined the Sulpicians and was ordained at Issy in 1787, having for his Superior in the Seminary there the future apostle of Michigan, Father Gabriel Richard. Flaget came to America in 1792, and after spending a short time at Georgetown to study English, Bishop Carroll sent him (1792) to Post Vincennes, then on the frontier of the Baltimore Diocese. Recalled by his Sulpician Superior in 1794-95, he became professor at Georgetown College during the

⁷ MAES, *Life of the Rev. Charles Nerinckx*. Cincinnati, 1880; HOWLETT, *Life of the Rev. Charles Nerinckx*. Techny, 1915.

⁸ Cf. *A New Province of Dominicans*, in O'DANIEL, *Life of the Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P.*, pp. 99-109. Washington, D. C., 1920.

presidency of Father Du Bourg. In November, 1798, he went to Havana to share in Du Bourg's college scheme, and returned to Baltimore (1801), taking a post on the staff of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, in 1805. He was at Emmitsburg when the Holy See chose him to be the chief shepherd of the Church beyond the Alleghanies.⁹

Bishop Carroll thought Father Flaget especially fitted for the See of Bardstown because of his virtues, his remarkable qualities as a ruler and his acquaintance with the country with whose spiritual government he was to be entrusted. But Father Flaget was unconscious of all this, being convinced that neither his theological learning nor his other well-tried qualities fitted him for the position of bishop. Besides had he not promised never to aspire to an Episcopal See and never to accept one except by the peremptory orders of the Holy Father? When, therefore, the news of his elevation reached him at Emmitsburg, he hurried down to Baltimore and set every expedient in motion to nullify the Bull.¹⁰

His friends went with him to Bishop Carroll in order to decline the honour, but Carroll said it was not in his power to decide, since the nomination had been ratified by the Holy See. On October 18, 1808, Flaget wrote to Dr. Carroll the following letter of protest against his own election:

When I had signified to you my positive determination to decline the dreadful honour to which your goodness is endeavouring to raise me, I began to enjoy a peace of mind to which I had been a stranger from the moment I heard of my promotion. Being, however, told from several quarters that you insist on your unfortunate choice, in hope that time and reflection will wear off my opposition to it, once more I feel my heart overwhelmed with the deepest grief. Dearest father, nothing distresses me more than to afflict or disappoint you, but the motives of my refusal are of such a nature as to make my determination invariable. I earnestly beg of you to oppose it. All that remains then is to improve time to prevent the consequences of useless delay. Bishop Concanen is yet in Italy and will continue there long enough to receive a letter from you before his departure. You have time to make known my refusal to his Holiness, and provisions for another candidate as early as you can expect one. You certainly cannot be at a loss for subjects more meritorious than I am. Were I permitted to offer my ideas, I would suggest that of requesting Bp. Concanen to present one of his own order for

⁹ HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians*, etc., p. 144. Cf. *Les Épopées du Séminaire de Baltimore*, by Father Tessier (still in MSS.), cited by HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 764-766.

¹⁰ HERBERMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

whom he could absolutely rely for correctness of principles: for as the Fathers already settled here will gain great influence, no check would be more necessary and more effectual than the authority of a Bishop of their own Order. It is to be observed that the elected should be acquainted with the French language, the third part of the Diocese speaking nothing but French. Should this hint be contrary to your views, could you not present Mr. Moranvillé, his talents, his principles, his zeal and conciliatory spirit are well known to you, and he can have none of the reasons for declining the burthen which compel me to deprecate it.

Once more, my Rev. and beloved father, I throw myself at your feet to beg you will put an end to my anxieties. For God's sake have pity on your child, drive him not to extremes, but above all do not render this situation worse by provoking an order from his Holiness; for convinced as I am that it is the will of God I should refuse, I should be placed in a most painful situation, from the impossibilities of reconciling the interests of my conscience with my obedience to the head of the Church.

Allow me to add a prayer that you will put in my hands two duplicates of your letters for Rome, which I engage to convey thither, and if your occupation permit you not to write them yourself, I will have them done for you.¹¹

Later he wrote to implore Carroll: "With tears in my eyes, to let me forever enjoy unmolested the humble post I occupy, which suits a thousand times better than the conspicuous one I obtained through your goodness; without presuming too much, I am confident that I will prove more useful to your Diocese by remaining in the College than in going to Kentucky as a bishop."¹² The appeal was not welcomed by Dr. Carroll, and Flaget then decided to go to Paris to enlist the aid of his Superior, Father Emery. His journey to France in 1809-10 not only brought him the command to accept the See of Bardstown but was also providential in this, that it ensured the safe arrival of the pontifical documents of 1808, which were necessary for the consecration of the new bishops. He left Bordeaux on April 10, 1810, accompanied by Father Bruté and five young ecclesiastics. The little party arrived in Baltimore some time in July of that year,¹³ and, as we have already seen, Flaget's consecration

¹¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-U1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. xvii, pp. 12-13.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ In his report to Pius VII (April 10, 1815), Flaget states that the letters appointing him to the See of Bardstown did not arrive in America until August 10, 1810. "This statement of Bishop Flaget, that the letters of Pius VII appointing him to the See of Bardstown did not arrive in America until August 10, 1810, suggests a

took place on November 4, 1810. The following May, Bishop Flaget set out for Bardstown. At Pittsburgh, he and Father David, with a Canadian priest, Father Savine, and the subdeacon, Chabrat, met Father Fenwick and his fellow-Dominicans, and the party set out on a flat-boat down the Ohio.¹⁴ Some years later Father David in a letter to a friend (November 20, 1817) described this aspect of their journey in these picturesque words: "The boat on which we descended the Ohio became the cradle of our Seminary, and of the Church of Kentucky. Our cabin was, at the same time, chapel, dormitory, study-room and refectory. An Altar was erected on the boxes and ornamented as far as circumstances would allow. The Bishop prescribed a regulation which fixed all the exercises, and in which each had its proper time . . . After an agreeable journey of thirteen days, we arrived at Louisville, next to Bardstown, and finally at the residence of the Vicar-General."¹⁵ Bishop Flaget was installed in the little building which served as a church on June 9, 1811, by Father Badin, who was vicar-general of the diocese.

doubt on three points in the history of the Church in the United States, which though of minor moment, the Catholic historian would like to see definitely settled. The original papal documents erecting our first archbishopric and four new American sees and appointing their occupants, seem to have been lost or destroyed by French officials on the death of Doctor Concanen. But Concanen, before he attempted to sail from Naples, had authentic copies of these papers made, one set of which he placed in the hands of (Rev.?) John Agenti, his agent at Rome, and sent another to Father Emery, superior of the Sulpicians in France, and a friend of Archbishop Carroll. (Concanen, Rome, March 26, 1810, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, France: *Baltimore Archives*, Case 14-U4). In the meantime, Bishop-elect Flaget had gone to France in the hope of being freed from the episcopal burden. Obligated to accept the See of Bardstown, he returned to America for his consecration. SHEA (*Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 678), tells us that Monsignor Quarantotti forwarded copies of the above papal papers to Archbishop Carroll by Rev. Maurice Virola, O.S.F., but that Flaget returned to the United States in August, 1810, bringing with him the copies sent to Father Emery; and that Archbishop Carroll acted on the authority of the copies brought by Flaget, when he proceeded to the consecration of the new bishops and to place their dioceses under their charge. On the other hand, SPALDING, (*Life of Bishop Flaget*, p. 65), says Flaget returned to Baltimore early in July, 1810. WEBB, (*The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, p. 214), agrees with Spalding. The three doubtful points are: (1) The date of Bishop Flaget's return to Baltimore. (2) Did Flaget bring with him to America the copies of the papal documents which Concanen sent to Father Emery? This would seem improbable, if, as Spalding (*op. cit.*, p. 165) states, Flaget sailed from France, April 10, 1810; for Concanen's letter to Maréchal, of March 26, shows that these copies were not then completed. (3) What copies of these documents did Archbishop Carroll use as authorization for consecrating Bishops Cheverus, Egan and Flaget?" O'DANIEL, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, p. 311 note.

¹⁴ O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

¹⁵ SPALDING, *Flaget, etc.*, pp. 69-70.

His clergy consisted of three secular priests (Fathers Badin, Nerinckx, and O'Flynn), four Dominicans, and the Sulpician Father David. The following Christmas, he ordained Father Guy Ignatius Chabrat.

Father David had been released from Baltimore by his superiors in order to establish a seminary at Bardstown, and some time after their arrival, a permanent foundation was made on a farm bequeathed to the bishop by Thomas Howard. The professors and the seminarians made the bricks and cut the wood to build this Seminary of St. Thomas, the first institution of its kind to be erected west of the Alleghanies.¹⁶ Both Father Nerinckx and Father David saw the necessity of a religious order of women in the diocese for ecclesiastical and charitable work, and the Sisters of Loretto and the Sisters of Charity were founded in 1812, the former with its mother-house at Loretto, and the latter at Nazareth, Kentucky.¹⁷

After a year spent in visiting his diocese, Bishop Flaget set out for Baltimore. It had been resolved at the meeting of 1810 that a Provincial Council would be held in that city in November, 1812, and although Dr. Carroll had decided that the time was inopportune, the news of its postponement did not reach Flaget in time to prevent his journey to the East. He arrived in Baltimore on November 3, 1812. On April 22, 1813, he set out again for Kentucky. The remainder of the year and the first months of 1814 were spent in completing the Visitation of his diocese; and the result of his long journeyings is embodied in one of the most remarkable papers we possess for this period—his *Report of the State of the Church in this great territory*, sent to Pope Pius VII, under date of April 10, 1815. This document, published for the first time in the *Catholic Historical Review*,¹⁸ shows how admirably Bishop Flaget visualized the conditions of Catholic life in every part of his jurisdiction. In Kentucky, at that time, there were ten priests besides the bishop, six subdeacons, four students in minor orders and six who had been admitted to tonsure. Four of the priests and five of the

¹⁶ Cf. HOWLETT, *Historical Tribute to St. Thomas' Seminary*. St. Louis, 1906.

¹⁷ Cf. WEBB, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, pp. 233-244 (*The Sisterhood of Loretto*); pp. 245-260 (*The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth*); cf. DEHEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 58; MINOGUE, *Loretto Annals of the Century*. New York, 1912.

¹⁸ Vol. i, pp. 305-319. (Translation by Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P.)

subdeacons belonged to the Dominicans. Nineteen churches had been erected up to that time.¹⁹ "It is difficult," Flaget writes, "to give the exact number of Catholics living in each congregation (of the State) on account of continual emigrations, either from the older states to Kentucky, or from one part of that State to another, or also to the Territories, or to Louisiana, on account of the desire for new and more fertile land. However, it seems certain that the Catholic souls in this State number not less than ten thousand. Your Holiness will easily understand how impossible it is for so many souls to be looked after properly by ten priests."²⁰ The congregations were far distant, and four of the ten clergymen were engaged in teaching at the seminary and at the Dominican College. In the neighbouring State of Tennessee there were at that time about twenty-five Catholic families, "who are destitute of every help of the Church." On his journey to Baltimore, he had found fifty families in the State of Ohio. There was no hope for their faith, because Flaget had no one to send to them. Not even once a year could he spare a missionary to visit that part of his diocese. In Indiana, he mentions Post Vincennes where he had recently confirmed over 230 persons. Although there are 130 families there, he can do no more than send a priest twice a year to them. In Illinois he mentions the three parishes of Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher, where Fathers Olivier and Savine were ministering to the people. He writes:

The Americans who inhabit those regions are for the most part heretics and are generally without ministers of their own sects, and could be brought into the Catholic faith with little difficulty if there were missionaries there who joined to their zeal and doctrine a knowledge of the languages of these people . . . In the territory of Michigan there is a parish called St. Ann's, in a town known as Detroit. It is so large that it seems necessary to divide it into two parts. One contains 1500 souls. The other is in a place called La Rivière aux Raisins, the name of which I do not know [*Saint Anthony of Padua*], which contains about 500 souls. Each is in charge of a Sulpician . . . I could not visit these places on account of the War which was raging at the time of my visitation in these places. Besides these, on my journey, I heard of four French Congregations settled in the midst of the Indians, who belong to my diocese; one on the upper part of the Mississippi [*probably Prairie du Chien, Wis.*], one in

¹⁹ For a list of these churches, cf. O'DANIEL, *Fenwick, etc.*, pp. 78-79.

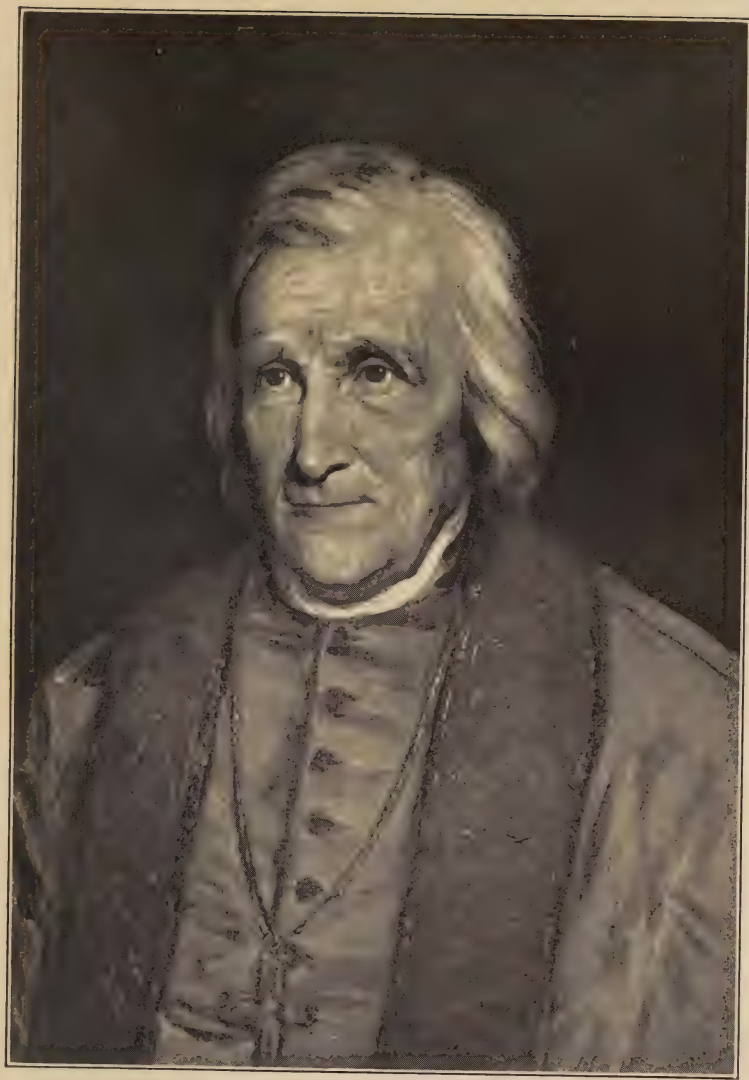
²⁰ *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, p. 313.

the place commonly called Chicago, another on the shore of Lake Michigan [*Green Bay*], and a fourth near the head of the Illinois River. But neither the time nor the War would permit me to visit them.²¹

Apart from the "unpleasantness" which had arisen in 1805-06 between Fathers Badin and Nerinckx and the Dominicans, the last echoes of which had by no means died away when Bishop Flaget arrived in 1811, there was another unpleasantness which clouded the early years of his episcopate. When the creation of the Diocese of Bardstown was first mooted, Father Badin, who was vicar-general of this territory for Bishop Carroll, assured the venerable prelate of Baltimore that sufficient revenues for the proper support of a bishop were in existence. This fact Badin repeated in several letters to Flaget before the latter set out for his diocese. "But when I arrived in my diocese," he says in his *Report* to Pius VII, "and asked that this [*property*] be transferred to me, on various pretexts, [*Badin*] said that he would not do so. After many discussions and letters written between us, and even threats of censure, because of his stubbornness in his opinion, fearing that great scandal might arise if the man's boldness and contumacy were known, I waited patiently and kept putting the matter off." It was to bring the matter to a settlement that Flaget was anxious to meet Archbishop Carroll at the proposed Provincial Council in 1812. Badin was a difficult type of clergyman to treat with; and, in order to keep peace, Flaget allowed him to draw up a deed, making over the single property of St. Thomas. He did not doubt Badin's good faith, and consequently the document was drawn up in such a way "that it was thought that his right to the whole property was transferred to me, but he really transferred only his right to half of the property, and the very house in which I am now living with my seminarians was not included in the document." Badin boasted of his chicanery, and Flaget hesitated between two difficulties: "If I suffer any longer such conduct on the part of that man, I am afraid of failing in my duty; if I punish his delinquency, I feel that by his stubbornness and open rebellion he will stir up great scandal and perhaps break out into schism."²²

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 316-318.

²² The story of Father Badin's refusal to convey the church property in Kentucky to Bishop Flaget gives us a peculiar specimen of canon law. During the years that he was Doctor Carroll's vicar-general in the State, Badin acquired considerable land



BISHOP BENEDICT JOSEPH FLAGET

Eventually, in 1819, Badin left Kentucky and returned for a time to France, and the problem solved itself in his absence.²³

In the other States and Territories outside of Kentucky, the *Status animarum* is described with an accuracy of detail which arouses great regret that the other bishops who were pioneers at this time, Carroll included, have not left behind them such abundant records for the history of the Church in this country.

for the Church. This, under Carroll's instructions, he held in his own name, but in trust for the Church. Yet, when the new bishop arrived, Badin positively refused to give him deeds to any of this property. Threats of various ecclesiastical penalties and actual deposition from the position of vicar-general failed to have any effect. The matter dragged along from the time of the bishop's arrival in Kentucky until the autumn of 1812, when the two went to Baltimore. There the affair was laid before Carroll. Bishop Flaget offered to relinquish his claim to the revenues (retaining, however, the right of supervision) from all the other diocesan land, provided Badin would give him an unconditional deed to the farm on which the seminary and the bishop's residence stood. This Badin agreed to do, and Carroll was a witness to the agreement. A deed was handed to Flaget which, as he believed everything had been done in accordance with the above agreement, he accepted in good faith and did not examine. Nearly two years later, hearing that Badin often boasted that he still held legal rights to the seminary, the bishop examined the deed and found that he had been given only one-half of the farm; and that this half was not that on which were his residence and Seminary. (Bishop Flaget, Feb. 16, 1815, to Rev. John Maréchal, Baltimore: *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 21A-C4; and Rev. John David, St. Thomas' Seminary, June 19, 1815, to Archbishop Carroll, Baltimore; *ibid.*, Case 3-A2). Father Badin writing to Rev. John Maréchal, July 14, 1815, gives his side of the controversy in a way that is quite characteristic of him. If the missionary's letter may be trusted, it would seem, indeed, that, unknown to the bishop, Father Nerinckx, who conveyed his rights to the farm in question to Flaget without protest, encouraged Badin in his peculiar course. For in this letter Badin tells Maréchal that he had been advised . . . "by some respectable clergyman to whom I communicated the original writings . . ." As Father Nerinckx was about the only friend Badin had left among the clergy of Kentucky, at this time, he would seem to have been the adviser. (Rev. Stephen T. Badin, July 14, 1815, to Rev. John Maréchal, Baltimore; *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 13-11).

²³ "The question has often been asked in my hearing: 'Why did Father Badin abandon the mission of Kentucky?' I have no idea that he had any such purpose when, in the early spring of 1819, he entered upon the long journey by land and sea that brought him in time to his native land and the sight of his surviving kindred. His journey had for its nominal objects, first, needed bodily rest and recuperation; and secondly, attention to certain matters connected with his paternal inheritance. That his action was influenced, in some degree, at least, by a consideration that was only suspected at the time, and that by only a few of his associates of the clergy of Kentucky, is now indisputable. He had become ambitious of episcopal distinction; and knowing that Bishop Flaget had appealed to the Holy See for an assistant, he thought to secure the appointment for himself through his personal influence with leading clergymen in France. The fact here stated should not affect unfavourably the fame of the grand old missionary who was privileged to write after his name, *Proto-Sacerdos Statuum Foederatorum Americae Septentrionalis*. Ambition is not always, logically and necessarily, an emanation from man's perverted nature. I have reason for believing that Father Badin's ambition was entertained from reasonable and Christian motives, and hence, that it was free from all taint of viciousness. He had made a willing sacrifice of himself and all his faculties for the good of the Catholic people of the diocese. He had been their father, and he looked upon them as his children.

One part of his diocese, the upper portion of the State of Michigan, and the district around Detroit had been the subject of correspondence between himself and Bishop Plessis of Quebec. On January 14, 1796, Bishop Hubert of Quebec had written to Bishop Carroll that "according to the treaty which has been concluded between the United States of America and Great Britain, the missions of Upper Canada are to be restored and will in consequence become a portion of the Baltimore Diocese . . . The city of Detroit and its outskirts form a large enough parish of Catholics to have a resident priest." Bishop Hubert stated that the pastor in charge at the time desired to return to Quebec, and he proposed that Carroll accept the services of Father Edmund Burke, who had been up to the time of the transfer, Vicar-General of Quebec in the old Illinois country. Dr. Carroll replied on March 2, 1796, that he would have preferred the pastor in charge, Father Frechette, to remain; that Burke, who was to become first Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia, was in ill repute with the American soldiers; and that he would arrange to provide the Catholics in that region with a pastor. That same year he sent the Sulpician Father Levadoux to Detroit as his vicar-general, and two years later he entrusted Father Gabriel Richard with the same jurisdiction. On March 6, 1811, Bishop Flaget wrote to Bishop Plessis, Hubert's successor in Quebec, granting him the powers of a Vicar-General in the Diocese of Bardstown, in order to facilitate the border min-

Their faces were all known to him, as were also their dispositions and their necessities. Is it at all wonderful that, under such circumstances, he should have entertained the idea, that he, better than another, would be able to give direction to schemes for their spiritual advancement? I think not. But there was still another motive which, in the absence of those enumerated, would naturally incline the aging priest to sever, for a time at least, his relation with the mission he had founded. Between himself and Bishop Flaget, there had ensued divergence of opinion in respect to the settlement of title to certain properties that had been acquired by him for the Church, before the See of Bardstown was created, and which was still held in his own name. The most valuable of these properties was the 'Howard' place, near Bardstown, upon which stood, at the time, the church of St. Thomas and the diocesan seminary buildings. It is due to the memory of Father Badin to say that he never had a thought of alienating one foot of this property from the uses to which it had been devoted by the generous donors. He was only anxious in regard to the absolute requirements of the laws of the land, as these affected the bequests and the terms upon which they had been made. Furthermore, he insisted upon his right to hold legal title to the property, until provision was made for the liquidation of debts contracted by him in behalf of the Church, and for the benefit of the mission of Kentucky." WEBB, *Centenary, etc.*, pp. 441-442.

istry of the two dioceses.²⁴ On February 10, 1811, Bishop Plessis returned this courtesy, and a correspondence was begun between the two prelates which lasted down to Plessis' death (December 4, 1822).²⁵ The more substantial part of the history of the Diocese of Bardstown belongs to the period after Carroll's death. In July, 1816, the cornerstone of St. Joseph's Cathedral, Bardstown, was blessed, and the following year the edifice was opened for divine worship. Father David was appointed coadjutor of the diocese, and was consecrated on August 15, 1817. In 1832, Bishop Flaget resigned, and Bishop David succeeded as second Bishop of Bardstown. In May, 1833, Bishop David resigned, and Bishop Flaget was reappointed, thus becoming third bishop of that see. On July 20, 1834, Guy Ignatius Chabrat was consecrated coadjutor of the diocese; he resigned in 1847, and retired to France, where he died on November 21, 1868. Bishop David passed away on July 12, 1841, and that same year the Holy See transferred the diocese from Bardstown to Louisville. Martin John Spalding, the historian of the Church in Kentucky, was consecrated coadjutor to Bishop Flaget on September 10, 1848, and at the latter's death (February 11, 1850) succeeded to the See.²⁶

Veritably appalled by the immensity of the task which lay before him, Bishop Flaget told his Holiness that one great joy came to him and encouraged him more than he could describe—"the news of the restoration of that remarkable Society of Apostolic men who brought the light of the Gospel in years gone by to so many barbarous nations." And he utters a prayer to the Holy Father that the members of the restored Society of Jesus will cast their eyes in his direction, for, they "are the men," he says, "whom God has ordained for this magnificent work." Bishop Flaget lived to see his prayers answered, for one has but to recall the name of one Jesuit—Father De Smet—to picture the magnificent work the Society of Jesus performed in evangelizing and civilizing the great unexplored West of the United States.

²⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-J1, printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, p. 12. *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, États-Unis, Misc.*, G., 215.

²⁵ Printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 12-42.

²⁶ Cf. CORRIGAN, *Chronology of the American Hierarchy*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 284-285.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ARCHBISHOP CARROLL'S EXTRA-DIOCESAN JURISDICTION

When Louisiana was transferred by treaty from France to Spain on November 3, 1762, the King of Spain, by virtue of royal privileges dating back to the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, acquired ecclesiastical power over the largest known territory in what is now the Republic of the United States.¹ As a result of these privileges "in the course of time, things came to such a pass that without the royal assent no ecclesiastical official, not even a sacristan, could be appointed, transferred or dismissed; none might enter or leave the Colonies; diocesan or parochial boundaries might not be set down or altered; and no church, school or convent be erected."² Practically speaking, as one Spanish historian puts it, the King of Spain was the Vicar of the Pope.³ This intimate union of Church and State became the fortune, or the misfortune, of old Louisiana, when after three years of *mañana*, Spain actually took possession of the territory in 1766. No official notice of the change in the political government of Louisiana seems to have been taken by the Holy See at this date; and the Bishop of Quebec retained his jurisdiction over this Spanish province until about the year 1773. Quebec had always shown a lack of wisdom in its jurisdiction over this vast appendage to its power. It is true that the population of the Louisiana Province was never very large. In 1766, the whole French population is given as 1,400 families, or roughly 5,600 souls. The majority of these resided in what is now the State of Louisiana, and the greater portion of them in and around

¹ Cf. PASTOR, *History of the Popes, etc.*, vol. iv, p. 397; vol. v, pp. 338-339; vol. vi, p. 163; PRESCOTT, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii, p. 26 (Edition of 1892); LOWERY, *Spanish Settlements in the United States*, vol. ii, p. 671. This subject has been treated in detail by Rev. Edwin Ryan, *Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 146-156; vol. iv, pp. 170-185.

² RYAN, *l. c.*, vol. ii, p. 150.

³ SOLÓRZANO Y PELAYO, *Política Indiana*, t. ii, book iv.

New Orleans.⁴ John Gilmary Shea quotes Margry in confirmation for his statement that in the time of the unamiable De Saint-Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec (1688-1727), the French Government planned to divide Louisiana into several vicariates, but that the bishop objected to a dismembering of his diocese.⁵ Down to the change of Government in 1763, Quebec ruled this vast province by means of vicars-general. On May 16, 1722, Louisiana was apparently divided into three spiritual jurisdictions. The first, allotted to the Capuchins, with a centre at New Orleans, extended on the west from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Wabash; the second, allotted to the Jesuits, comprised the old Illinois Country, with a centre in Kaskaskia; the third, taking in all the rest of the territory east of the Mississippi, was placed in charge of the Carmelites, with a residence at Mobile. The three superiors of these Orders were made Vicars-General of the Diocese of Quebec.⁶ When the Carmelites returned to France (1722), their territory was added to that of the Capuchins. A little later, the Jesuits were given charge of all the Indians in the province, and their Superior was permitted to live at New Orleans; but they were restricted in the performance of their duties, being obliged to obtain the consent of the Capuchin Superior in many things. All this was hardly more than a paper organization, and was bound to create disorder. On February 26, 1726, the Superior of the Jesuits in the Province of Canada, Father Beaubois, signed an agreement to the effect that the Jesuits should exercise no spiritual functions at New Orleans, except by the consent of the Capuchins. When Bishop De Saint-Vallier appointed Beaubois vicar-general at New Orleans, a quarrel began between the two congregations, which was not settled, even when after the Suppression of the Jesuits in the French Dominion (1763), the members of the Society were expelled from Louisiana.

When the cession of New France to England was made by

⁴ GOSSELIN, *L'Église du Canada après la Conquête*, p. 325.

⁵ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 327; MARGRY, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français, etc.*, vol. iii, p. 579. Paris, 1877. No trace of these documents was found in the Propaganda Archives. A Relation of the "Mission of the Mississippi," under date of 1722 (pp. 321-322) is in the *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec*.

⁶ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, Transcripts*, pp. 321-322; the documents are in the *Atti* of Propaganda of 1721, f. 86; 1722, ff. 138, 183-184, 410-411.

the Treaty of Paris (1763), Louisiana, as understood by the Treaty, was that vast stretch of country on both sides of the Mississippi extending from New Orleans to the boundaries of Canada. The eastern part of the Territory became American by the treaty of 1783; the western part had been ceded to Charles III of Spain on November 2, 1762. It was this western section which was retroceded to France in 1800, and was purchased by Jefferson in 1803. After the cession to Spain of this western section, the ecclesiastical government of the country was transferred to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba. The Capuchin, Father Cyril de Barcelona, was sent to New Orleans as his vicar-general, and, in 1781, was consecrated Auxiliary of Santiago with his residence in New Orleans. In 1787, the Diocese of Santiago was divided, and Havana became a separate bishopric with jurisdiction over Spanish Louisiana. Bishop Trespalacios of Porto Rico was transferred to Havana, and Bishop Cyril, who became his auxiliary, began a systematic reform of the diocese, and soon incurred the enmity of many in New Orleans. On November 23, 1793, a royal decree was issued erecting Louisiana into a separate diocese, and bishop Cyril of Barcelona was ordered to return at once to his Capuchin monastery in Catalonia, with a pension of one thousand *pesos* a year. He went to Havana a broken man, the result of his efforts to institute a stricter clerical discipline in Spanish Louisiana. Where he died is unknown. The jurisdiction of Trespalacios, who had schemed the harsh banishment of Bishop Cyril, came to an end with the erection of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, with boundaries touching Baltimore on the east and Linares and Durango on the west. The priest chosen as bishop for the new diocese was Luis Peñalver y Cardenas of Havana, who arrived at New Orleans on July 17, 1795. A long report to the Spanish authorities at Madrid, written before the end of the year, gives us a melancholy sketch of the state of religion in the province.⁷ Peñalver was very much in earnest, as is evidenced by his *Instrucción para el gobierno de los Párrocos*, and by the regulations published for his Visitation of the diocese.⁸ His chief difficulty was in protecting his people

⁷ Shea has printed this report in his *History, etc.*, vol. ii, pp. 572-575.

⁸ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 575-578; the *Instrucción* is printed in the *United*

from the "gang of adventurers" who were flocking in to the Province of Louisiana from the neighbouring United States. The Drive on Mexico had begun. And Peñalver was far-sighted in relating to his superiors the custom of the Americans "of patting their sons on the shoulder, when they are very stout, saying: 'You will go to Mexico.'" Peñalver was vigorous in his support of improvements for the province, and attempted to introduce better methods in agriculture and commerce. He encouraged education, extending the scope of the work done by the Ursulines, and lost no opportunity of beautifying the churches in his diocese. There is a letter from his pen in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, dated April 12, 1799, asking Bishop Carroll if some definite agreement could not be reached in the matter of controlling the clerical adventurers who found Carroll's discipline too strict and were seeking refuge in Louisiana. There was a *va-et-vient* system across the borders of the two dioceses, and discipline suffered accordingly. There is little doubt that Peñalver's systematic reform of the religious life of his people met with much opposition, and, on July 20, 1801, he was promoted, *ut amoveatur*, to the archiepiscopal See of Guatemala.⁹ Before his departure (November 3, 1801), he appointed two of his priests, Irishmen, Rev. Thomas Canon Hassett and Rev. Patrick Walsh, Vicars-General for the interim.¹⁰ Meanwhile, by the Treaty of San Ildefonso (Oct. 1, 1800), Spain was coerced into an agreement with France to retrocede the Province of Louisiana to the French Republic. This transfer had not been made officially when Bonaparte, as First Consul, ceded Louisiana to the Republic of the United States, by the treaty of April 30, 1803, for the sum of fifteen million dollars. On November 30, 1803, Spain finally transferred the province to France; her Government of the province, in spite of the Treaty of 1800, had not been disturbed. And on December 20, the representatives of France handed the province over to the United States at New Orleans. Similar

States Catholic Historical Magazine, vol. i, pp. 417ss. Cf. GAYARRÉ, *History of Louisiana*, p. 376.

⁹ GAMS, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 174. Ratisbon, 1873. A section of the Carroll-Peñalver correspondence is in the *Catholic Archives of America* (Notre Dame University).

¹⁰ SHEA (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 581) says that he was authorized to do so by a rescript from the Holy See dated September 14, 1794.

ceremonies for Upper Louisiana took place at St. Louis, March 9-10, 1804, "and thus expired the last vestige of French power on the mainland of North America, almost exactly two centuries after the first successful settlement in Nova Scotia."¹¹ By a rescript from the Holy See, dated January 29, 1791, Bishop Carroll had been informed that "all the faithful living in communion with the Catholic Church, both ecclesiastics and lay persons, whether they dwell in the provinces of Federated America, or in the neighbouring regions outside of the provinces, so long as they are subject to the Government of the Republic, will be and shall be hereafter under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baltimore."¹² Consequently, this whole tract of the Mississippi Valley, the very heart of the nation, became automatically a part of Carroll's extra-diocesan jurisdiction. On December 23, 1803, Canon Hassett, presumably the ecclesiastical superior of the province, wrote to Carroll to acquaint him with the official transfer of Louisiana to the American Republic and of the situation of the Church there:

My Lord:

The retrocession of this Province to the French Republic haveing taken place the 30th ultimo, and the same being since ceded to the U. S. of America, are circumstances that induce me to acquaint your Lordship (without loss of time, and as briefly as possible), of the present Ecclesiastical State of this portion of my Jurisdiction, doubting not but it will very soon fall under your Lordship's.

The ceded Province consists of 21 parishes, including this of New Orleans, of which some are vacant owing to the scarcity of Ministers; the Irish priests enjoy 40 D^s salary per month from the King, and the Spaniard, French, &c 30. besides the obventions arising from the publick acts of their parochial functions, such as funerals, marriages &c, and established by tarif: the functionarys are allowed each, a dwelling house and a few acres of land by their respective flocks: none has a coadjutor excepting the parish priest of N. Orleans, who is allowed four, and enjoys 25 dollars each per month, together with their share of obventions, which are equally divided between the parish priest and them.

Previous to the Retrocession, the Spanish commissioners have explored officially the wills of all those that derive from his C. Majesty, and are employed in his service; the Ecclesiastiks being of the number. I found on examination that out of 26 that have been at yt. time in ye Capital

¹¹ THWAITES, *France in America*, pp. 294-295. New York, 1905.

¹² *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 893, not folioed; printed in the *Records*, vol. xviii, p. 162.

and Province, only four agreed to continue in their respective stations under French Government, and whether many more than the same number will remain under that of the U. S. God only knows; whereas, although the service of Almighty God and the particular spiritual necessity of ye portion of his vineyard, are motives ye most cogent on one hand, to engage all, not only to continue their labours here, but also to redouble their zeal in the execution of their sacred functions, yet yr. Lordship well knows that the *amor Patriae* and the King's bounty (offered to be continued to all those that follow his colours) are alluring and flattering ones on the other. As for my own part, I candidly assure yr. Lordship, that I find myself in a most disagreeable dilemma, obliged to leave the country on account of my weak and declining state of health, and repair to some other climate more suitable to my constitution, notwithstanding the ardent desires I have of being serviceable in my present situation, besides my place of Canon, I cannot warrantably or with any degree of propriety relinquish, and consequently only wait for superior orders to take my departure hence.

The Revd. Mr. Patk Walsh, Vicar-Genl & auxiliary Gov^r of ye diocese, justly entitled (as he really is) to a recompense for his long services and unwearied Zeal in the service of God & his Country, may hourly expect a competent one from our Sovereign; but yet declares when he leaves ye country, he will consider himself as, in a manner, torn from it, for the reasons above mentioned, and assures that he is determined not to abandon his post, as long as he can with propriety hold it, not being in the least influenced by motives of interest or aggrandizement so to be.

I forgot to mention yt ye Cathedral Church possesses some property arising from houses thereunto appertaining—it is a decent temple and decently supplied with Ornaments &c necessary for divine service. The country churches are also on a tolerably good footing. Mr. Walsh desires to be most affectionately remembered to yr Lordship, & says he will write to you by next opportunity.

I have the Honour to be with the highest respect, my Lord, yr Lordship's most obed^t Humble Serv^t

THOMAS HASSETT ¹³

Carroll had written to Propaganda on February 14, 1804, announcing the purchase of the old French Territory,¹⁴ and on April 21 of the same year, Propaganda asked him to send the names of three or more priests so that the Holy See might select bishops for the new territory. Meanwhile, Father Patrick

¹³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-D5; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 272-274. Bishop Carroll's memorandum on the back of this letter states that it was received February 16, 1804, and was answered the following day.

¹⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 289, f. 356.

Walsh wrote to Rome a long letter (April 12, 1805) informing the Holy See of the insubordination of one of the Capuchins, Father Anthony Sedella, parish-priest of New Orleans, who had defied Walsh's authority.¹⁵ Father Walsh withdrew the Capuchin's faculties and placed the parish church under a quasi-interdict. A schism ensued, in which Sedella was upheld by Governor Claiborne who "lent the whole influence of his position to break down the discipline of the Catholic Church and maintain in the Cathedral of New Orleans a man whose immoral character and neglect of duty were notorious, and who would in any New England village have been consigned to jail."¹⁶ Father Walsh died in the midst of these troubles (August 22, 1806), and the diocese was left without anyone to regulate it, until Dr. Carroll acted upon Propaganda's letter of September 20, 1805, and assumed jurisdiction.¹⁷ Dr. Carroll was permitted to appoint an administrator to whom all powers, except those requiring episcopal character, were to be granted. He was urged to extinguish as quickly as possible the flames of the schism so that all scandal might be removed from the diocese. The following day, September 21, 1805, Propaganda wrote to Father Walsh, telling him that his powers as vicar-general had ceased and that faculties for the governance of the diocese had been conferred upon Dr. Carroll, to whom he would henceforth be subject. Father Walsh probably received this letter before his death. With the two administrators appointed by Bishop Peñalver

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *Congregazioni particolari*, vol. 145, ff. 95-96.

¹⁶ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 590.

¹⁷ Canon Hassett died in April, 1804, and on March 27, 1805, Father Walsh published a Pastoral (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-C3) calling upon all to recognize his own spiritual authority. On April 12, 1805, Castillon, president of the trustees of New Orleans, wrote to Carroll stating that they refused to accept Walsh's authority, on the score that it ceased with the transfer of Bishop Peñalver y Cardenas to the See of Guatemala in 1801 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-L8). Castillon wrote again on July 15, 1805, supporting Sedella in his insubordination. The news of Father Walsh's death reached Carroll by a letter from Louis Kerr, dated New Orleans, August 29, 1806 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-L6; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 280-281). "Understanding that you are charged with some superintendence over the ecclesiastical interests of this diocese," Kerr wrote to Carroll, "I take the liberty to add from myself, though you are possibly aware of it, that by the death of my respected friend the Church here is now without any legitimate head; a circumstance which may be attended by some pernicious consequences, in the present situation of our ecclesiastical affairs, respecting which you without doubt have been long since informed." The letter from Propaganda of September 20, 1805, placing Louisiana under Carroll's jurisdiction, was sent by Concanen on September 28. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-W3).

absent from the scene, the Church in New Orleans was a prey to the intriguing Sedella, who was known to many in the city as politically opposed to American interests.

In Propaganda's letter to Carroll, it was suggested that the United States Government be approached regarding church discipline in Louisiana; and, accordingly, on November 17, 1806, Dr. Carroll wrote to James Madison, then Secretary of State, repeating in part the letter he had received from Rome:

I was not so satisfied with the accounts of Louisiana, of the clergymen living there, as would justify a recommendation of any of them for the important trust, which requires not only a virtuous but very prudent conduct, great learning, especially in matters of a religious nature, and sufficient resolution to remove gradually the disorders which have grown up during the relaxed state of civil and ecclesiastical authority. I therefore directed my views to two others, who tho' Frenchmen, have been long resident in this country and steady in their attachment to it. But the removal of either of them to Louisiana was rendered impracticable, and circumstances have since occurred which perhaps make it unadvisable in the opinion of this government, to nominate for the bishop of that country any native of France or Louisiana. I therefore declined hitherto taking any concern in this business, tho' the situation of the church there has long required, and requires now more particularly a prompt interference, not only for the interests of religion, but likewise for quieting and composing the minds of the inhabitants. You will observe that my first commission to take a provisional charge of the diocese of N. Orleans was received long before the intermeddling of the Emperor Napoleon. This has been procured, as I am credibly informed from N. O. by a mission to Paris from a Mr. Castillon, who is at the head of the municipality, and an artful Spanish friar, Antonio de Sedilla, the intimate friend of the Marquis of Caso Calvo. This mission was entrusted to a certain Castanedo, who was furnished with \$4,000 to obtain a recommendation from the Emperor Napoleon for the immediate nomination of de Sedilla to the bishopric: but the attempt has completely miscarried, as you will see by the duplicate copy of the commission sent to me, &c. To this commission allow me to subjoin an extract from a letter of Card. Pietro, prefect of the Congreg. de Prop. fide at Rome, which I received at the same time. . . . From which it appears, that the acquiescence of our government is necessary with respect to the measures to be adopted for settling the ecclesiastical state of Louisiana. Something, as has been mentioned, is immediately necessary, before I proceed to determine on the choice of a subject fit to be recommended for the future bishop. If a native of this country, or one who is not a Frenchman, tho' well acquainted with the language, cannot be procured, would it be satisfactory to the Executive of the U. S. to recommend a native of France who has

long resided amongst us, and is desirous of continuing under this government? In the mean time, as the only clergyman in Louisiana, in any degree qualified to act with vigor and intelligence in restoring order in the Cath. church, is a French emigrant priest, far from any attachment to the present system of his country. May he be appointed to act as my vicar, without the disapprobation of our Executive? I have many reasons for believing that this person rejoices sincerely in the cession of that country to the United States.¹⁸

Madison replied, on November 20, to the effect that the American Government would welcome an end to the religious strife which was distracting the city of New Orleans. Sedella was regarded as an artful conspirator, and the appointment of an exemplary priest as head of ecclesiastical affairs would be highly satisfactory:

Right Reverend Sir,

I have had the honour to receive and lay before the President your letter of the 17th inst, enclosing a duplicate of the commission which places under your care the Roman Catholic Church in New Orleans and requesting the sentiments of the Executive on certain discretionary points affecting the selection of the functionaries to be named by you.

The delicacy towards the public authority and the laudable object which led to the enquiry you are pleased to make, are appreciated by the President, in the manner which they so justly merit. But as the case is entirely ecclesiastical it is deemed most congenial with the scrupulous policy of the Constitution in guarding against a political interference with religious affairs, to decline the explanations which you have thought might enable you to accommodate the better, the execution of your trust, to the public advantage. I have the pleasure, Sir, to add, that if that consideration had less influence, the President would find a motive to the same determination, in his perfect confidence in the purity of your views, and in the patriotism which will guide you, in the selection of ecclesiastical individuals, to such as combine with their professional merits, a due attachment to the independence, the Constitution and the prosperity of the United States.

I enclose the document which you requested might be returned, and pray you to accept assurances of the perfect respect and esteem with which,

I remain,

Your most obt^d Serv^t

JAMES MADISON.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-E7; cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 591-592.

¹⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-E7; printed in the *Records*, vol. XX, pp. 62-63. On March 3, 1807, Carroll wrote to his nephew, Daniel Brent, who was then in the State Department: "He [Mr. Madison] may be assured that if any

With this letter came a private answer from Madison, treating the matter more in detail:

You will find by the enclosed letter that an official answer to the enquiries in yours of the 17th has not been given. The reason for declining it does not however forbid my saying in a private letter that nothing being known concerning Mr. L'Espinasse except from your account of him in which all due confidence is placed, no objection can lie against the use you propose to make of him: and that in general it affords satisfaction to find you, as might well be presumed, so fully in a disposition to admit into the stations for which you are to provide as little of alienage of any sort as will consist with the essential attention and duties of them. Of the Spanish Friar Antonio di Sedella the accounts received here agree with the character you have formed of him. It appears that his intrigues & his connections have drawn on him the watchful attention of the Government of that Territory.

Altho' I am aware that in the arrangements committed to your discretion & execution, considerations operate very different from those of a political nature, I will not conceal my wish that instead of a temporary subordination of the R. C. Church at N. Orleans to the General Diocese, the subordination had been made permanent, or rather that it had involved a modification of some proper sort leaving less of a distinctive feature in that quarter already marked by sundry peculiarities. I am betrayed into this expression, or rather intrusion of such a sentiment by my anxiety to see the union and harmony of every portion of our country strengthened by every legitimate circumstance which may in any wise have that tendency.

The letter from Mr. Portales had been forwarded hither in several copies from N. O. where it has excited the sensations likely to result from it. This foreign interposition, qualified as it is, was manifestly reprehensible, being in a case where it could be founded neither in any political nor ecclesiastical relation whatever. It is probable, at the same time, that the step was produced less by any deep or insidious designs, than by the flattering unjust importunities of the parties at N. O. & by a tenderness towards a people once a part of the French nation, and alienated by the policy of its Gov't not by their own act. The interposition will be made by our Minister a topic of such observations, as without overcharging the wrong, may be calculated to prevent repetitions.²⁰

Dr. Carroll appointed as his vicar-general, Father John Olivier, the brother of the venerable missionary at Post Vin-

clergyman acting there under my authority should ever betray dispositions or countenance measures unfriendly to the Sovereignty of the United States; or, if ever he should hold correspondence of a suspicious nature with a foreign nation, he shall be deprived of any commission from me and of the care of souls." (*Catholic Archives of America, Notre Dame University.*)

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Case 5-E8.

cennes, Father Donatien Olivier. On April 5, 1808, Propaganda sent a further Brief to Dr. Carroll defining his powers over Louisiana and ordered him to appoint Father Charles Nerinckx, "on whose zeal and virtue we greatly rely in Our Lord," or, if the latter feel unequal to the task, some other worthy priest as administrator-apostolic of that diocese. Father Nerinckx refused the task, as did several others to whom Archbishop Carroll offered the burdensome post. In the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, there is a letter, remarkable because of its four signatures (Badin and the three Dominicans, Wilson, Angier and Tuite), dated September 1, 1809, approving Father Nerinckx's stand against accepting the Louisiana charge.²¹ On December 17, 1810, Archbishop Carroll informed Pius VII that he had found grave difficulty in persuading any of his priests to go to New Orleans, but that he deemed Father William Du Bourg as well fitted for the task. The negotiations with the Holy See lingered for two more years, until finally Du Bourg accepted the post and was appointed Administrator-Apostolic of the Diocese of Louisiana and the two Floridas. He left Baltimore on October 18, 1812, for his distant charge.²²

Louis-Guillaume-Valentin Du Bourg was born at Cap François, San Domingo, in February, 1766. He entered the Sulpician Order after the completion of his theological studies at Paris, where he was ordained in 1788. He was Superior of the Issy section of the Preparatory Seminary founded by Father Nagot, when the French Revolution broke out; in 1794, he emigrated to America and offered his services to Bishop Carroll. As President of Georgetown College (1796-1799), and as the founder of St. Mary's College, Baltimore (1800), Du Bourg's place in the history of American Catholic education is secure. It was he who turned Mother Seton's thoughts towards the education of Catholic girls (1806), and it was largely through his influence that the Society for the Propagation of the Faith

²¹ Case 1-J4. The part the Dominicans took in assisting Nerinckx to remain in Kentucky had the good effect of assisting both sides towards a better understanding. Cf. O'DANIEL, *Fennick*, p. 160. The rescript of Propaganda (April 5, 1808) will be found in SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 596-597; MAES, *Nerinckx*, p. 293; HOWLETT, *Nerinckx*, p. 191.

²² Cf. SOUVAY, *A Centennial of the Church in St. Louis*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iv, p. 53. The letter of appointment will be found *ibid.*, p. 56.

(organized at Lyons, France, in 1822), supported the educational institutions of the United States. For three years Father Du Bourg remained in Louisiana striving to bring order into the Church there. In Lower Louisiana at the time there were more than 50,000 Catholics, but the parishes were few, and there were not enough priests to take charge of them.

In contemporary reports on Louisiana to Propaganda we read :

Many Catholics die without the sacraments, many children are unbaptized; others scarcely see a priest once in a lifetime; marriages are contracted without a blessing; Christian doctrine is not taught, and such a decay of Catholic life is to be observed, that within a few years the Catholic faith will be entirely obliterated . . . There is rife in the city of New Orleans a spirit of unbelief, or rather of godlessness which is gradually corrupting the whole mass. This plague is to be attributed to the coming of a great number of free-masons and hucksters of every description, to the spread of French maxims, to infrequent preaching of the Gospel, to love of lucre and pleasure, so much intensified by the climate and the number of female slaves; above all to the scandals given by the clergy.²³

To make things much worse at the time, at the very gates of the city stood an English army ready for attack.

After the victory under General Jackson at New Orleans, on January 8, 1815, Father Du Bourg decided to go to Rome to lay his problems before the officials of Propaganda. The long detention of Pope Pius VII by Napoleon, at Savona and Fontainebleau, had disorganized the ordinary relations between the head of the Church and the American dioceses, as we have seen in the long delays caused in the succession to the Sees of New York and Philadelphia; and correspondence was so often interrupted or destroyed, that Du Bourg thought it best to go to Rome personally for the affairs of his vast administratorship. Sedella still remained in New Orleans, and though quiescent during Du Bourg's residence in Louisiana, the wily Capuchin saw in the appointment of Father Louis Sibourd as vicar-general in the absence of the administrator, another opportunity for causing disorder. Du Bourg realized that once he had departed,

²³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 335; all the important documents on the Sedella Schism are printed *in extenso* by SOUVAY, *ut supra*, pp. 53-75.

Sedella would renew the old schism; but he determined to face that difficulty, and on May 4, 1815, he set out for Europe. When he arrived in France (July, 1815), the country was in an uproar, consequent upon Waterloo and the abdication of Napoleon. From Bordeaux, on July 12, he sent Cardinal Litta, Prefect of Propaganda, a preliminary report on the Church in Louisiana. Of Sedella he says: "This man, impatient of control and quite expert in the art of tickling the popular fancy, who for thirty years and more has lorded it in the Cathedral and holds and twists at will in his hand the minds of nearly all the inhabitants of a large city, this man, I say, challenging my power to delegate my authority, is, now that the first schism kindled by him has been quenched, threatening, to start another. Unless treatment is promptly applied to this frightful calamity, the evil, I fear, will soon be past remedy."²⁴ Propaganda now had all the documents on the Louisiana Church in its possession for decision, as can be seen from the *Acta* of September 14, 1815. When Du Bourg reached Rome, he was consecrated Bishop of Louisiana (September 24, 1815).²⁵ Archbishop Carroll died before the news of Du Bourg's elevation to the episcopate reached Baltimore. With this appointment, the Diocese of Baltimore was relieved of further anxiety over church affairs in old Louisiana. Bishop Du Bourg proposed to the Holy See, while he was in Rome, the division of his diocese into two parts—Upper Louisiana, with its see at St. Louis, and Lower Louisiana, with a see at New Orleans. For the Diocese of Upper Louisiana, he advised that Bishop Flaget be transferred from Bardstown, and that Prince Gallitzin be consecrated Bishop of the Kentucky see. Propaganda wrote to Archbishop Carroll and to Bishop Flaget, on December 23, 1815, asking their advice and consent

²⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iv, *Notizia de Luigiana*.

²⁵ He had been already appointed for the first time in 1812, shortly after being made Administrator, and had accepted the appointment. His Bulls, however, were delayed. Father Maréchal, then in France, wrote that he expected to be the bearer of them; but he returned to Baltimore without them. Pope Pius VII, lingering in prison and worn out by the intrigues and harassing vexations of his imperial gaoler, firmly declined to issue any more Bulls. SPALDING, *Flaget*, pp. 163-164. A note informs us that all these particulars are gathered from a letter of Du Bourg to Bishop Flaget, dated Baltimore, August 11, 1812. SOUVAY, *ut supra*, p. 61, note 11; *Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1814), f. 153.

to this plan.²⁶ Archbishop Carroll had passed away, before this letter was written; Flaget, who had probably suggested the plan to Du Bourg, subsequently changed his mind, and the latter remained as bishop of that immense territory from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border.²⁷

Sedella, the *inimicus homo* of the diocese had not been idle, and when the news of his machinations reached Bishop Du Bourg at Bordeaux, that prelate—like a general who wishes to conquer a country, and does not therefore stop to besiege fortified cities—decided to fix upon St. Louis as his episcopal city.²⁸ He felt free to do this, since he had been consecrated Bishop of Louisiana. Cardinal Dugnani, Pro-Prefect of Propaganda, approved this design. Correspondence with Rome was slow in those days and Bishop Du Bourg, while waiting for an answer to other matters submitted to Propaganda, spent his time going about France, preaching and collecting for his new diocese. He sailed for America on July 1, 1817, accompanied by twenty-nine recruits for the Louisiana Mission: five priests, four subdeacons, nine clerics, three Christian Brothers, four ecclesiastical students and four workmen. This party arrived at Annapolis, Md., in September, 1817, and then started westward (November 4) to St. Louis, where Bishop Du Bourg arrived on January 5, 1818, after a journey of nearly six thousand miles. The subsequent history of this remarkable prelate's career belongs to the period after Carroll's death.²⁹

The most remarkable page in the history of Louisiana, though

²⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 296, f. 248.

²⁷ SPALDING, *Flaget*, pp. 166-169.

²⁸ Du Bourg to Father De Andreis, Lyons, France, April 24, 1816. Cf. SOUVAY, *ut supra*, p. 62.

²⁹ Souvay has given a well-documented history of this complex page in American Catholic annals in his article on the *Centennial of the Church in St. Louis (ut supra)*, and in *Rosati's Election to the Coadjutorship of New Orleans (Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iii, pp. 3-21, 165-186). On July 18, 1826, Pope Leo XII divided the Diocese of Louisiana, erecting the Dioceses of New Orleans and of St. Louis, and the Vicariate of Mississippi. Bishop Du Bourg resigned, and New Orleans was placed under the jurisdiction of his coadjutor, Bishop Rosati, C.M., who had been consecrated in 1824, and who was appointed Bishop of St. Louis, March 20, 1827. Bishop Du Bourg was transferred to the Diocese of Montauban in France (August 13, 1826), and later (1833) became Archbishop of Besançon. Bishop Leo de Neckere, C.M., became the first resident Bishop of New Orleans (1829) and as Administrator-Apostolic of New Orleans (1826-30), Bishop Rosati ruled the Vicariate of Mississippi. The Diocese of Natchez was established (1837), when Bishop John Chanche assumed jurisdiction.

belonging to this later period, is the coming of the Vincentian Fathers or the Congregation of the Mission to St. Louis in 1817. Few events of the years under review in this life of America's first Catholic bishop would have given Dr. Carroll more reason for rejoicing than the scenes at Baltimore and Annapolis, when the several groups of Apostles for the Middle West arrived, their journey but half completed. Father Felix Andreis, the founder of the Vincentian Order in the United States, was a man after Carroll's heart. But Carroll's relations with this far-off part of his jurisdiction were not of so important a nature as to demand a more detailed treatment. The same may be said to a certain extent regarding his extra-diocesan jurisdiction over the West Indies.

The West Indies, the first islands to be discovered in the New World, enter the pages of English Catholic history as early as 1605, when Father Robert Persons in a celebrated decision of March 18, of that year, gives his judgment against the Winslade project of founding a refuge there for the persecuted English Catholics. The restrictions placed upon all who wished to set out for the New World were sufficiently irksome, and the great Jesuit leader threw the weight of his influence against the "goinge thither of a whole nation," and it was only when Maryland was founded in 1634, that the first available refuge for the proscribed Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland was begun. The nearness of the Spanish West Indies had been brought up as an objection to the plantation of Maryland; the fear being that the Catholics of Maryland might combine with the Catholics of the West Indies, to the detriment of the Protestants of Virginia and New England. The objectors were reassured that distance would save these Protestant colonies "from their blood-thirsty Catholic brethren."³⁰ With the growth of English colonization in the West Indies and the transportation of offenders, criminal and political, to certain of the islands, the necessity arose of caring for the spiritual welfare of the Catholics in those places under British control. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the London Vicariate from 1685 onwards was understood, though erroneously, to include all the English colonies in the New World,

³⁰ Cf. RUSSELL, *op cit.*, pp. 66-69.

and the condition of the Church in the West Indies forms, as has been seen, a paragraph in Dr. Challoner's *Report to Propaganda* (1756).³¹

The clergy supply was a haphazard one all through the eighteenth century, and we know practically nothing of the priests who laboured in the Islands nor how they were sent or governed. Whether there were any relations between the Maryland Jesuits and the Islands is equally uncertain. At the time of the persecution of the Jesuits in Maryland (1645-46), a plan was afoot among the Fathers to ask the King of Spain for a refuge there for themselves and the Catholics, since they all feared expulsion from Maryland; but the General refused to give his consent to the plan (November 10, 1646).³² Numerous changes of political overlordship in the Islands occurred during the eighteenth century, the chief of these being that effected by the Treaty of Paris (1763). Even at that date, however, Dr. Challoner was obliged to confess that he was "entirely ignorant of the present state of the Catholic religion in them, or what the ecclesiastical government is."³³ In 1771, Dr. Challoner proposed to Propaganda that a French Franciscan, Father Benjamin Duhamel, be appointed Vicar-Apostolic for the West Indies; but the Sacred Congregation replied that Duhamel's powers as Vicar-General of the London Vicariate were sufficient for the former French islands and that one of the Irish Dominicans in Monserrat should be given equal powers for the English-speaking Catholics. Dr. Challoner was told also that an application to the Holy See should be made for both vicars-general to be given power to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation.³⁴ A secular priest, Father Christopher McEvoy had been appointed about this time Prefect-Apostolic for the Danish West Indies, and later in March, 1776, Father McEvoy's jurisdiction was extended to the Barbadoes, St. Kitt's and other adjacent islands. The condition of the Church in the West Indies was not a very encouraging one; and with the outbreak of the French Revolution, especially in the larger islands like Santo Domingo, plantations were burned and

³¹ Cf. BURTON, *Challoner*, vol. ii, p. 162.

³² Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part i, p. 33; Text, vol. i, pp. 563-564.

³³ Cf. BURTON, *op. cit.* vol. ii, p. 134.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

white colonists put to death, in some cases with horrible tortures. A general exodus of white families occurred and several of the larger cities, Savannah, Charleston, S. C., Baltimore, and Philadelphia, became places of refuge for these exiles, most of whom were Catholics.

It is not certain when the doleful condition of the Church in the West Indies was made known to the authorities at Rome, though from a letter sent by Propaganda to Dr. Carroll, under date of March 10, 1804, it would seem that Robert Tuite's letters regarding the state of the Faith in the Danish Islands had aroused the Sacred Congregation to the necessity of bringing order into the Church there. Accordingly, on this day, Propaganda wrote to Dr. Carroll, enclosing a copy of Tuite's letter, and informing him that juridic powers over the Danish Islands, St. Eustace, the Barbadoes, St. Kitt's, Antigua, and all other islands not under the rule of a bishop, or a vicar-apostolic, or a prefect-apostolic, were thereby vested in him.³⁵ Dr. Carroll was to appoint a priest as administrator in his name, and to the administrator, the Holy See conceded the privilege of conferring the Sacrament of Confirmation. The jurisdiction over these West Indian Islands was confirmed by letter of March 24, 1804, and instead of one administrator, the Holy See gave Dr. Carroll the power to select two; since, as Dr. Concanen had explained, the distances were so great that one would be insufficient for the task involved. One of these prefects or administrators should be assigned to the Danish Islands, another to all the other islands. Bishop Carroll accepted this added responsibility and appointed Father Henry Kendall, Prefect of the Danish Islands. Carroll made an effort to ascertain the state of religion in the other islands, but whether he actually appointed any one to the prefectship over them is not known. At any rate, he seems to have sent no word to Rome about the West Indies, since, on March 11, 1815, Propaganda wrote to the effect that, owing to the lack of information it possessed, the Sacred Congregation was ignorant of the condition of the Church in the Islands. "I ask Your Lordship, therefore,

³⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-J10, Case 10-K2-6, Case 11A-V1. Shea gives the date of this appointment as 1811 (cf. *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 651); but we were unable to find any documents of this date either in *Propaganda* or in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*.

to inform me as soon as possible in regard to a matter of such great moment as this, and at the same time you are requested to make a survey of the condition of things in Santo Domingo and in the other islands committed to your care." ³⁶ By the time this letter reached Archbishop Carroll, he was not able to attend to so laborious a task, and the jurisdiction granted to him as metropolitan seems to have fallen into disuse after his death.

³⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 296, f. 47.

CHAPTER XXXV
THE CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF BALTIMORE
(1808-1815)

The history of Carroll's jurisdiction over the Diocese of Baltimore falls into two distinct periods: the first begins with Bishop Carroll's return to Baltimore on December 7, 1790, and ends with the consecration of the three suffragan bishops—Flaget, Cheverus, and Egan—in November, 1810; the second begins with the creation of the American hierarchy at this latter date and ends with Carroll's death on December 3, 1815. The change that came with the suffragan sees was not a definite one, even geographically. There was left, of the original Diocese of Baltimore, the States of Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia. The territory south of Tennessee and west of Georgia also remained part of the Baltimore See, although Carroll had recommended to Propaganda (December, 1806) that it be annexed to the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas. When Louisiana became United States territory in 1803, this vast acquisition was placed under the administration of John Carroll, and in 1805, as we have seen in the last chapter, his jurisdiction was extended by Rome to certain islands of the West Indies. Besides, the Diocese of New York in the interim between Concanen's death and the consecration of Connolly, remained under his rule. The division which came, therefore, in 1808-1810, was not of a nature to lighten considerably Carroll's burden as Chief Shepherd of the flock in the United States. Little was done in the Dioceses of Boston, Philadelphia and Bardstown from 1810 to 1815, without his being called upon for advice and direction. To all practical purposes, the *sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* of the United States rested upon Carroll's shoulders during the twenty-five years of his episcopate (1790-1815).

The first authentic history of the condition of religious life in the Diocese of Baltimore is contained in Carroll's *Relation* to

Propaganda, dated April 23, 1792.¹ There is hardly any paragraph of this long letter which has not been used already in these pages in describing the origin and growth of Catholic life within the Republic. A summary of this valuable document is, however, necessary at the beginning of this chapter. Carroll relates the arrival of the Sulpicians in July, 1791, and the foundation of St. Mary's Seminary; he thanks Propaganda for its generosity in the establishment of Georgetown College; he deplores the lack of priests for his vast diocese, and mentions in particular the neglected condition of the old French congregations of the Illinois County in Vincennes, Kaskaskia, etc. French priests were being handicapped by their want of facility in the English language. The Scioto Colony had been badly shattered by dissensions which arose among the colonists, many of whom held religion and piety in scorn. He had visited Boston shortly after his return from Europe and administered Confirmation there. He was obliged to dismiss the priest who was stationed there and he hopes that Thayer, as an American, will be more acceptable to the people of that region. The schism in Philadelphia was caused by two priests who were disregarding his authority, and who were men of low morals, and organizers of anti-episcopal factions. The disorders in Philadelphia are matched by the insubordination of a Franciscan in Baltimore (Reuter) who was continuing to celebrate Mass even though suspended *a divinis*. The "newcomers" in general are a source of grave concern to him, and he had set his hopes on Georgetown College and on St. Mary's Seminary for the creation of a native American clergy, through whom alone he sees the possibility of ruling the Church peacefully and efficiently. For that reason he is awaiting the return of the two Americans who were then nearing the priesthood in the Collegio Urbano. The Carmelite nuns have by this time been fairly well established in their life of prayer and contemplation, and their devotion has already made a deep impression on the non-Catholics of the locality where they lived (Port Tobacco). They would be, however, of far greater utility to the Diocese, if they were to establish an academy for young girls.

The Synod of 1791 is then described. The legislation enacted by the twenty-two priests who were present embraced the better

¹ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture originali*, vol. 893, not folioed.

government of the diocese, clerical discipline, liturgical uniformity, and the support of the clergy. Carroll took advantage of the presence of his priests to emphasize the immediate need of a coadjutor or a division of the Diocese of Baltimore. His reasons for this are set forth clearly, and if the Holy See agreed, then either Philadelphia or New York was to be the choice of the second see. The Susquehanna River was to form the dividing line of the two dioceses. His own choice would be Philadelphia, since it was the larger city, was already well furnished with priests and churches, and possessed a clergy-house large enough for the episcopal residence. Carroll then recalled the fact that the Missal and the Breviary being used by his clergy were those in use in England, containing the supplements for England. He asked that these might be abandoned from the Roman Missal and Breviary, and that certain privileges regarding feasts be accorded the American clergy. The "Proper" for England had always been used in the English Colonies, but it seemed best to abandon it for the reason that the American Church was definitely separated from London. Besides, the Irish clergy in the United States refused to celebrate the English saints. He requested the episcopal privilege of conceding certain indulgences: Plenary, from Christmas to Epiphany, the first and second Sundays of Lent, from Pentecost to the octave of Corpus Christi, the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, from the Sunday preceding the Assumption to the end of the octave, and the same for the feast of St. Michael, and for All Saints'. He recalled to Propaganda that at the Synod of 1791, he had placed the Church in America under the protection of the Blessed Mother of God, as the principal patroness of the diocese. He had been consecrated on the feast of the Assumption, and at the express wish of the clergy he had set aside the Sunday within the octave of the Assumption as the principal feast for the people of the diocese. He asked the Holy See, therefore, to add to the indulgences already granted for that feast, special privileges which would add to the fervour and devotion of the flock. The disadvantage under which lay certain congregations that saw a priest but once every month or every two months is mentioned, and special privileges are asked so that they may not be deprived of the benefit of these indulgences.

Before concluding his *Relation*, he felt it necessary to return to the question of creating a second see in the United States or of naming a coadjutor for the diocese. Again, he asks for the same concession which was granted on his own election, namely, freedom of choice on the part of the priests of the diocese. Until a regular procedure be established, he suggested that the priests name ten electors, the ten oldest priests in the diocese, and that he name five more, who would be chosen for their prudence and worthiness. This electoral body of fifteen would then proceed to choose a coadjutor. By this time (April, 1792) John Carroll knew the conditions prevailing in his diocese well enough to realize that at the very outset a decided stand should be taken in order to preclude individual interference in the independence of his episcopal jurisdiction. The French intrigue, the Scioto affair, and the Oneida scheme had been sufficiently dangerous to the autonomy of the American Church to arouse the American priesthood to a sense of danger from alien intrusion. Carroll naturally added the clause that the Holy See would reserve to itself the right to reject the election decided upon by the American priests, and that the clergy here would proceed to a second election in case of such a rejection.

On August 13, 1792, this *Relation* was read before a general congregation of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, and the *Atti* of that date show how thoroughly each paragraph of Carroll's *Relation* was studied.² The Report drawn up by Antonelli consisted of nine chapters: Chapter I—The Seminary at Baltimore; Chapter II—Georgetown College; Chapter III—The Carmelite Nuns; Chapter IV—The Missions; Chapter V—The German Priests; Chapter VI—The Scioto Colony and Dom Didier; Chapter VII—The National Synod of 1791; Chapter VIII—The "Postulati" of Carroll, namely, a coadjutor, the change in the Missal and Breviary, dispensations, indulgences; the national Catholic feast of the Assumption, and the special privilege of the Sulpicians to retain their own Divine Office; Chapter IX—The "Dubbi," namely, the continuance of the subsidy to Georgetown, the education of girls by the Carmelite nuns, the insubordinate German priests, the proposed Diocese of Philadelphia, etc.,

² *Ibid.*, *Atti* (1792), no. 13, f. 142.

etc. At the end of these "Dubbi" comes a list of resolutions passed in the general congregation, chief of which is the decision of Propaganda to allow the American clergy to elect a coadjutor for the Diocese of Baltimore, the creation of a second See being deferred. Then follow a short history of Catholicism in the United States, based upon the archives of Propaganda Fide, and a valuable series of historical notes on the American Church by the Archivist of the Sacred Congregation.

This long document was sent to Bishop Carroll on September 29, 1792, accompanied by a letter of congratulation from Antonelli.⁸ Carroll's diocesan organization met with the warmest praise from the cardinals present, and the Holy See was very much encouraged by the establishment of Georgetown College and St. Mary's Seminary—"Num non erat mirifice laudanda sedulitas illa ac diligentia tua, quam tam egregie, tam naviter, ac tam ingenti studio, ac praeclara voluntate christianam rem administras, ac regis in amplissimis istis foederatae Americae regionibus? Imo vero nunquam satis te extollere laudibus arbitrati sunt Eminentissimi Patres. . . ." Propaganda regretted to announce the death of Carroll's friend, Father Thorpe. Carroll is commended for his staunch stand against the insubordinate priests of Philadelphia and Baltimore. Regarding the request for a division of the diocese, the Holy See was prepared to grant any wish Carroll might make, but the opinion in Rome was against the division, for the reason that the organized Church in the United States should remain during its infancy under one head. Propaganda, therefore, was in favour of granting a coadjutor for the Diocese of Baltimore, and gave permission to the American priests for a second time to elect the priest they believed to be worthy of the dignity of the episcopate. All the other "postulata" were granted, and a final word is added about Smith and Dougherty, the two young Americans in the College Urbano. Carroll is told also that Propaganda feared that Thayer would prove to be a difficult subject to rule.

We have already seen how the American clergy first made a selection of Father Laurence Graessl, who died before his consecration, and how in his place Father Leonard Neale was chosen

⁸ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 262, f. 558.

and was consecrated in 1800, as Coadjutor-Bishop of Baltimore. Very little correspondence appears to have passed between Baltimore and Rome for the next few years. The conditions in Europe were adverse to the safe-conduct of letters. The first documents we meet are those concerning Bishop-elect Graessl's appointment. Propaganda, unaware that Graessl had passed away during the yellow fever epidemic (October, 1793), wrote to him on January 18, 1794, congratulating him on his election.⁴ The Holy See had decided, the letter runs, to postpone the division of the Diocese of Baltimore, because it was felt in Rome that one or two suffragan Sees would be insufficient for the complete organization of the American hierarchy. On this same day, Propaganda despatched two letters to Carroll: the first announces Graessl's election, and the fact that the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation insisted on the freedom which the Holy See would exercise at any time it was deemed advisable to divide the Diocese of Baltimore; the second letter is apparently in reply to a *Relation* sent by Carroll in June, 1793, and contains sundry details of administration, among which is the instruction that Carroll establish a cathedral chapter to be made up, however, only of honorary members, without any jurisdiction in diocesan affairs. Carroll is likewise to appoint a vicar-general, according to the decree *Ex sublimi* of Benedict XIV (January 26, 1753), who would become administrator in case the see fell vacant.⁵

Again, a silence of several years. This time it is broken by the charges made at Rome against Carroll by the insurgent German priest, Reuter, the founder of St. John's German Church in Baltimore. During the time that Goetz and Elling were carrying part of their German flock in Philadelphia into schism, Father Cæsar Reuter, who was stationed at St. Peter's, Bishop Carroll's residence, for the purpose of ministering to the German Catholics of the city, organized a similar plot in Baltimore. Much correspondence regarding these unfortunate priests is in the Archives of Propaganda. The difficulties they caused during Carroll's episcopate are, so far as the documents are concerned, out of all proportion with the more encouraging aspects of Catholic progress during these same years. Reuter was one of that class of

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 266, f. 366.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 367.

intruders who came with the ambition to rule independently of all legitimate authority. He had been accepted (1797) by Bishop Carroll for the purpose of ministering to the German Catholics of the city of Baltimore, and he soon urged his compatriots to erect a separate church. This was attempted against Carroll's wishes, and within a year it was evident that the congregation could not support a pastor. Reuter then returned to Germany, and, making his way to Rome, lodged complaints against Carroll similar to those of the Philadelphia recalcitrants. On April 23, 1798, the Secretary of Propaganda informed Carroll of these charges, and of Reuter's demand that the Germans of the United States be given a German bishop for themselves. Among these charges were the alleged fact that Carroll would not permit German children to be instructed in their own tongue, would not allow the use of a German catechism, and threatened to excommunicate any priest who preached in German. While Propaganda admitted that if these charges were true, Carroll must have had sufficient reasons; nevertheless, stress is placed on the last of them, and the bishop was warned that the punishment of excommunication was too severe. Reuter had prepared a catechism in German which he presented to Propaganda for inspection; but the officials in Rome advised him that it would have been better had he translated into German Cardinal Bellarmine's excellent catechism, since the multiplication of such books had often caused difficulties in the Church—"cum tanta hujus generis librorum, ut experientia docuit copia detrimento potius fuerit quam utilitati." Cardinal Gerdil, the letter continues, had once said that it was far easier to write a *Cursus universae theologiae* than a small catechism. The Holy See had relieved Reuter of the censure Carroll had placed upon him, but on condition that he did not return to America. Meanwhile the Germans had completed the Church of St. John, and in 1799, Reuter returned; and despite his suspension by Carroll, the unfortunate priest took possession of the church and carried the little congregation into schism. On April 19, 1799, Reuter wrote to Propaganda from Baltimore, accusing Carroll of endeavouring to Americanize the Germans, and Propaganda replied (from Venice) to Reuter, on December 21, 1799, upholding the authority of Bishop Carroll and rebuking Reuter for his bold and irreverent letter. In stating that Carroll

had forbidden the Germans to be instructed in their own tongue, Propaganda answered that Reuter was lying—"in twelve churches, at least, of the diocese, even in the one the Bishop (Carroll) uses at present as a cathedral, sermons are delivered in German, and you, yourself, before you came to Rome, often preached in that cathedral in German to the people of that language." Propaganda saw no necessity for erecting a separate church for the Germans in Baltimore; and as regarded Reuter's request for a German Bishop, there was no answer except an absolute refusal. The Sacred Congregation was amazed at such a request—"Illud vero absonum prorsus, atque omnino iniquum est, quod a te petitur. . . . Cui unquam hoc in mentem venire potuit? . . . Ergone in omni diocesi quot nationes sunt, tot episcopi erunt? Sed supervacaneum est in re tam absurda tamque ecclesiasticae disciplinae adversa vel minimum immorari." Moreover, the Sacred Congregation saw no need of Reuter's catechism, and the letter concludes with a severe rebuke on Reuter's unseemly language regarding Dr. Carroll.⁶ Bishop Carroll had experienced the sad efforts of men of Reuter's type of mind in the Philadelphia Schism, and he wrote on February 9, and August 24, 1799, informing Propaganda that Reuter finally had accomplished a schism in the episcopal city. On December 14, 1799, Propaganda replied (from Venice) urging Carroll to stand firmly for episcopal authority—"ut nullum unquam vulnus ordinariae potestati fiat, nullisque illius exercitium vinculis coarctetur."⁷ In his letter of February 9, 1799, Carroll explained the animus behind the movement of Reuter and his associates, and it does not make pleasant reading to-day. It would be too tedious to repeat the whole history of this schismatic movement, in which Philadelphia and Baltimore had joined hands against Carroll, but the closing sentence of Carroll's letter is indicative of its contents: "Non ignoro alia scripta fuisse adversum me, sive a sacerdote Gulielmo Elling, qui unus est eorum contra quos lata est excommunicationis sententia, quique nihilominus pro pastore se gerit schismaticae Philadelphiae SSmae. Trinitatis ecclesiae, sive ab alio cui nomen Franciscus Rogatus Fromm ex quodam regularium Ordine sacerdos. Longum foret hujus viri historiam texere, aut

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 277, f. 410.

⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 217.

crimina et infidelitatem narrare, quam vehementer coelibatum ecclesiasticum condemnet, ac quoties matrimonium sollicitaverit. Si talibus obnoxius non essem, neque illorum calumniis impetitus magis quam unquam episcopali characterе indignus essem.”⁸ Carroll’s letter of August 20, 1799, is one of the most emphatic in his correspondence with Rome. Reuter had appeared in Baltimore with letters from the Holy See authorizing the building of the German church which was to be independent of his episcopal jurisdiction. Carroll was certain, he wrote, that the Holy See would never exercise its influence to diminish the authority of a diocesan bishop by granting such powers to a youthful priest (adolescentulo sacerdoti), one too who belonged to a religious Order; if such were the case, it would undoubtedly diminish ecclesiastical discipline and disturb the peace of the diocese. He urged Propaganda to write clearly and distinctly and without tergiversation, just what authority he, as bishop, held; and to tell him whether he or the malcontents and disturbers of the peace were to rule the diocese. “We live among non-Catholic sects,” Carroll writes, “and there is no hope of the civil magistracy or the secular powers putting these stubborn men in their place. Therefore, it seems to me that it is of grave importance to strengthen episcopal jurisdiction rather than to lessen it by exemptions; for, if the power of the bishop fails, then all hope of regulating the moral conduct of the clergy and of the laity perishes.”⁹ His priests were so impatient with Rome’s apparent solicitude for the wishes of the rebels that they were then preparing a letter to the Holy See to vindicate Carroll’s action. The unfortunate affair is mentioned in another letter from Carroll’s pen, dated October 12, 1799, in which he asserts that there were not at that time thirty Germans in the city who were unable to speak English, and that even the children of these were more familiar with English than with the language of their parents. It was on the receipt of these letters that Cardinal Gerdil wrote (December 14, 1799) from Venice, where he had gone for the election of Pius VII, assuring Carroll that he was extremely sorry to learn that the Congregation’s kindness to Reuter had given

⁸ *Ibid.*, *Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, f. 66.

⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 67.

the latter ground to cause so much trouble in the diocese.¹⁰ The esteem of the Holy See for Carroll's prudence, piety, personal character and learning was a high one, and the Holy See felt certain that the episcopal dignity and authority would never suffer by his administration. Gerdil's letter to Reuter on December 21, 1799, left the insurgent priest little hope of success in his schismatic church movement; but the scandal continued for four years. In 1801, Reuter showed a desire to be reconciled to the Church. He wrote to Bishop Carroll, from New York, on September 4, 1801, asking to be restored to his priestly functions;¹¹ and on November 19, 1801, Dr. Carroll laid down the conditions for his submission, namely, the recognition of no other ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Diocese of Baltimore except that of the Holy See and the Ordinary, the submission of all, no matter of what nationality, to that jurisdiction, and the necessity of delegation by the Bishop for the legitimate and canonical exercise of priestly functions:¹²

1. The Bishop will require nothing from the German Catholics, which can be refused by any one, who understands the doctrines of his church, her invariable government and discipline, and wishes to avoid the dreadful evils of schism, and a shameful degradation of the Spiritual authority, committed by Christ to the Apostles and their Successors in the pastoral office.

2. If he should consent to the building of a new church in Baltimore for the Germans, it will be on the following conditions: 1. that the said church be subject in all spiritual things to episcopal government and visitation, as it is expressly directed for all other churches, in the Pope's Brief for establishing the Bishoprick of Baltimore. 2. that no clergyman, who is not allowed by the Bishop; or, who having been allowed, be suspended afterwards, shall perform any ministry in the said church, teach, preach, or administer any Sacraments therein. And if this ever be done, in defiance of episcopal right and the laws of the Church, the Bishop may, without opposition, interdict & forbid divine service in the aforesaid Church.

3. That it must not be pretended, that the Church so to be built, shall be entitled to the rights of a parochial church, but only be considered as a chapel of ease to St. Peter's church, which alone shall enjoy the prerogatives of a parish church, till it be otherwise ordained by the Bishop or his Successors. Therefore, the Rector or pastor of St. Peter's alone

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 68.

¹¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 7-A8.

¹² *Ibid.*, Case 7-A9.

shall perform all pastoral functions, such as baptisms, marriages, burials, the administration of the sick, regulations for Easter communion, and the first communion of young persons. He alone shall keep the register of baptisms, marriages & burials.

4. The Germans, who wish to build such a church, should chuse and by a written paper signed with their own hands, constitute & appoint a few of their own number to transact with the Bishop all necessary articles, relating to the said church, & authorizing the persons so appointed to sign the articles of agreement in their name, binding themselves to keep faithfully all, that shall be agreed on; and declaring, that if ever hereafter they themselves, or others, their successors, should act contrary thereto, that alone shall be a good and sufficient cause for the Bishop to forbid the performance of divine service in the said church.¹³

These conditions Reuter was influenced against accepting by the trustees, and the conflict between Carroll and the rebels, who were led by a Mr. Shorb, came to a head, when he appointed Father Brosius to the pastorate of the church. The case was then carried to Court, and was won by Doctor Carroll in May, 1805.¹⁴

One of the principal reasons, apart from the paucity of German Catholics in Baltimore, alleged by Bishop Carroll, for refusing the foundation of St. John's Church, was the fact that he was planning a Cathedral for his episcopal city. On his return to Baltimore in 1790, Bishop Carroll made his residence at St. Peter's Church, which was the pro-Cathedral during his episco-

¹³ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 117-119. (In Italian and English.)

¹⁴ A case, somewhat similar, had occurred in Pennsylvania shortly before Reuter's schism. The Franciscan, Father Francis Fromm, who had left a house of his order in Mainz, and who had been denounced to the Papal Nuncio at Cologne by the Archbishop of Mainz on July 26, 1796, on account of heretical teachings, fled to America and presented credentials of himself to Dr. Carroll, who sent him to the missions in York and Lancaster Counties, Pennsylvania. It would seem from a document in Propaganda Archives that he had taken possession by fraud of Father Brouwer's property, known then as Sportsman's Hall, near Greensburg, Penna., and had written to Rome suggesting that a bishopric be created in Pennsylvania with this property as the Bishop's demesne. Naturally, he proposed himself for the See. In January, 1797, Propaganda informed Carroll of Fromm's status, enclosing the Archbishop's letter, and asking for further information about the renegade Franciscan. Fromm defied Dr. Carroll's jurisdiction, and a civil case arose between Father Brouwer's congregation and Fromm, the first of its kind to be tried before the American courts. Dr. Carroll was upheld and Fromm was ousted, the property being restored to its rightful owners. It is now the site of St. Vincent's Archabbey, at Beatty, Penna. Fromm went to Philadelphia (1798) to have the case tried before a higher court and died there of yellow fever without being reconciled to the Faith. Carroll wrote to Propaganda on February 10, 1802, stating that he had small hopes that the schismatic would recant. (*Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 135-137.)

pate. In the Brief *Ex hac apostolicae*, creating the See of Baltimore, Dr. Carroll was commissioned to erect in that city a Cathedral church, whenever the times and circumstances would allow. Thirty years were to pass, however, before the Cathedral was ready for Divine service. The first act towards the building of the Cathedral was the legal incorporation of the "Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church in Baltimore Town," in November, 1795.¹⁵ The trustees met at St. Peter's presbytery on December 29, 1795, and it was resolved that subscriptions should be taken up to build a Cathedral Church. "The courage of the Bishop," writes Riordan, "in undertaking so great a work bordered on audacity, considering the slender means at his disposal."¹⁶ Money came in slowly and on June 23, 1803, Dr. Carroll published a Pastoral appealing for support on the great project. The part dealing with the Cathedral is as follows:

My beloved Brethren: Knowing, that you are mostly under the immediate charge and direction of virtuous and zealous Pastors, it did not appear to me necessary to add my frequent instructions to their useful lessons and Christian exhortations; but, being required by the occasion, of which I shall now speak, to solicit your aid for the effecting of an important purpose, interesting the whole diocese, I cannot omit availing myself of it so far, as to renew the assurances of my solicitude for your progress in true Godliness and the exercise of a religious life, most conducive to your everlasting happiness. This is the first object, not only of the ministry committed to me by our Supreme Pastor and Lord Jesus Christ, but should be so of every act of my life, and particularly in my intercourse with you: It is the object of this address. Having long entertained an anxious desire of dedicating a Church to God, to be created by the united effort of all our brethren in this Diocese, to stand as the evidence of their attachment to the unity of the episcopal government, as well as their unity in faith, (for these are inseparable); and being made duly sensible by my descent into the vale of tears, that I ought not to expect to see this work accomplished, unless it be soon undertaken; I am induced to recur to, and entreat you, by your attachments to the interests of our holy religion, and affection for its author, and the object of its worship, Jesus Christ, to lend your aid towards carrying this design into effect.

The particular exigencies of every Congregation for building and pre-

¹⁵ Many of these details are taken from the excellent monograph on the Baltimore Cathedral, entitled *Cathedral Records*, published anonymously by Rev. M. J. Riordan. Baltimore, 1906.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 19. See the *Proposals for a Subscription to Build a Cathedral Church at Baltimore*, in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 153-154.

serving their churches and places of worship, and affording a subsistence to their pastors forbid the expectation, and even the desire of ample contribution from the generality of our Brethren, living at a distance from the Seat of the intended Cathedral. But who are there amongst you, that cannot, without inconvenience to yourselves, manifest your good disposition for the advancement of God's glory, and your admiration of the examples left by our Catholic brethren in all those countries, on which the rays of true religion have shown and where its energy has been felt? What illustrious monuments of their faith and piety still subsist in the venerable Cathedral churches, that seem to defy the devastating hand of time, and still replenish beholders with awe and reverence? You are not invited to contribute your aid to raise a church of the same grandeur and sublimity; but one, which in an humble style, may remain as a testimonial of your devotion to the glory of God your creator, and that you concurred to erect the altar, on which the blood of the spotless Lamb will be daily offered for all, abiding in the fellowship of pure doctrine, worship and charity, under the spiritual authority of the episcopal see established in the city of Baltimore by the Vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I therefore pray and exhort the head of every Catholic family in the United States, and other Catholics, who, though having families, can nevertheless afford it, to place in the hands of their Pastor, one dollar annually in the month of December, for four successive years; and farther, if it be consistent with their several situations, to take an interest in the Lottery instituted on this account. With this aid our desired purpose will be easily effected, and without distress or burden on any. And I particularly recommend to, and intreat my Reverend Brethren, to solicit, receive, and transmit these yearly contributions, and at the same time, the names of the Contributors, to remain as perpetual memorials of the sincerity and integrity of their faith, and to entitle them, living or dead, to a participation in the offerings and prayers, which will be presented in the intended Church, before the Throne of Mercy.¹⁷

We have no means of knowing with certainty the results of this subscription. Three years later, Bishop Carroll appealed (August 26, 1803) to Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of the French, asking for assistance:

In the name of the Catholics of the United States, the Bishop of Baltimore has the honour to beg your assistance in an undertaking, which, strange as it would appear in the country which owes its happiness to you, should not be so in the beneficent views that you have shown in the favour of religion. The glorious use that you have made of your power

¹⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-J1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 155-157.

to rebuild its altars is a sure guarantee of the interest with which it inspires you, and of the zeal that you will exert to strengthen it wherever it needs your aid.

It is owing to this consideration, General First Consul, that the Catholics of the United States presume to turn to you in the impossibility which confronts them of erecting a public monument of their piety. After having long groaned under oppression, they now enjoy under a wise and moderate government the exercise of their religion. But they lack a worthy and fitting temple in which they can assemble; and their past misfortunes have so reduced them that they are not able to bear by themselves the outlay that this building would require.

Are they presumptuous, General First Consul, in believing that you would not disdain to second their wishes and to let them experience your liberality for the construction of a cathedral in the city of Baltimore? This fresh proof of your devotion to the good of the Church, in a country so closely allied to yours, would cause the Catholics of the United States to participate in the sentiments which those of France ever show towards you; and would unite in them a sense of personal gratitude to the admiration which they feel for your great qualities and achievements.

As for myself, happy to act as their spokesman with you, I shall take the liberty to say that I share their confidence and to offer you the assurance of the profound respect with which, I am, General First Consul,

Your humble and obedient servant,

✠ J. Bishop of Baltimore.¹⁸

A lottery was announced in 1803 by the trustees, and in 1805, a controversy arose over the action of the trustees in transferring the site of the proposed edifice. It was resolved to abandon the land on what was known as Cathedral Hill and to build on the burial ground adjoining St. Peter's Church. "When the space had been partly cleared," says Shea, "and some of the bodies were already removed, there arose a strong feeling of disapprobation, and a memorial was presented to the Bishop, remonstrating against the use of that spot, and especially against the disturbing of the dead."¹⁹ The Sulpicians joined with those who made this protest, and on February 26, 1806, they sent a joint letter, signed by Fathers Nagot, Tessier, David, Badad, Flaget, and Du Bourg, in which they appealed to Carroll not to allow the Cathedral to be erected on "such unsuitable ground."²⁰ As the "standing clergy of the Cathedral," the Sulpicians were within

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Case 10-07; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 62-63.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 399.

²⁰ See this Memorial in RIORDAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

their rights in making this legitimate protest; and although Bishop Carroll had already made final arrangements for the building of the Cathedral, Father Du Bourg was successful in obtaining Dr. Carroll's consent to erect the new church on the present site. A new subscription was opened, headed by the leading Catholics, and the land was bought from John Eager Howard, the former Governor of Maryland. On July 7, 1806, the blessing of the cornerstone took place. An interesting series of letters which passed between Bishop Carroll and Latrobe, the architect, is in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives.²¹ In May, 1808, Dr. Carroll made another appeal in the form of a Pastoral Letter to the Catholics of the United States for support in the project, asking the clergy to coöperate in raising the necessary money:

After the settlement by due authority of a Catholic Episcopacy within the United States, it was natural for the faithful members of the Church to hope that an event so important in the history of religion might here be followed by the same happy consequences which have been produced in other countries in similar establishments. So soon as it pleased God to weaken and disable the hand of oppression which fell so heavily on the first disciples of Christ and their Successors during the early ages of Christianity, they began to express their gratitude for their deliverance, by adding solemnity to the public acts of Divine worship and consecrating august and venerable temples to the service of their Maker. In succeeding ages, and in proportion to the extension of the Gospel, its increase was constantly signalled by the same zeal for the beauty of the house of God, and where the glory dwelleth, to which ardour of Faith and religious devotion are to be attributed the innumerable monuments of the piety of our ancestors still subsisting in Catholic countries, and those which once were Catholic, they subsist as so many evidences of the Faith transmitted from the Apostles, and by the efficacy of which the nations of the earth were brought into the fold of Jesus Christ and into the communion of his true Church.

By such examples, recorded in the annals of the Church, we likewise were called upon to express our gratitude, as well as it pleased Divine Providence to rescue our Faith from the depression and obscurity in which it had been held. In obedience to this duty, a resolution was conceived to celebrate our auspicious delivery from iniquitous laws and the introduction of an episcopal government to the Catholic American Church, by raising everywhere as much as possible, places of Catholic worship for the encouragement and convenience of the faithful, and also by a general

²¹ The entire series of these documents is published in RIORDAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 3088.

contribution to erect a Cathedral and mother church of this vast Diocese, in which the Vicar of Christ has established the Episcopal See.

It is a subject of consolation that much has been done towards the multiplication of our churches and chapels throughout the United States. For carrying into effect the other object of my solicitude, the erection of a Cathedral, a letter was sent some years ago, to all the congregations, earnestly soliciting their co-operation in a work, undertaken as a monument of general gratitude, and which, when completed, might afford to the other Churches of the Diocese an example of the majesty and solemnity of divine service, when it is conducted according to the form prescribed by our liturgy. Whilst the inhabitants of Baltimore, who will be more constantly benefited by the erection of the Cathedral, are using their best endeavours to promote it, to their praise be it said, they have generously contributed to aid and assist their brethren of many of the congregations, in order to complete their churches. The assistance required from all was such as could not be burdensome to any individual, though the general result would go far to promote the great work which is begun. The contribution of one dollar in the year, for a few years, from every Catholic of mature age—if that be too burdensome, from every Catholic family was the utmost of my request, not doubting but that if some should prove deficient, their deficiency would be amply compensated by the liberality of others who would not limit their donations merely to the sum requested. Small as this demand was, it has not been complied with, except in a very partial manner. But I do not attribute it so much to the unwillingness of our Brethren in Christ, as to the subject not having been recommended with due earnestness and perseverance.

Allow me therefore, to entreat you, by the zeal for the honour of God, the Majesty of His Worship, and desire of its being performed in that expressive manner which tends so much to elevate the beholders to the contemplation of things celestial, to read this address to your respective congregations, to enforce it with your own exhortations, to repeat the readings and exhortations at least twice during a few years, to allot a time for the payment of the contributions and to take upon yourself the trouble of collecting and transmitting them to Baltimore.²²

Bishop Carroll did not see the completion of the edifice, which was finished in the episcopate of Maréchal, and opened for Divine worship in May, 1821.²³

The Catholics in the south-eastern part of the City of Baltimore arranged as early as 1792 to have Mass said on Sundays for themselves. The Sulpicians from St. Mary's Seminary took

²² Printed copy in *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-Y1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 143-144.

²³ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 161; RIORDAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

charge of the little congregation, and in 1795, Bishop Carroll placed that section of the city under the pastorate of Father John Floyd, whom he had ordained to the priesthood, on December 17, of that year. Father Floyd, who erected St. Patrick's Church, at Fell's Point, died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1797, and was buried before the door of the modest church he had built. In 1807, a new and more substantial church was erected on the same spot, and it was in this second Catholic church in Baltimore that Bishop Flaget was consecrated on November 4, 1810. Alongside the Seminary, the Sulpicians had constructed the Church of St. Mary, and these three churches sufficed during the rest of Carroll's life-time to accommodate the Catholics of the city. Outside Baltimore, there were churches at Frederick, Emmitsburg, Hagerstown, Leonardtown, Bohemia, Washington, D. C., and Georgetown, D. C., and in the old Jesuit centres of the four lower counties of the State. Bishop Carroll resided at St. Peter's pro-Cathedral from the year 1786-87 until his death. Father Charles Sewall was pastor of the church from 1782 until 1793, when he was succeeded by Father Beeston. When the latter died (1809), Father Enoch Fenwick was appointed to the charge and governed the parish for the next decade. The city of Baltimore had about one thousand Catholics at the time of Carroll's consecration. In 1815, the number had increased to ten thousand.

The history of the Catholic Church in Virginia is intimately connected with that of Maryland. During the years when the Jesuits governed and directed the Church in the thirteen colonies, the Jesuits of Maryland visited the scattered Catholic families along the Potomac. During the early part of the eighteenth century, as Virginia's Catholic historian has pointed out, certain Catholic families had formed a settlement on the south side of the Potomac, along Aquia Creek. There they built a log chapel, dedicated to the Mother of God, and the Maryland priests came about once a month to celebrate Holy Mass.²⁴ In his *Relation* of 1785, Dr. Carroll stated that there was not a single priest in Virginia, and that the Catholic flock of the State numbered about two hundred souls. In 1791, Father John Dubois,

²⁴ MAGRI, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, pp. 37-38. Richmond, 1906.

the future Bishop of New York, with some French priests, arrived at Norfolk, with letters of introduction from Lafayette to President Monroe and to the Randolphs, the Lees, and other prominent Virginia families. Father Dubois came to Richmond during the following winter, and celebrated Mass, at the invitation of the General Assembly, in the House of Delegates there. Among the priests who ministered to the Catholics of Virginia after Father Dubois had left for the Maryland Missions, were Father T. C. Mongrand (1798), and Father Miguel, who was sent to Richmond by Archbishop Carroll in 1811. Apparently no resident pastor was sent to Richmond until 1820, when Father John Mahoney began his priestly ministrations in the old Capital. In Norfolk, a church was begun by Father Bushe, but the date is uncertain. On November 26, 1801, he wrote to Bishop Carroll from Norfolk suggesting that the congregation there should be offered to Father Egan, the Franciscan. The trustees of Norfolk were not in sympathy with Father Bushe, against whom they made the strange charge that he did not consecrate at Holy Mass.²⁵ Bushe was succeeded by Father Michael Lacy, probably in 1803, who remained in charge until his death in 1815.²⁶ One of Archbishop Neale's first appointments was that of Rev. James Lucas to the church in Norfolk. The trustees, led by a Dr. Fernandez, refused to receive the new pastor on the score that they had not been consulted before his appointment. A conflict ensued, and the church was placed under an interdict by Archbishop Neale. The Norfolk schism was at its height when Archbishop Maréchal visited that city (June 12, 1818) with the hope of bringing peace to the malcontents. The schismatics then tried unsuccessfully to send Rev. Richard Hayes to Utrecht for consecration as their bishop, with a view to founding an independent Church. Confusion worse confounded reigned in Norfolk from Carroll's death down to the action of the Sacred Congregation in sending a bishop to Norfolk in 1821. The house of Colonel Fitzgerald, Washington's secretary, in Alexandria, was the place where Holy Mass was said for the Catholics of that city and vicinity before the little town had a chapel of its own. Father

²⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-B3.

²⁶ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 493.

John Thayer ministered to the Catholics there in 1794.²⁷ In 1796, Father Francis Neale erected the first church in Alexandria.

Charleston became another hot-bed of rebellion against authority in the last years of Carroll's episcopate. The first priest sent to Charleston by Dr. Carroll was Father Ryan, probably about 1788. He rented an abandoned, half-ruinous Protestant church, and Holy Mass was celebrated here by himself and by Father Keating, who succeeded him in 1790. By that time the congregation numbered two hundred souls. Dr. Carroll mentions his strong hopes for the Church in Charleston in a letter to Antonelli, dated February 6, 1790.²⁸ The Charleston Catholics appealed to Don José Ignacio Viar, Spanish consul at New York, to enlist the sympathy of the King of Spain in their project of building a church in their city. On April 12, 1790, Viar wrote to Carroll that he had received word from Madrid that the conditions of the Church in Charleston should be investigated, and that the King wished to know how much money would be needed to build the church there.²⁹ Carroll replied on April 20, 1790, expressing the deep sense of his gratitude towards the King of Spain, and giving Viar the facts about Charleston as he knew them. Carroll stated that he was about to leave for England, and hoped that by the time he had returned the answer from the Spanish Court would have reached the United States.³⁰ In June, 1790, however, he wrote to the trustees of the Charleston congregation, warning them that while he could not withhold his approval of their method of raising the necessary money, he regretted that a foreign Court should be allowed to have such a privilege—"I cannot help expressing a wish that your clergy may be entirely independent of aid unconnected with any foreign prince. . . . Neither you gentlemen nor the ecclesiastical superior in these States can effectually interfere in the appointment of Clergymen protected and supported by foreign princes. . . ."³¹ Further correspondence between Carroll and Viar exists in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, but it is not certain

²⁷ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxvi, pp. 82-83.

²⁸ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura originale*, vol. 893, not folioed.

²⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-C7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Case 9-B1.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Case 9-F3.

whether the King of Spain extended his generosity to Charleston, as he had already done to New York.

In the spring of 1793, Rev. Simon Felix Gallagher came to the United States, strongly recommended by Archbishop Troy of Dublin.³² Dr. Gallagher was "a man of extraordinary eloquence, of a superior intellect, and finely cultivated mind."³³ Bishop Carroll liked the man and sent him to what was then a difficult post, the congregation at Charleston. Gallagher's talents were not accompanied, as was so often the case during Carroll's episcopate, with a proper respect for authority, or with an adequate appreciation of the priestly dignity and character. Piety was rarely linked with eloquence in the character of many of these brilliant Irish priests who came to America at this time. Shortly after Gallagher took up his duties at Charleston, Troy wrote to Carroll (Dublin, December 18, 1794) warning Bishop Carroll of the uncertainty of the man's character;³⁴ and the trustees were soon obliged to report serious misdemeanours on the part of their pastor.³⁵ Dr. Carroll removed Gallagher and sent a priest to Charleston in his place. Gallagher then appealed to Rome against Bishop Carroll,³⁶ and on March 13, 1802, Propaganda sent Gallagher's letter to the bishop, assuring Carroll that the Sacred Congregation had every confidence that his action in regard to the Irish recalcitrant was just and prudent. But since it has always been the usage of the Holy See to give a hearing in every case, Carroll was asked to send to Rome a defence of his episcopal action in Gallagher's case.³⁷ On November 25, 1802, Dr. Carroll replied to Gallagher's

³² "The Rev. Mr. Gallagher presented me with Your Lordship's favour of February 3rd. As his talents are commended by so good a judge as Your Grace, and he gave indeed a very pleasing specimen of them in a sermon before the congregation of this town, I have appointed him to the care of Charleston, S. C., which is a place requiring a man of considerable abilities which Mr. Gallagher possesses, and great purity of manners, which I hope is another trait of his character."—Carroll to Troy, Baltimore, May 10, 1793, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-A9, printed in the *Researches*, vol. xiii, p. 166.

³³ ENGLAND, *The Early History of the Diocese of Charleston*, in his *Works*, vol. iv, p. 307 (Messmer edition), Cleveland, 1908; FOLEY, *The Catholic Church in Georgia*, manuscript.

³⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-M1.

³⁵ Samuel Corbett to Carroll Charleston, October 18, 1801, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-U4.

³⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, f. 138.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 283, f. 95.

charges.³⁸ and the Irish priest, realizing that the suspension might be upheld by Rome, decided to go in person to prosecute his case. During his absence, Dr. Carroll sent Father Le Mercier to Charleston (September, 1803), but the trustees refused to receive him, except as *locum tenens* until Gallagher's return. Le Mercier refused to be treated as a conditional pastor, and the trustees might have been brought to a saner view of their attitude, had not Gallagher returned and prevented Father Le Mercier from saying Mass in the church. On August 15, 1805, Bishop Carroll suspended Gallagher, forbidding him to celebrate Mass outside his own house.³⁹ The trustees then threatened to tear the church down, and Dr. Gallagher opened a public chapel in his own home. Thus was born another independent Church in the Diocese of Baltimore, and a schism which was not settled until Bishop England's day (1820-1842). The schism lasted during the remainder of Carroll's episcopate, and was one of the unfortunate situations which Maréchal had to deal with after the death of his two predecessors. Dr. Carroll spared no effort to put a stop to the scandal. One of his last appeals to the trustees of Charleston (September 15, 1811), might have succeeded in creating a better understanding,⁴⁰ but by this time Gallagher was joined by another rebel, the Augustinian, Father Robert Browne, whom Carroll had appointed to the congregation in Augusta, Ga., in 1810.⁴¹ Meanwhile, Carroll had received Propaganda's letter of March 12, 1803, in which the Sacred Congregation admitted that the officials at Rome who were at first in favour of Gallagher's side of the controversy had been deceived. It is somewhat curious to find Propaganda excusing its own officials on the score that they had believed Gallagher to be a *parochus*, with a "parochia

³⁸ *Ibid.*, *Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 144-145. "Res religionis nostrae in illa civitate misero loco esse, partim ex negligentia, partim ex pravis moribus missionarii, qui ita crapulo indulgeret, ut non pios tantum sed omnes honestos cives offenderet."

³⁹ The specific charges will be found in letters in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-F1, F2.

⁴⁰ Cf. *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. ii, p. 24.

⁴¹ Carroll had been the recipient of frequent letters from Georgia, asking for priests to minister to the flocks there. On January 28, 1804, John Casey wrote to him, saying: "The denomination of Roman Catholics is considered a form of Christians who worship idols" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-L5); on December 26, 1805, an anonymous correspondent wrote to Carroll from Augusta: "A few more years without a pastor and the Roman Catholics of this town and the neighbourhood will lose even the name." (*Ibid.*, Case 1-A8.)

veri nominis, certis finibus circumscripta, et in titulum conferri solita,"⁴² when these same officials had silenced the Philadelphia schismatics with the decision that there were no *parochi* in the United States. The rest of this unsavoury episode belongs to the episcopate of Neale and Maréchal. Archbishop Neale ordered Father Browne to return to Augusta, but instead of obeying, he went to Rome in Dr. Gallagher's behalf. Dr. Gallagher submitted to the archbishop and was pardoned, but was told his services would not be needed further in the diocese. Meanwhile, Father Browne returned with a letter (October 8, 1816) from Cardinal Litta, Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda, in which both Gallagher and himself were vindicated. Archbishop Neale was ordered to reinstate the two priests and to recall Father Clorivière from Charleston. This is the meaning of Maréchal's somewhat bitter complaint about the facility with which Propaganda listened to these calumnies. This letter Gallagher handed to Archbishop Neale in person, who immediately explained the case to Pope Pius VII in one of the strongest letters (April 13, 1817) which ever reached the Holy See from America.⁴³ This correspondence exists in the *Shea Transcripts*, Georgetown College Archives (1815-1818). Neale's letter opened the eyes of the authorities at Rome, but before the Brief (July 9, 1817) rectifying the mistake had come, the Archbishop died (June 18, 1817). The Brief will be found in the *Jus Pontificium de Propaganda Fide, Pars Prima*, IV, 577-8. Archbishop Maréchal suspended both these men, and sent two Jesuits (Fathers Fenwick and Wallace) to settle the schism. The affair now assumed larger proportions. One whole volume of documents in the Propaganda Archives [*Scritture riferite, America Centrale* (1813-1820)], bears the sub-title: *Carolina-Cause di Browne e Gallagher che appellano alla S. Sede, dal 1813 a tt. il 1820*. Gallagher died at Natchez, December 13, 1825, aged sixty-nine.

The Church in Savannah was begun about 1797 by Father Le Mercier. The *Cathedral Registers* tell us that on May 30, 1800, the cornerstone of the "Roman Catholic Church" was laid after the Mayor had granted "the humble petition of Le Mercier,

⁴² *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 285, f. 110.

⁴³ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 34.

priest, on behalf of his congregation."⁴⁴ In February, 1803, Father Felix McCarthy's name appears, and that same year there came to Savannah the Abbé Carles, who had been a member of the Asylum Colony in Pennsylvania.⁴⁵ The Abbé Carles had gone to San Domingo some time previous to December 7, 1803, the date of his arrival in Savannah; and after announcing his presence in that city to Bishop Carroll, he was instructed to assume the pastorate of the Church there. On February 3, 1804, Carles wrote to Carroll describing the unfortunate situation of the French refugees from the West Indies. In 1805, Carles was obliged to return to France to arrange some family affairs, and after his return in 1807, he wrote to Dr. Carroll, saying that he had gone to Augusta, Ga., where there was a considerable number of Catholics. The trustees of the congregation in Augusta wanted Carles to divide his time between that city and Savannah, and they wrote to that effect to Dr. Carroll, on August 24, 1807:

The Roman Catholicks of Augusta with the greatest respect for your Lordship, and persuaded that they can attribute to nothing but the difficulty you have experienced in procuring a clergyman such as you wish to send them, their being so long deprived of the consolations they would derive from the exercise of their religious duties; lately held a meeting in order to prevail on Mons'r l'Abbé Carles, to divide his time between the Catholicks of Savannah and them. He has replied in the most satisfactory manner to the propositions made to him in behalf of their meeting and assures us he will most willingly consent to spend three months alternately with each of the two congregations, provided such arrangement receive the approbation of your Lordship.

As Mons'r l'Abbé Carles will have the honor of writing to you himself on this subject, we at present content ourselves in making known the object and wishes of the Catholicks of this place, in order to obtain your consent thereto and appointment of this amiable and much respected clergyman.⁴⁶

Bishop Carroll then instructed Abbé Carles to minister to the Augusta Catholics, and on October 12, 1807, Carles wrote that he feared his Savannah congregation would be unwilling to agree to this division of labour:

⁴⁴ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxviii, p. 64.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Records*, vol. xviii, p. 155.

⁴⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-G7; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 431-432.

My Lord,

I have received in due time your esteemed favour of the 29 June last, with so much more satisfaction, that from your long silence I felt apprehension, that my involuntary long absence, or some previously taking advantage of the same, might have indisposed your lordship against myself.

I have after your assent and even agreeably to your desire, undertaken a journey to Augusta in the beginning of August, with the intention of visiting the neighbouring places where my presence should be required. But unfortunately I fell sick ten days after my arrival, my illness which first proved very severe, terminated in an intermittent fever which only left me after my return to Savannah, and the fortieth day and thanks to the Almighty I am now upon the recovery.

The good reception I met among the faithful of Augusta has been beyond my expectations; they have offered me as your lordship will see by their inclosed letter to divide my time between them and the congregation of Savannah, so as to spend a quarter alternately among each. Considering perhaps the increasing of my yearly emoluments which at present are barely sufficient for a decent maintenance, but more impressed with a sentiment of gratitude for bestowing their confidence on me, I have answered them, that I had not any objection to comply with their wishes, provided we might have the approbation of your Lordship, without considering whether the congregation of this city would agree to these arrangements. I could not yet form a meeting of the vestry, the majority of the members being absent, owing to the sickly time; but I have reason to believe that there will be a strong opposition. By principle as well as by duty I am averse to all kind of contest, and I would be extremely sorry if any was to take place which should become of no advantage to either side; and consequently, setting my pecuniary interest aside, in order to avoid it, I respectfully beg leave to suggest to your lordship, that if possible another clergyman was sent to Augusta it would prevent and settle at once all future difference. I leave to your lordship's wisdom to determine upon; and will be at all times ready to receive and obey with submission such orders as you will be pleased to direct.⁴⁷

To avoid any further trouble in this southern part of his diocese, Archbishop Carroll sent to Augusta, the Rev. Robert Browne, O. S. A., probably in the year 1810. Father Browne visited Dr. Gallagher at Charleston for the purpose of making a collection among the members of that congregation for the church in Augusta. On October 6, 1812, Browne wrote to Dr. Carroll that the church was nearly completed, and on May 29, 1813, he announced that it had been blessed on Christmas Day,

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Case 2-G8; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 432-433.

1812. "It was a novel spectacle for the inhabitants of this part of Georgia to behold. They appeared on the whole to be well pleased."⁴⁸ The two Irish priests, Gallagher and Browne, now seem to have formed a conspiracy to control the Church in the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, and they nearly succeeded in setting up an independent Church in this territory. Father Le Mercier died in 1806, and in 1812, Dr. Carroll sent to Charleston, the Rev. Joseph Pierre Picot de Clorivière. Few clergymen of the period had a more astonishing career than this dashing Major-General of the Vendéans. Clorivière was born in Brittany in 1768, and was an officer in the French army when the Revolution began. A Royalist, he was obliged to flee from Paris, although about to be married to a young lady of Versailles, and as a general under Cadoudal, he rendered excellent service to the Royalist cause. In 1800, the Count d'Artois (Charles X), on behalf of his brother Louis XVIII, decorated him with the Order of St. Louis. Clorivière was suspected of complicity in the attempt on Napoleon's life, and was again obliged to take refuge in Brittany. When Napoleon became Emperor, Clorivière decided to quit France; he came to Baltimore, where he entered St. Mary's Seminary, and was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop Carroll in 1812.⁴⁹ It was to the difficult post at Charleston, "torn by divisions and saddened by scandals," that Carroll sent the worthy French priest, then in his fifty-fifth year. There are few correspondents whose letters are preserved in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, who show a more thorough knowledge of the world and of the affairs of the Church in general than Clorivière. On his arrival in Charleston, as he wrote to Carroll, November 16, 1812, he was told that there were more French Catholics there than in any other city of the United States—"but it is not in Church that they may be seen principally," he adds.⁵⁰ A conflict with the independent Church of Gallagher was unavoidable, and the scandal was soon the chief topic of conversation in the city.⁵¹ Gallagher and his adherents were not innocent of participation in the disturbance which occurred in June, 1814, when

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Case 2-G9; printed in the *Records*, vol. xviii, p. 420.

⁴⁹ Cf. LATHROP, *A Story of Courage*, pp. 193-196.

⁵⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-Q4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Case 2-Q6.

Clorivière celebrated the deliverance of Pope Pius VII with a *Te Deum*. French anti-clericals and others joined in a conspiracy to kidnap Clorivière the day before the ceremony, and only the prompt action of the police saved the church and its pastor during the ceremony.⁵² Clorivière left Charleston for France in 1814-15. He writes to Carroll from London, April 7, 1815, inveighing against *l'homme de malheur* (Napoleon), and tells the archbishop that he was "fort mal inspiré en quittant votre diocèse."⁵³ On November 28, 1815, he wrote from Charleston, announcing his return. Three years later, Archbishop Neale offered him the directorship of the Visitation Convent at Georgetown, and on January 13, 1818, he took up his duties at the Convent, remaining there until his death, September 29, 1826.

On September 1, 1814, Dr. Carroll wrote for the last time to Gallagher, appealing to the insubordinate priest to leave the city of Charleston and thus put an end to the schism. He offered to give Gallagher a letter of recommendation to any other bishop in the United States or in Ireland, if he would rid the Diocese of Baltimore of his presence.⁵⁴ Apparently, Gallagher never answered this letter, and for the next decade of years he led a campaign of abuse against Neale, Maréchal and England⁵⁵ in the United States and at Rome.

The status of the Diocese of Baltimore at the time of John Carroll's death can best be studied in Maréchal's *Report* to Propaganda of October 16, 1818.⁵⁶ The number of Catholics had increased to one hundred thousand by that date, the majority being resident of the State of Maryland. There were fifty-two priests in the diocese—one Italian, three Germans, four Englishmen, seven Belgians, twelve Americans, eleven from Ireland, and fourteen from France. In the city of Baltimore there were four churches (St. Peter's, St. Patrick's, St. John's, and the Seminary Chapel). The chapel at the Seminary was a very popular place of devotion. The Plain Chant was much admired, and the Sul-

⁵² *Ibid.*, Case 2-Q7-10.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Case 2-R1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Case 2-R5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Case 9-M5. Previous to this, on June 22, 1814, Bishop Egan wrote to Carroll offering Gallagher a refuge in Philadelphia (cf. *Records*, vol. xiv, pp. 411-412).

⁵⁶ Printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 439-453. (*Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iv, no. 53.)

pician Fathers estimated that in the course of the preceding year almost ten thousand had received Holy Communion. St. Peter's pro-Cathedral was too small to accommodate the people of the parish and Maréchal hoped to be able to consecrate the Cathedral within eighteen months. "Even the Protestants are happy over it, for it is the greatest ornament in the city."

The last subdivision of the Diocese of Baltimore made during Carroll's lifetime occurred about three months before his death, when Father Du Bourg was consecrated Bishop of Louisiana on September 24, 1815. The diocese, therefore, to which Leonard Neale succeeded on the morrow of Carroll's demise consisted of the States of Maryland and Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, and the country west of Georgia and south of Tennessee, extending to the Mississippi.

One of the most noteworthy events within the diocese was the Memorial Service in St. Peter's pro-Cathedral on February 22, 1800, in observance of Washington's death. On December 29, 1799, Bishop Carroll issued a Pastoral to the Clergy of the diocese, recommending that Washington's birthday, February 22, of the following year, be set aside for a solemn service in memory of the illustrious leader :

Rev. Sir:—

We, Roman Catholics, in common with our fellow-citizens of the United States, have to deplore the irreparable loss our country has sustained by the death of that great man, who contributed so essentially to the establishment and preservation of its peace and prosperity. We are therefore called upon by every consideration of respect to his memory, and gratitude for his services, to bear a public testimony of our high sense of his worth when living; and our sincere sorrow, for being deprived of that protection, which the United States derived from his wisdom, his experience, his reputation, and the authority of his name. The Executive of the State of Maryland having appointed the 22nd of next February as a day of general mourning for the death of General Washington, and for a solemn tribute of respect to his memory, I likewise recommend to and direct my Reverend Brethren to give notice to their respective Congregations, to observe that day with a reverence expressive of their veneration for the deceased Father of his Country, and founder of its Independence, to beseech Almighty God to inspire into those who now are or hereafter may be, invested with authority, to pursue his wise, firm, just, and peaceable maxims of government and preserve us in the enjoyment of those public blessings, for which, next to the merciful dispensations of Provi-

dence, we are chiefly indebted to his unwearied perseverance, temperate valor, exemplary disinterestedness and consummate prudence.

Those of my Reverend Brethren who residing in towns and very populous parts of the States, may think themselves called on, as well by melancholy occasion as by public expectation to renew in the minds of their hearers, their recollection of the talents, virtues, and services of the deceased General, are advised not to form their discourses on the model of a funeral sermon, deduced from a text of Scripture, but rather to compose an oration, such as might be delivered in an Academy, and on a plan bearing some resemblance to that of St. Ambrose on the death of the young Emperor Valentinian, who was deprived of life, before his initiation in our Church, but who had discovered in early age the germ of those extraordinary qualities which expanded themselves in Washington, and flourished with so much lustre, during a life of unremitting exertions and eminent usefulness.

If these discourses shall be delivered in churches, where the Holy Sacrament is usually kept, it will be proper to remove it previously with due honour, to some decent place.⁵⁷

On the day appointed, before a large and distinguished assemblage in St. Peter's Church, Bishop Carroll pronounced a eulogy of the dead president. His discourse is too lengthy to be repeated here, but the opening thoughts will give the reader a general idea of the theme and the treatment. It is undoubtedly the best specimen of Carroll's eloquence :

When the death of men distinguished by superior talents, high endowments, and eminent virtues to their country, demands the expression of public mourning and grief their loss is accompanied generally with this mitigation, that, however grievous and painful, it is not irreparable; and that the void, caused by their mortality, will perhaps be filled up by others, uniting equal abilities with the same zeal and watchfulness for the general welfare. Hope then wipes off the tears, with which sorrow bedews the grave of departed worth. But on the present occasion no such consolation can be administered; for he, whose expectations are so sanguine, dares not promise again to his country the union of so many splendid and useful virtues, as adorned that illustrious Man, whose memory excites our grateful and tender sensibility, and at whose tomb the homages of his country is to be solemnly offered on this day. Whether we consult our own experience, by bringing into comparison with Washington, any of our contemporaries, most eminent for their talents, virtues and services; or whether we search through the pages of history, to discover in them a character of equal fame, justice and truth will acknowledge, that he stands super-eminent and unrivalled in the annals of man-

⁵⁷ Printed in the *Researches*, vol. xvii, p. 33.

kind; and that no one before him, acting in such a variety of new and arduous situations, bore with him to the grave a reputation as clear from lawless ambition, and as undefiled by injustice or oppression; a reputation neither depressed by indolence, or weakened by irresolution, nor shadowed by those imperfections which seemed to be the essential appendages of human nature, till providence exhibited in Washington this extraordinary phenomenon.

What language can be equal to the excellence of such a character? What proportion can exist between eloquence, and the tribute of praise, due to so much virtue? Nevertheless, my fellow citizens, I read in the eagerness of your attention, your desire to offer this tribute: Methinks I hear your filial piety, your tender reverence for your best friend, the Father of his Country, calling on me to bear for you, at least a feeble testimony of your unextinguishable gratitude for his services, your immortal remembrance of, and veneration for his virtues. In your name, therefore, I presume to add some grains of incense to the homage which throughout the United States every friend to their happiness now presents at the shrine of Washington. Pardon, O departed Spirit of the first of Heroes! if with the cold accents of an exhausted imagination, I likewise dare attempt to celebrate thy name, whilst so many sons of genius, ardent in youthful vigour, delineate in glowing colours the vivid features of thy mind, and the glorious deeds of thy virtuous life. With unequal steps I venture on the same career, not seeking to add lustre to the fame of Washington, or perpetuate his memory to future times; but humbly hoping, that a recital of his services will open to our countrymen the road to true honour, and kindle in their breasts the warmth of generous emulation, and real patriotism. To contribute in this manner to the best interests of his beloved country, will be to him the most gratifying commendation, if in the regions of immortality, human affairs still claim a share of his solicitude.

To superintend the movements, and operations of such a revolution; to control during its progress, jealousies, enmities, suspicions, and other conflicting passions; and from their collision, to create national and individual prosperity, peace, order, liberty and regular government required the discernment and masterly contrivance of that Supreme Director and Artist, who unites together the links and holds in his hands the chain of all human events. Contemplating, as much as is allowed to feeble mortals, his divine agency in preparing the means and conducting the progress of the American revolution, we may presume to say, that heaven impressed a character on the life of Washington, and a temper on his soul, which eminently qualified him to bear the most conspicuous part, and be its principal instrument in accomplishing this stupendous work.

Washington beheld from his retirement, as the Jewish legislator from the summit of Mount Phasga, the flourishing prosperity of his country.

Health sweetened his repose and rural occupations; his body and mind retained their usual vigor. We flattered ourselves with the expectation of his continuing long to retain them: Joy beamed in our hearts, when on every annual revolution, we gratefully hailed this, his auspicious birthday. But, alas! how dark is the cloud, that now overshadows it? The songs of festivity converted into the sobs of mourning! The prayers of thanksgiving for his health and life changed into lamentations for his death! Who feels not for him, as for his dearest friend, his protector, and his Father? Whilst he lived, we seemed to stand on loftier ground, for breathing the same air, inhabiting the same country, and enjoying the same constitution and laws, as the sublime, magnanimous Washington. He was invested with a glory, that shed a lustre on all around him. For his country's safety, he often had braved death, when clad in her most terrific form; he had familiarized himself with her aspect; at her approaching to cut the thread of life, he beheld her with constancy and serenity; and with his breath, as we may believe from knowing the ruling passion of his soul, he called to heaven to save his country, and recommended it to the continual protection of that Providence, which he so reverently adored. May his prayer have been heard! May those United States flourish in pure and undefiled religion, in morality, peace, union, liberty and the enjoyment of their excellent Constitution, as long as respect, honour, and veneration shall gather round the name of Washington; that is, whilst there shall be any surviving record of human events.⁵⁸

The only parallel to the growth of the Church in the Diocese of Baltimore during Carroll's quarter of a century of leadership is to be found in the early history of the Faith. Shea writes: "When Archbishop Carroll resigned to the hands of his Maker his life and the office he had held for a quarter of a century, the Church, fifty years before so utterly unworthy of consideration to mere human eyes, had become a fully organized body instinct with life and hope, throbbing with all the freedom of a new country. An archbishopric and four suffragan sees, another diocese beyond the Mississippi, with no endowments from princes or

⁵⁸ The original draft is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C-W3*. It has been printed in the *Researches*, vol. xi, pp. 162-175. The tradition that Father Francis Neale had been called to visit Washington some hours before his death is quite erroneous. Among the other Catholic Memorial Services on February 22, 1800, was that at Philadelphia, in St. Mary's Church, where Father Matthew Carr, the Augustinian, pronounced an eloquent eulogy. In the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine* (vol. i, pp. 187-193), will be found the oration given by Rev. Dr. O'Brien, in St. Mary's Church, Albany, N. Y., that day. The commemorative exercises, held at Georgetown College, were among the most elaborate in the country. Robert Walsh, the future *littérateur* and diplomat, then sixteen, delivered "an ingenious and eloquent academical eulogium," and Master Dominick Lynch "recited with animation a pathetic elegy." (Cf. SHEA, *History of Georgetown College*, pp. 26-27.)

nobles, were steadily advancing: churches, institutions of learning and charity, all arising by the spontaneous offerings of those who in most cases were manfully struggling to secure a livelihood in modest competence. The diocese of Baltimore had theological seminaries, a novitiate and scholasticate, colleges, convents, academies, schools, a community devoted to education and works of mercy; the press was open to diffuse Catholic truth and refute false and perverted representations. In Pennsylvania there were priests and churches through the mountain districts to Pittsburgh; and all was ripe for needed institutions. In New York, Catholics were increasing west of Albany, and it had been shown that a college and an academy for girls would find ready support at the episcopal city, where a Cathedral had been commenced before the arrival of the long-expected Bishop. In New England the faith was steadily gaining under the wise rule of the pious and charitable Bishop Cheverus. In the West, the work of Badin and Nerinckx, seconded and extended by Bishop Flaget, was bearing its fruit. There was a seminary for priests, communities of Sisters were forming, and north of the Ohio the faith had been revived in the old French settlements, and Catholic immigrants from Europe were visited and encouraged. Louisiana had been confided to the zealous and active Bishop Du Bourg, destined to effect so much for the Church in this country. Catholicity had her churches and priests in all the large cities from Boston to Augusta and westward to St. Louis and New Orleans, with many in smaller towns, there being at least a hundred churches and as many priests exercising the ministry. Catholics were free; the days of penal laws had departed; professions were open to them, and in most States the avenue to all public offices."⁵⁹

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 678-679.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE AMERICAN SECULAR CLERGY

The year 1791 forms a line of division in the history of the American secular clergy. That year saw the establishment of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, by the Sulpicians, and the First National Synod, held in the same city in November. The creation of a school for ecclesiastical training in the new Diocese of Baltimore under any conditions whatsoever would have been an important factor in the growth of clerical learning and discipline; but to have such an institution, so vitally necessary to diocesan growth, founded and planned by a successful body of teachers of the ecclesiastical sciences, with a staff of scholars who had already spent a portion of their lives in the work, was a blessing which none recognized more gratefully than Bishop Carroll himself. His return to Baltimore in December, 1790, was a signal to groups of Catholics in every part of his diocese to write to their Chief Shepherd begging for a priest to come to minister unto them. Among Carroll's papers in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives are many letters from Maine to Georgia and from Maryland to the Far West of that day, telling him that land had been purchased for churches and rectories.¹ The news of his appointment to the See of Baltimore in 1789 had spread quickly over the United States, and even before his departure for England, these appeals had grown so numerous that in many cases he expressed his surprise to learn that Catholics were living in these little known parts of the new Republic. His efforts in England

¹ Case 10, sections K to T contain many of these letters, and no doubt many others have been lost. The remarkable factor in this correspondence is that in each case the little group of Catholics state no preference; it is a priest they want; and so long as he can minister to them, they seem to care little whether he can speak to them in their own tongue. As Catholics became prominent in such civic centres, however, they felt a certain amount of pride in their church; and they wanted, especially the Irish among them, a priest of pleasing manners, and with powers of eloquence. Only in one place did I find a condition placed on Carroll's choice for a certain parish. One layman wrote (December 6, 1803)—"qu' entre un Français qui ne parloit pas Anglois et un Irlandais *nosober* le choix ne devoit pas être douteux" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-Q2).

to secure missionaries were not successful, for he returned to the United States unaccompanied by any volunteers for the American missions. Smyth's diatribe had undoubtedly influenced many against making the sacrifice of the long journey and of the harsh living conditions in the new diocese. It meant a handicap of no mean weight in those days to be an ex-Jesuit; and with all the old prejudices revived owing to the controversy then being waged, and waged bitterly, between the leaders of the Church in Ireland and England over the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown, any accusation that savoured of bias against those who had not been members of the Society, had its subtle effect upon the priests who may have considered the new field of activity. The London Vicariate was without a head at the time. Bishop James Talbot had passed away on January 26, 1790, and his successor, Dr. Douglass, was not consecrated until after Carroll's return to America.² Consequently, Dr. Carroll had no one in London at the time to whom he could appeal officially for volunteers to the new diocese. It was only after he had taken up the episcopal burden that he was able to give his attention to the most important part of his work—the supply of the clergy for the missions. He could not have left England, however, with any misgivings on that score, for arrangements had been made with the Sulpicians to found the Seminary in his episcopal city. In the century of organized Catholic life which has gone by since their coming, the Church in the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific can recognize on every side the fruits of the labours of these worthy followers of Father Olier. They have given a service unmatched in our annals. The bare recital of the difficulties they encountered, mastered, and turned to profit for the American Church is but a part—the shadow, as it were—of their substantial and lasting influence on the country at large. They came here in 1791, to found a house of ecclesiastical studies in the Catholic heart of the nation. Behind them, in France, they had left the work of over a century wrecked and ruined by the flood of hate that had grown in volume and was soon to destroy all things like a deluge. They left cities where the best things in civilization and in refinement once existed, to come to a young country, scarcely

² WARD, *Dawn, etc.*, vol. i, p. 238.

recovered from the aftermath of a long and bitter war, to a city that was scarcely larger than a modern village, and to conditions which must have made men—even priests, quail, as they recognized the sacrifices American life demanded at the time. Poverty sat high on everything. They had paid their own passage across the seas; they brought the funds which would be needed to start this first American seminary; and, though many pages have been written to describe the early years of their work in Baltimore, no one can describe the agony of the apparent failure of their plans a decade later, when only the intervention of the Holy Father saved the Seminary of St. Mary to the Church in this country.

Had the Sulpicians closed the Baltimore Seminary in the dark days of 1801-1804, the history of the American secular clergy could hardly find a place within the years of Carroll's episcopate. Their arrival in this country, once wrote Cardinal Gibbons,

was coeval with the establishment of the American hierarchy . . . What Bishop Carroll has been to the hierarchy of the United States, the Sulpician Fathers have been to the clergy. He has been the model of the American episcopate; they have been the model of the clergy. They have been with us now for nearly a century and a quarter, and during all that time they have upheld the honor and the dignity of the priesthood. No stain has ever sullied their bright escutcheon. No breath of calumny has ever dimmed the mirror of their fair names . . . I have never in the whole course of my life met a Sulpician who was not worthy of his high calling.³

The training for the priesthood is always a long and tedious task, and a score of years were to pass before St. Mary's Seminary was to furnish sufficient priests for the Church in this country. Meanwhile, as during the years of his prefectship, Carroll had to depend upon the coming of priests from the Old World. Before his death in 1815, thirty young men were advanced to the priesthood in St. Mary's. Five of these joined the restored Society of Jesus before their ordination. Two were converts to the Church, and one had been a leader of the Vendéans, with a price upon his head.⁴ Of these thirty, Carroll ordained nineteen.⁵ The first American-born student to be ordained to the

³ Cardinal Gibbons in HERBERMANN, *Sulpicians, etc.*, pp. 340-341.

⁴ LATHROP, *A Story of Courage, etc.*, p. 196.

⁵ *Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's, etc.*, pp. 49-50.

priesthood was Bishop Neale's nephew, Father William Matthews (1800), who for fifty years was pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D. C. (1805-1855). During the first twelve years of ecclesiastical training in Baltimore, St. Mary's Seminary could not boast of many students; and this in spite of every effort made by Carroll and the Sulpicians to find vocations among the young men of the diocese. Bishop Carroll saw that only one avenue lay open to secure missionaries for his diocese—to recruit priests from Europe.

His diocese contained at this time Catholics of Irish, French, German, and Spanish origin, with the greater part, however, native-born Americans. The vanguard of the immense army of immigrants that came to America during the nineteenth century had already made its presence felt in the large commercial centres; and in each case they came with their own appreciation of ecclesiastical harmony. Dr. Carroll needed mainly priests of three races—French, German, and Irish. That a grave danger was to be feared from the presence of a certain type of French clergymen can hardly be gainsaid. Even those whose loyalty to the Holy See had driven them in large numbers into exile in England were not always able to withstand the changed conditions of life around them; and the number of those who had sworn to obey the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which was essentially Gallican in spirit, was large enough to cause Propaganda to send a warning to Dr. Carroll that some of these “constitutional priests” might seek a place in his diocese. “I hope that many priests will set out from France for your country,” the Cardinal wrote, on January 18, 1794, “for they will be of untold value to you in the ministry there on account of their faith in God. Beware, however, of any tainted by the sacrilegious oath of that nation, even if they give signs of retraction, for they are suspended from exercising any sacerdotal functions, by the express condemnation of His Holiness, a copy of whose letter I send you herewith.”⁶ The Blanchardist Schism which disturbed the peace of the Church in England shortly after the advent of the French emigrants proves the wisdom of this advice.⁷ Some time after Carroll's return to Baltimore, the acknowledged leader of

⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 266, f. 681.

⁷ WARD, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 234.

the *émigré* priests, Count Jean François de la Marche, Bishop of St. Pol de Léon, wrote to him regarding the advisability of inviting some of the French priests to America. The English Government at the time was generously aiding the exiled French clergy, and had proposed to some of them to go out to Canada. The Bishop of St. Pol de Léon wrote on December 12, 1792:

It is proposed to offer in March next, a free passage to all who wish to go there, to give them land to clear and cultivate, to furnish them with all that is needed for this, with means of support for a whole year, for two-thirds of the following year, and for one-third of the third year. We think that as a return to France continues to be impossible, and as help fails on all sides, a great number should look upon it as their duty to enter upon this new life which Providence seems to open up for them. My idea is that those ecclesiastics who go should form a community and that no one should aspire to individual ownership, the labor and profits being in common. As the country is Catholic, it is desirable that the priests who go there should be models of virtue and walk in the footsteps of the early fathers of the desert. They should moreover be under the jurisdiction of the local bishops to labor for the salvation of souls in whatever work is confided to them. Our four envoys, three ecclesiastics and a military man, are a sort of commissaries whose business it is to prepossess the inhabitants in favor of the guests about to come to them; to discuss with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities the means of looking after them temporarily upon their arrival, and to allot to them the places assigned for their settlements. I find it difficult to believe that priests can succeed in an undertaking of this kind without greater assistance, but it is hoped that the Government will give help proportioned to the needs.

Some priests have a desire to go to New England [*i. e., the United States*] and to labour under your jurisdiction. The knowledge that I have acquired of that country shows that there are resources for but very few, perhaps twenty priests; also that to be of use they should know English well enough to hear confessions and give instructions in that language. I know that you have some French sections but not many, and that perhaps they are the places where it would be most difficult to accomplish much good because they are the ones that need it most, seeing that it is not there that good morals and right principles predominate. Still if I have been misinformed, and if that portion of the country offers a wider and better field than I think, I shall be greatly obliged to you if you let me know. It may perhaps be possible for me to have your answer in April or May.⁸

⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-T5; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 253-256.

On February 19, 1793, Bishop Carroll replied that it afforded him the greatest pleasure to know that the English Government was interesting itself in the project of sending a number of refugees, especially priests, out to Canada, where he was sure the Bishop of Quebec, who needed missionaries, would give them a cordial welcome. "How I wish," he adds, "that it were possible to offer them an asylum here and to employ for the needs of my diocese a like number of your worthy and estimable priests; but I understand from your letter that you are well acquainted both with my limited means, and with the absolute necessity of some knowledge of the English language for a priest, that he may be of any use in the performance of ministerial functions here."⁹ However, in case there were any who understood sufficient English, Carroll had written to the former Procurator of the English Jesuits, Father Thomas Talbot, asking him to make inquiries. He needed four priests at the moment, and wanted Talbot to arrange for their passage. Nothing further came of this exchange of letters.

Instead of having to depend on these unfortunate refugees, Dr. Carroll's diocese was fortunately blessed by the coming of a group of men who represented the finest culture and the highest sanctity of the French Church. In a century that was the most un-Christian France had seen, these humble followers of Father Olier, who obeyed the call in 1791, and who came to the United States, were the very flower of the Catholic priesthood of their day. Dr. Carroll never failed to praise the zeal and learning of these providential men of the American Church, though he did not at all times feel certain that their methods in St. Mary's Seminary were calculated to form the clergy he needed. "We have now twelve young Clericks in the Seminary," he wrote to Plowden (December 7, 1804), "progressing towards Holy Orders. If a succession can be kept up, as there is an appearance, we shall be able in a great degree to supply all our Congregations. But whether the Sulpicians and their mode of studies are calculated to produce eminent scholars, is a doubt with me. In the meantime, if they form virtuous priests with divinity enough to perform the functions of the ministry and guide the souls committed to

⁹ *Ibid.*, Case 2-T6; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 256-257.

their care, we must be satisfied, till time and opportunity give the means of introducing a more solid and comprehensive system of education.”¹⁰ Some years later, when Dr. Carroll began to see the results of the Sulpician training, he wrote to the same correspondent (January 27, 1812): “Too much praise cannot be given by me to the priests of St. Sulpice here for their zeal and sacrifices to the public cause. They now maintain and educate at their own expense twenty-two Seminarians for the ministry. I wish as favourable an account could be given of the College of Geo.-Town, which has sunk to the lowest degree of discredit.”¹¹ On another occasion, when confessing to Plowden his own growing “symptoms of laziness,” he says: “Amidst the many advantages which this Diocese had derived from the example, zeal and labours of the French clergymen employed in it, I have to lament one inconvenience arising from them, and that is, their overloading me with unceasing letters on subjects, which they might terminate as well as by referring them to me; and being very punctilious in requiring answers, there is no saying how much of my time they absorb.”¹² A man of nearly eighty years can be forgiven this petulant paragraph—few of which are to be found in his large correspondence.

The first group of these excellent French priests was composed of Fathers Nagot, the superior of the new seminary; Levadoux, who was to go out to Detroit as Carroll’s vicar-general; Tessier, who had been director of the seminary at Viviers; Garnier, who held a similar post at Lyons, and Canon Delavau, who participated in the Synod of 1791, and who returned to France when the worst period of the Revolution was passed. They arrived in Baltimore on July 10, 1791. The following year, in March, Fathers Chicoisneau, David, and Flaget, with the first student to be ordained by Bishop Carroll, Stephen Badin, arrived in the episcopal city. In June, 1792, four other French priests, who were to leave a lasting memory on the Church in the United States, came to Baltimore—Fathers Maréchal, Richard, Cicquard, and Matignon. With but few exceptions, all these priests had a

¹⁰ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

share in the early history of ecclesiastical and collegiate training in this country.¹³

Dr. Carroll's experiences during the first decade of his episcopate with the German clergymen who, with few exceptions, had come unsolicited into this country, did not tend to augment his desire to see more of them arrive in his diocese; and yet the imprudent and insubordinate attitude of priests like Fathers Goetz, Elling and Reuter ought not to dim the memories of those pioneer men of God—Fathers Farmer, Manners, Schneider, Geissler, and his first coadjutor, Bishop-elect Graessl. "The want of good clergymen is felt everywhere in the Diocese; but more so of German priests," he told Plowden in 1803;¹⁴ and his negotiations with Fathers de Broglie and Rozaven, the Paccanarists, who were in England at the time, were partly for the purpose of filling this need. When the partial restoration of the Jesuits occurred in 1806, three of those sent by the General were Germans—Father Adam Britt, S.J., whom Dr. Carroll sent to Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia; Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., who was sent to the Germans in New York City, and Father John Henry, S.J., who was kept in Baltimore. The supply of priests for the German parishes in the original Diocese of Baltimore (1790-1808) never met the demand, although Dr. Carroll seldom lost an opportunity in his correspondence, especially with Father Plowden, to appeal for clergymen who were able to speak German and to direct German congregations: "I will receive with pleasure and give employment to . . . any German priest, young and healthy, and endowed with talents to make him useful, and with virtues which entitle him to the esteem and recommendation of his Bishop, and if a religious, of the Superior of his Order. The sooner they arrive the better, and they may take their passage from Bremen, Hamburg, or a port in Holland, for Philadelphia or Baltimore; and it is much to be wished that they

¹³ SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-407. "The Catholic Church in the United States is deeply indebted to the zeal of the exiled French clergy; no portion of the American Church owes more to them than that of Kentucky. They supplied our infant missions with most of their earliest and most zealous labourers; and they likewise gave us our first Bishops. There is something in the elasticity and buoyancy of the character of the French, which adapts them in a peculiar manner to foreign missions," SPALDING, in *Sketches, etc.*, p. 56.

¹⁴ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

would endeavour to learn, in the meantime, all the English they are able."¹⁵

Outside of Pennsylvania, the majority of his people were of English and of Irish origin, and as Carroll admits in his letter to Dr. Troy, on August 24, 1791 :

I recur to your Lordship with the utmost confidence in every concern of religion, where your advice, direction, or co-operation can be obtained. Such is my esteem for your Grace, and the abilities to direct and guide with which God has blessed you, not only for the good of your own Country, but also, I trust, of this. I stand now in need of three clergymen for the service of poor abandoned Catholics. They promise faithfully to provide a comfortable support for their pastors. As I know no country but Ireland which can supply our wants, I presume to make them known to your Grace, not doubting but you will, with your wonted zeal, make known my desire to some virtuous clergymen. Allow me to request, that none may be selected for this service, of whose fitness your Grace has not the fullest conviction, either from personal knowledge or from such testimony as is entirely satisfactory. The stations for which they are destined require men of solid and approved virtue, for they will be left in great measure out of the reach of control or eye of inspection; consequently, unless they be thoroughly established in the habits of a sacerdotal purity of manners, sobriety, and of zeal, they will not be qualified for that destination which is intended. Besides this first requisite of an irreproachable conduct, strength of bodily health is absolutely necessary to undergo the fatigues and constant hardships of labour and diet to which they will be exposed. Finally, they will be placed amongst strangers and bitter enemies to our faith and Church, who will often seek opportunities of engaging in controversy, and not unfrequently with much dexterity. This renders it advisable and indispensable for the clergymen to be gentlemen fond of study, of improved understandings, and, above all, skilled in theological science. If your Lordship can find out such, disengaged from more important employment, and zealous to bestow their labours in my diocese, I shall ever esteem it a great favour to receive them from your hands.¹⁶

This naturally gave considerable discretionary powers to the Metropolitan of Dublin, and the traditional place he occupies in American Catholic annals, as a result, is not an enviable one; for he has been held up by John Gilmary Shea as the prototype of foreign meddler who caused so much uneasiness in the Church

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-G4, published in MORAN, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 509-510.

here, down to the time of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore (1829), when the American clergy declared its independence of European interference. It is unfortunate, indeed, for Archbishop Troy's reputation for judgment that among the first whom he was instrumental in sending to the United States, there should be some who turned out so very badly. The Harolds in Philadelphia and Dr. Simon Gallagher in Charleston, S. C., kept the diocese in a ferment during the last ten years of Carroll's life. Their spirit of rebellion and of conduct unbecoming to gentlemen has cast a deplorable shadow over the rest of the clergy who had come from Ireland during these early years of the American hierarchy; and it gave Maréchal the opportunity of saying in his Report to Propaganda (1818):

Hiberni qui spiritu Dei aguntur, et moribus vere ecclesiasticis sunt imbuti, religioni feliciter serviunt. Sunt enim prompti ad laborem, non mediocriter eloquentes, zelo animarum praestantissimi. Laetor valde quidem quod plurimi sunt hujusce generis in mea diocesi; atque certe multos eis similes ambabus ulnis ultro reciperem. At vero tot ex Hibernia hic advenerunt sacerdotes, turpi ebrietatis vitio dediti, ut non nisi post maturum examen, curam animarum eis secure committere possumus. Quando enim semel a nobis facultates obtinuerunt, si subinde crapulae indulgeant, dici non potest quantis malis obruant ecclesiam Dei. Neque tunc ullum fere nobis relinquitur remedium quo scandalis finem imponere possimus. . . . Non Americani, non Angli, non aliarum europeanarum gentium advenae, pacem perturbant aut perturbant, Carolopolis, Norfolki, Philadelphiae, etc., etc., sed sacerdotes Hiberni, intemperantiae aut ambitioni dediti, una cum contribulibus suis, quod innumeris artibus sibi devinciunt.¹⁷

Archbishop Maréchal felt keenly at this time an accusation made anonymously by some of the Irish clergy that it was his intention to establish a French hierarchy and a clergy entirely French in the United States and to expel all the Irish; but eighteen years before this time, Dr. Carroll was forced to admit to Plowden (March 12, 1800), that "of Irish clergymen, I am afraid, for tho' we are blessed with some worthy and able men from that class, yet many have caused disorders here; and in many parts of the country have excited prejudices against them

¹⁷ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iv, no. 53, printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 439-453. Hughes prints those paragraphs of this remarkable document which relate to the Jesuits (*op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part i, pp. 245-246, 500; part ii, pp. 911-914, 957-958, 1049).

very difficult to be removed.”¹⁸ Dr. Carroll indeed had every reason to fear grave inconvenience “from the medley of clerical characters coming from different quarters and various educations, and seeking employment here. I cannot avoid employing some of them, and they begin soon to create disturbance.”¹⁹ Happily at the very time these unruly characters were disturbing the Church of God here, other priests of Irish origin, such as Dr. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., and Bishop Egan, were creating for themselves and for their race a tradition of the highest zeal and piety.

In the spiritual things in this world “the evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones.” The study of the letters extant for this period heightens one’s prejudice against the entire body of foreign clergy who found their way into the United States during the whole of Dr. Carroll’s episcopate; and yet, we must be willing to admit that among all these priests a goodly number were worthy of their sublime calling. There were many “missionary adventurers,”²⁰ as Dr. Carroll called them; there was a “strolling clerical fraternity,” as Charles Plowden, who was not favourably impressed with the thousands of French refugee bishops and priests then in England, called them.²¹ And certainly the memory of the Whelan-Nugent scandal in New York, the Poterie fiasco of Boston, the Holy Trinity schism, and the actions of other unworthy men of the cloth were not inclined to make Dr. Carroll sanguine over those who would be accepted for the American ministry. His dilemma was between the acceptance of men to whom the American Church was

¹⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

¹⁹ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 668. There is hardly a single Irish priest through whom sorrow in some form did not come during these years of reconstruction. Father Cahill at Hagerstown found it difficult to see how Bishop Carroll could exercise jurisdiction over a parish-priest, as he believed himself to be, and propounded the doctrine that as such he could administer the Sacraments when and where he wished, without Carroll’s approbation (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-Tr-3); Father Bodkin, on whom Carroll was depending for missionary work in western Pennsylvania, resigned without notice and started for New Orleans (*Ibid.*, Case I-T4). Accusations were made against Gallagher at Charleston, S. C., against Busche at Norfolk, and even the two priests mentioned in the text as being exceptions were not allowed to go unattacked. Carr found fault with Egan because he was assuming episcopal powers before his consecration; and Harold was to warn Egan in the days of their conflict—*Noli irritare leonem!*” (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-O9.)

²⁰ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 616.

²¹ WARD, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

a happy-hunting ground, and the neglect of little clusters of Catholics in various parts of the country. On more than one occasion he states emphatically that he preferred to see these outlying congregations suffer for a time rather than to send them priests of whose doctrine and conduct he was uncertain.

No better reflex of the status of the clergy at the time of his consecration could be given than that contained in Father John Ashton's sermon at the close of the Synod in 1791, which will be found in these pages. There was more than a conventional appeal by a priest to priests for the high ideals of the priestly calling in Ashton's words. His paragraphs are so many mirrors in which the status of the clergy can be clearly seen. "We hold the place of angels," he says, "who offer up incense and the prayers of the Saints at the House of God, and like them, this sacrifice should come through pure and unstained hands." The duties of mental and vocal prayer, of zeal for the salvation of souls, and the necessity of a life free from all reproach, are especially emphasized. "From whence it follows that all affectation of worldly vanity in fashion of dress, elegance of furniture and equipage, extravagance and sumptuousness of living, are wholly inconsistent with the character we bear." But it is particularly on clerical scandals that he dwells with insistence; and though none were present whose lives were not in conformity to the strictest ecclesiastical discipline, all realized how necessary his warnings were. These scandals were not as liable to occur after the Synod as before. The secular clergy had met for the first time as a canonical body, and in the resolutions taken by the members of the Synod, we can recognize the beginning of a new era in clerical discipline.

At the time of the consecration of three new bishops (1810), there were among the seventy priests, secular and regular, in the archdiocese, only a few whose conduct gave the hierarchy any concern. As is always the case, the presence of the religious Orders—the Jesuits, the Augustinians, the Dominicans, and even the rambling Trappists, although through them the secular clergy lost some splendid types of priestly zeal and scholarship—made for a higher sacerdotal idealism; and from this period onward, the difficulties or disorders which did arise were so few that Carroll and his successors found it easy to control the disturbers. The

spirit of antagonism evinced by some of the "newcomers" against the old body of the clergy, not only as members of the suppressed Society of Jesus, but especially as co-proprietors of the old ex-Jesuit estates, had long since died away; but it found a successor in the desire for racial distinction within the American Church on the part of some. Gradually, however, the stern exigencies of missionary life in America forced the self-interested, the restless, the disobedient, and the grasping to return to their fatherlands, and the Church here was liberated from their influence. Difficulties arose also over the question of maintenance; and the proceedings of the different Chapters of the Select Body of the Clergy from 1783 down to the end of Dr. Carroll's episcopate, have many resolutions regarding the support of the priests in the missions. Up to the time of the Suppression of the Jesuits (1773), the missionaries being all members of the Society of Jesus, were supported from the funds belonging to the Order. In some cases, particular parishes were supported by incomes derived from particular holdings by the express wish of the donators, but in general all the expenses of the Society as such were paid out of the common fund by the Procurator. At the time of the Suppression, the danger of confiscation seemed imminent, since "every bishop in the world was directed to take provisional possession of all the property, goods, rights, and appurtenances that had belonged to the extinct Society."²² This was not done in the United States, owing to the absence of a bishop for nearly two decades after the Suppression. During that time (1773-1790), the Corporation of the Roman Catholic Clergymen (or the Select Body of the Clergy Incorporated) was established along the lines Dr. Carroll had suggested in his Plan of Organization (1783) at the General Chapter held in 1783. From that time down to the first Synod, every priest in the United States, in good standing, and obedient to the rules of the Select Body, was given support.²³ The College of Georgetown was founded and supported out of the common funds; the Seminary was given certain benefices; and even invalid priests were not forgotten, annuities being granted for their expenses. Special pensions were allotted to missionaries who had extra demands upon their re-

²² HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 605.

²³ For the *Formula of Promise*, cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 617.

sources. At the Synod of 1791, however, a departure was made, and the old system was changed. Stipends, *honoraria*, and collections at Mass were authorized for the first time in the history of the Church here. These were to be divided according to the ancient usage of the Church: one-third for the support of the clergy of the parish, one-third for the needs of Divine worship and the upkeep of the Church, and one-third for the poor. After the legal incorporation of the clergy (1792), three methods of support prevailed: there were first the revenues accruing from the old Jesuit estates, and these were used in various ways for the good of religion. The two bishops (Carroll and Neale) were members of the Board which regulated the Corporation and by their influence as well as by the express wishes of the members of the Corporation, the whole of the United States benefited by the wise and generous use of the moneys arising from this source. After 1810, these funds were naturally limited, little by little, to the Diocese of Baltimore, but this limitation again was of benefit to the entire American Church, since St. Mary's Seminary and Georgetown College were especially the objects of the Board's administration. There were also the regular collections taken up at Mass and the *honoraria* customary between the clergy and the people. These were regulated all through Dr. Carroll's episcopate and for a long time afterwards by a Board of Trustees chosen by each congregation, and on which the pastor usually sat as chairman. It is from this second financial method of support that much of the trouble in church affairs arose, both in Dr. Carroll's time and for a half-century afterwards. There were also the voluntary gifts of the people. These were of a personal nature and did not fall within any ruling on the part of the church authorities.

Closely united with their maintenance went the discipline of the clergy. The only sanction Dr. Carroll possessed, for example, in dealing with the recalcitrant clergy, was the threat of withdrawing the faculties "by which, according to our articles of ecclesiastical government, they will lose their maintenance."²⁴ This was one of Father John Ashton's particular grievances in his attack on Bishop Carroll (October 11, 1802): "This I think

²⁴ HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 687-688.

the defective and rotten part of our Constitution and ought to be altered . . . What! shall it be in the power of a bishop, who gives or takes away faculties at pleasure, to deprive an innocent man of his honour and living!"²⁵ In the meeting of October 4, 1793, of the Select Body of the Clergy, this sanction is defined as follows: "That notorious immoral conduct, grievous, uncanonical disobedience to ecclesiastical authority, habitual neglect of the duties of a clergyman engaged in the care of souls, open opposition and violation of the established regulations of the Select Body of Clergy, shall be sufficient causes for depriving the person or persons guilty of any of them from a share in the administration or profits of the estates secured by law."²⁶ Undoubtedly this regulation would have had considerable weight in controlling clergymen of a fractious disposition, had there not been in existence a system of church finance which removed from the jurisdiction of the Ordinary that complete disposal of his subjects which now prevails in the United States. In the trusteeism of these years clergy and laity met, in some cases to build up, but in many others to break down, the spirit of obedience on the part of the faithful.

One of the truly admirable pages in the history of the American clergy during Carroll's episcopate is that which contains the story of the devotion of the priests to the people of the various cities which were victims of the yellow fever epidemics. Bishop Carroll summarizes that story in a pastoral to the people of Baltimore, on August 26, 1800, when for a third time the plague had fallen upon that city:

It has pleased Divine Providence to visit again the city of Baltimore with that contagious fever, which has swept away heretofore so many of our Brethren and spread desolation thro' many of your families. It is an awful warning to remind us all of the uncertainty of our continuance in this life, and the necessity of being prepared for the coming of the Lord. Its destructive effects have not been confined to particular classes or professions of our fellow citizens. It has raged indiscriminately amongst all; but its malignity has been felt in a more special manner by the ministers of the altar, and those especially, who have been called by their station and connexion with the Laity, committed to their care, to expose themselves continually, in cases and places of the greatest danger, and to the most infectious virulence of the disorder. Since its

²⁵ *Ibid.*, l. c., p. 710.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, l. c., p. 738.

first appearance in the year 1793, the American Church has suffered, by this disease alone, the loss of eight of the most useful, & in every respect, most valuable pastors of souls, besides six or seven others, who contracted the disease and were reduced to the point of death, so that their recovery appears rather a miracle of God's fatherly beneficence than the effect of natural causes. It is not possible for Religion to bear, in its present state in our country, a continuance of such heavy losses. The number of Clergymen is so reduced that many numerous Congregations are deprived of all spiritual assistance. Those in foreign countries, who are disposed to enter into and share in the labour of this vineyard of the Lord, are disheartened and deterred by the deaths, of which they have heard; and there is no prospect before us, but an increase of the evil & a still greater want of shepherds for your souls, if those whom you now have, continue, as heretofore, to run every danger. I am not ignorant that it is the duty of a good pastor to lay down his life for his flock, but if it be foreseen, that by sacrificing himself for the sake of a few, he will leave all, who survive him, without any spiritual assistance, and religion without any public ministry, & that the scarcity of clergymen gives little hopes of any future successor, he then must endeavor to make the best provision he can, for all, in a case of so great extremity, for those, who may be assaulted by the destructive disorder, & for those who outlive it, for the first by affording them an opportunity of settling their consciences, & fortifying themselves, by the Sacraments against the terrors of an unhappy death, and for the others, by a prudent caution, in withdrawing themselves from the most dangerous scenes of infection.

Wherefore, my dear Brethren, as you must be sensible of your perilous situation, and how much you are exposed to contract the disorder now raging in the city, it is incumbent on you, to remember the uncertainty of your lives, & to prepare yourselves for death in the same manner, as you would on your deathbeds. You can now do so with better recollection, with more presence of mind and application, than when labouring under the pains & apprehensions caused by a grievous sickness. If any neglect now to do so they can blame none but themselves, if in the day of disease and approaching death, they be deprived of that charitable assistance, which is offered to them. Your pastor will remain & be ready to give his ministry to all of you, who will recur to it, and will strengthen you in the grace and love of God, & best dispositions to stand before this awful tribunal, by committing your heart to the tribunal of reconciliation, and feeding you with the heavenly manna, as a passage from life to death. After affording sufficient opportunity for all to acquit themselves of this duty, he must be governed by the rules of Christian prudence in preserving himself for the benefit of others; and I, as equally bound to take care of all the faithful diffused over the United States, cannot continue to see Congregations, one after another, stripped of their pastors, and of all opportunities of attending on divine worship, by committing to every hazard of their lives, so many priests in the seaports, to which alone this dreadful visitation has been hitherto

extended. After this public notice, your pastor is instructed to visit only those in their sickness, who have not had opportunities of recurring to him before; & even these are exhorted to repent themselves most sincerely before God, & rather to trust themselves to His adorable mercy, than be perhaps the cause of depriving so many of their Brethren & fellow Christians of any share hereafter in the benefit of a Catholic ministry.

My dear Children in Christ, I feel an ardent desire of being now amongst you, & sharing in all your dangers and anxiety. Nothing withholds me, but the universal voice of all my Brethren in the priesthood, who consider it as improper and almost criminal for me to run into danger, before a Successor in my Episcopacy be consecrated. This was to have taken place on the 8th of next month, the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the great patroness of this Diocese; but the misfortune of Baltimore causes an unavoidable delay. May heaven in its mercy put a speedy end to that misfortune. Unite your daily prayers for this purpose; and be assured that I offer up my daily supplications in your behalf, and that all blessings here and hereafter may be vouchsafed to you.

✠ J., *Bishop of Balt'e.*²⁷

City of Washington, Aug. 26, 1800.

The relations between the regular and secular clergy were generally speaking, amicable and fraternal. The rise of the religious Orders for men before 1810 had necessitated a ruling on the share of jurisdiction exercised over them by the bishops and by their own superiors. At the meeting in 1810, the resolution which was passed by the five bishops, summed up the difficulties that had arisen up to that date.²⁸ This synodal article, the authenticity of which has been apparently questioned by the Jesuit historian Hughes,²⁹ formed the basis of the relation between the regular clergy and the bishops down to 1829, and around it some of the inevitable clashes between the seculars and the religious in Carroll's and Maréchal's episcopates centred. Both these prelates had unfortunately to deal with religious superiors who failed to understand the conditions of church life in this country, as was the case with Charles Neale and Grassi. Old World traditions, exemptions, rights, privileges and honours were bound to cause trouble; and it is for that reason, not to mention others, that the American hierarchy in later years followed with much interest the

²⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-G1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 150-152.

²⁸ Cf. GRIFFIN, *Egan*, p. 46.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, l. c., p. 968.

last chronicled stage of this time-worn discussion when Vaughan of Salford fought his chief's fight in the centre of Christendom.

In spite of the difficulties caused by many of those who came from other dioceses to that of Baltimore during Carroll's episcopate, there is a bright and cheerful aspect to the history of the American secular clergy, and that aspect coincides with the story of St. Mary's Seminary, during these years. To know the one is to know the other ; and fortunate indeed it was for the nascent American Church that the ideas of the priestly calling were implanted on the heart of Catholic America by the Congregation of St. Sulpice.

CHAPTER XXXVII
CHURCH DISCIPLINE AND THE LAITY
(1790-1815)

Is it possible to give a complete picture of the Catholic life and action of the laity during the twenty-five years of Carroll's episcopate in the See of Baltimore? Is it possible to separate fact from fancy in the documentary remains that are extant, and describe, as Galliard Hunt has done in his charming *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago*, with the same delightful minuteness of detail all the various aspects of Catholic family life, with its social, political, devotional, literary, and charitable sides clearly brought out from the somewhat cold picture of Carroll's day? Unfortunately, it is not possible. Most of the documentary material at our disposal comes from Dr. Carroll himself or from the priests in the missions, and their minds were preoccupied with the spiritual and disciplinary aspects of the life of their people. The books written by those who were able to appreciate Catholic activities, such as Abbé Robin's *Nouveaux Voyages* and Luigi Castellani's *Viaggio*, are not much concerned with the social or religious activities of the American Catholics at that time. Only in the dry-as-dust reports sent to Propaganda do we find anything for our purpose, and with these sources, truncated as they are, we must needs be content.

The first of these is Dr. Carroll's *Letter and Report* of 1785. The facts contained in these lengthy documents are of two kinds: his own observations on the status of Catholics at that time, and his version of the information which had been sent to him by the priests in the various Catholic centres. It is not improbable that a man of methodic habits in his correspondence, as Carroll was in these earlier years, would outline for his own guidance the topics he wished to touch upon in this first direct communication between the new Republic and Rome. But neither Carroll nor any of the other members of the suppressed Society

seem to have remembered the necessity of handing down to the generations to come an exact, accurate, and complete historical account of the Church in the rising American nation. Even Joseph Mosley, who had a sense of historical detail far above his fellows, stops with the story of his own missionary difficulties and gives us little information about the institutional life of the Catholics in the nation as a whole. It is only long after the older men had passed away, and when he himself was preoccupied with one of the largest and most difficult dioceses in the United States, that Bishop Bruté of Vincennes (1834-1839) projected a work, called *Catholic America*, which, however, never went further than the barest outlines. But even this work, judging by the plan which he has left behind, would not be of much help for our purpose. The general facts of American Catholic history are not indeed of a nugatory value; but it is the inner life of the members of the Church in the United States which we would prefer to see described in these pages. It is the hidden life in Christ, the action of the Spirit of God on the Catholic flocks, the intimate and sacred ties that bound Catholic to Catholic, and laity to clergy, that would mean so much in the personal story of these all-important years before Carroll's death, which should be delineated in all their charm and with all the force of their example for the Catholics of later years. But it is idle to attempt this more elusive aspect of Catholic American history with the documents at our disposal. Only a few high-lights remain to the picture which has already been blurred and partially obscured by artists and amateurs who have attempted to restore the whole canvas. John Grassi's little volume—the first American Catholic history—the *Notizie varie sullo Stato presente della Religione degli Stati Uniti*, though written here, was completed in Italy and published at Milan in 1819.¹ Grassi also is over-influenced by the material facts of our Catholic life at the time; and even these are based on secondary sources. Had we a series of documents, similar to Carroll's *Relatio* of 1785, between that date and Flaget's *Relatio* of 1815,² the task would be easy. Carroll complained more than once that the French ecclesiastics in the country bothered

¹ Cf. PARSONS, *The Catholic Church in America* (1819), in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, pp. 301-310.

² Printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 305-319.

him continually with long letters with minute details on problems of church administration; but this faculty never seems to have been used in the larger field of Catholic life and action, social, political and religious. The picture given us, even by such a master hand as that of John Gilmary Shea, is incoherent; for the Catholic laity of the time were assuredly doing more and planning more for God's Church than the movements for independence from church authority with which the documents abound.

If Dr. Carroll's impressions of 1785 are to be followed, then it would appear that the chief problem of his people was the civil disability under which they were living after the close of the Revolution. Carroll wrote two years before the passage of the Federal Constitution (1787), and he contrasts the period previous to the Revolution with the time of which he speaks in his *Relatio* of 1785. Before 1776, Catholics were legally permitted freedom of worship in two States only, Maryland and Pennsylvania—and even in these States were deprived of the franchise. After 1776 Catholics could, unmolested, assemble for Divine worship in any of the Thirteen States. In most places, however, before the adoption of the Constitution, they were not admitted to any office in the States, unless they renounced all foreign jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastical. In four States, Catholics were admitted to all the rights of citizenship—Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. There were rumours current that the old civil disabilities would be revived when it came to planning a Constitution for the Republic, but Dr. Carroll cherished the hope “that so great a wrong will not be done us.” He knew his priests and people well enough to assert that the greatest evils, even that of persecution, would be borne cheerfully by the Catholics in the United States, rather than a sacrifice be made of their devotion and loyalty to the Holy See. Their whole future before the Government lay in a just and reasonable adjustment of their devotion to the Holy Father, and their duties as citizens of a Republic which had renounced all allegiance to foreign powers and courts. From the framework of public affairs here, he wrote, all foreign jurisdiction will be objectionable to the Americans. He feared that the old hue and cry of “double allegiance,” which has always been the shibboleth of political Protestantism, might be raised in the infant

Republic, to the great detriment of the Church's peace and prosperity; and Dr. Carroll voiced the unanimous desire of the Catholics that "no pretext be given to the enemies of our religion to accuse us of depending unnecessarily on a foreign authority." Some leading Catholic gentlemen who had been and who were then in the Assemblies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, as elected representatives, had approached Dr. Carroll on the advisability of presenting a Memorial to this effect to His Holiness, but he counselled them to wait until he had explained matters to Rome. The ideal system for the Catholics to live under was to provide in every way that both the Faith in its integrity and their solemn duty as citizens be protected. The Holy See was watching the new Republic with a loving eye, and this privilege of electing a bishop was granted in the case of Bishop Carroll, Bishop-elect Graessl, and Bishop Neale, the founders of the American hierarchy. Civil disabilities were not automatically removed in the States by the Federal Constitution of 1787. To those who were elected or chosen to hold office oaths which Catholics could not conscientiously take were administered in some of the States. There was a reluctance in many parts of the country to forfeit old prejudices by admitting Catholics to equality before the law. However the main groups of Catholics lived in States where equality was practiced—Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, and Kentucky; and New York, once the hotbed of bigotry, abolished its own test oath in 1806 to allow Francis Cooper, the first Catholic so elected, to take his seat in the Assembly.

That there had been a serious falling away from the Faith in the families of the first Maryland colonists is evident from Dr. Carroll's admission that only a few of the leading wealthy families had remained faithful to the Church. The greater part of the Catholics outside the cities were planters; and those living in the chief centres of population were merchants or mechanics. The piety of the Catholics at that time (1785) had reached a low ebb. They were for the most part careful not to neglect their spiritual duties, but they lacked fervour. This was due to the fact that many of the congregations heard the Word of God once a month or once every two months. The dearth of priests (there were 24 at the time in Maryland and Pennsylvania) made it difficult to

administer to the faithful. Dr. Carroll drew a sharp contrast between those who were born and reared here and those "who in great numbers are flowing in from different countries of Europe." Many of the native-born Catholics neglected their Easter duties, and "you can scarcely find any among the newcomers who discharge this duty of religion, and there is reason to fear that their example will be very pernicious, especially in the commercial centres." It must be admitted that before the Revolutionary War, the Catholic Church lost many of her children in the thirteen original States. How heavy that loss was can never be known with anything like historical accuracy; but the number of Catholics at this date (1785), 25,000, can only be a minor part of the hundreds of thousands of Catholics who emigrated to the English colonies during the two centuries preceding the Revolution. It is true that those who came from the British Isles experienced here, with very negligible exception, the same unholy persecution against their Faith which had prevailed there from Elizabeth's reign; but there was no open persecution, unless one sees in the hanging of John Ury a vicarious punishment inflicted on the Catholic priesthood. The chief element in the loss must be attributed to the want of churches, to the absence of Catholic education, and to the scarcity of priests. The Catholic Faith was despised and in some cases hated; and without any of those moral supports necessary for the continuance of Catholic life, thousands, perhaps more than thousands, drifted away from the religion of their forefathers. Catholics who settled in the farming regions, far removed from avenues of travel and from easy access to the cities, were gradually lost to the Faith by the dead weight of spiritual inertia. Catholic life can and does flourish in the midst of poverty, even of abject poverty; but its light flickers and dies out in the midst of ignorance. Then, as now, the main hopes of the Church lay in the education of the little ones; and the contrast between the growing numbers of Catholics who came to the United States during Carroll's episcopate (1790-1815), and the scarcity of the schools tells the story too graphically for one to deny the actual status of the Church in those critical years.

American life, moreover, was an uncouth one at the time. It was the pioneer period of the eastern States; and life, while romantic, was devoid to a great extent of those nicer traits of

social intercourse, which make for refinement. Abuses of a moral nature were to be seen in many of the cities and in some cases even more so in the rural sections. There was a laxity in the relationship between the young people of opposite sexes, and Dr. Carroll is forced to confess that Catholics had also allowed their sons and daughters more freedom "than is compatible with chastity in mind and body." There was among his spiritual children "too great fondness for dances and similar amusements, and an incredible eagerness, especially in girls, for reading love-stories which are brought over in great quantities from Europe." The lack of effort on the part of parents in educating their children, and the deplorable moral standards allowed to exist among the Catholic negro slaves, are also mentioned in his *Report* as causes for uneasiness to the pastors of souls. To quote but one witness, we find Father Badin writing to Carroll, from Bardstown, in 1809: "More disorders in all the congregations than we had for several years together before this epoch—quarrels, blasphemies, imprecations, violences, drunkenness even among females, spending days and nights in revelling—the evil must be great indeed . . . the love of pleasure creeps in like a canker and in proportion to its progressing, devotion, retreats, and religious practices dwindle."³ It might be unfair to take the almost unbelievable immorality in Kentucky, as described by Spalding in his *Sketches*, as symptomatic of the entire country; but one thing is certain: the priests were ministering to a rough, and in some cases, a disappointing population. Added to this, was the fact that the Catholics, in equal proportion to their non-Catholic fellow citizens in the Republic, were experiencing the first results of their very successful struggle for self-determination. Keen-sighted observers such as Fenwick the Dominican, and Kohlmann the Jesuit, point out as signs of the times the small number of young men and women who felt a desire for the religious state. Fenwick wrote to Grassi in February, 1815: "What can you do or expect from young harebrained Americans . . . intoxicated with the sound of liberty and equality;"⁴ and Bishop Carroll notes, in 1811, that "the American youth have an almost in-

³ Badin to Carroll, November 4, 1808, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-H7.

⁴ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 835.

vincible repugnance to the ecclesiastical state.”⁵ Shall we admit that it was only after the Catholic boy in the United States had become leavened with the fervour and devotion of the sons of Patrick and of Boniface that real Catholic life saw its rise here in America? There was also the national or racial problem in the lay body with which the leaders were obliged to deal. The racial problem never troubled the authorities of the American Church. Catholicism is always one—one in spirit, one in truth, one in doctrine, and in discipline; and the racial antagonisms which appeared at the very outset of our national Catholic life were of such a nature that the best healer of all—time—would eventually settle them. The national problem had then, as ever, two aspects: one which regarded it from within; the other, which regarded it from without. There was danger of disagreement between Baltimore and Rome, although at length both saw the problem in the same light. America, to be America, to admit what was even then apparent to all, could not be made up of juxtaposed little nations. America, to follow the providential guidance which had been bestowed upon its great leaders, should become one nation, made up of peoples speaking the same tongue, enjoying the same privileges, and living for the same purpose: the glory and the prestige of the new Republic. The Church in America, to fulfil to the utmost its destiny as the most compact religious body in the nation, should be American in its appeal and American in its sentiments and its spirit. How well John Carroll guided the Bark of Peter in this land during these days when so much was inchoate and insecure, is his greatest monument. There may have been moments when, to the minds of superiors, especially those of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, this national spirit appeared to be approaching a clash with the universality of the Church’s polity. There were moments when the superiors of the Church in America lost patience and showed it, at the conservatism of the central authority and at its apparent inability to see the American Church nationally, and not as an appanage of any one European Church. But these were only fugitive misunderstandings, and from Antonelli’s day down to our own time, Rome and the official Ministries of the Roman Court

⁵ BAYLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

have never been out of sympathy with American idealism. The problem then, as now, was the line of demarcation between the spiritual and the temporal. It was not a question of the Church and State with all its thorny by-paths, but solely a question of administration. And it is significant to note that in the first conflicts which arose, the cause was not the inability of our spiritual chiefs across the seas to understand our singular situation in the midst of republican institutions, but sheer inability on the part of some American Catholic laymen to recognize the limits of their own privileges within the fold. The Catholic Church during Carroll's episcopate was indeed a *pusillus grex* in the ever-broadening acres of the young Republic. Its influence as a human agent in the moral and social uplift of the people was a very weak one. Higher education and scholarship were not prized by the Americans of that day, and although the most educated gentlemen of the day were the sons of wealthy Catholic planters who had studied at Liège, Bruges, and Paris, their social impress upon the times was a faint one. They could not mingle with their fellow citizens with that feeling of equality which begets social and intellectual intercourse. One source of influence there was which might be good, bad, or indifferent as the person in question realized the obligation of his or her Faith: and that was mixed marriages. There is no mention of this problem, which has always been a serious one in the canonical legislation of the Church, in Dr. Carroll's *Report* of 1785; but after that time there is scarcely a letter to Rome which does not ask for a stipulated number of dispensations for mixed marriages, and every report to Rome contains the note of fear on this score.

Between this *Report* and that of April 23, 1792, giving an account of the Synod of 1791, Dr. Carroll was busy visiting his vast diocese and learning at close range the good and the bad influences at work among his people. There is no doubt that the twenty-two priests who gathered at Baltimore in November, 1791—some to see Bishop Carroll for the first time—came prepared with reports on the condition of Catholic life and activity in their districts. Not all their proceedings were put into writing; and less, even, was printed than might be expected from so important an assembly. The administration of the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Eucharist, Penance, Extreme

Uction, and Matrimony, was discussed; and certain definite regulations laid down for the uniformity of discipline throughout the diocese. But in none of the printed Statutes of the Synod do we find explicit statements as to the condition of Catholic life in the country at that time. In his *Report* of April 23, 1792, Dr. Carroll merely outlines the purpose of the first National Council: to regulate the governance of the diocese and the discipline of the clergy; and to bring about uniformity of ritual in this country. The most emphatic part of the printed *Statuta* has to deal with the maintenance of the clergy. When the Synod was closed, however, Dr. Carroll issued a short Pastoral to the Faithful on Christian Marriage, and the principal point dealt with in this circular letter was the fact that all Catholic marriages were to take place in the presence of the priest. "It is judged necessary to say this, because lately some of the congregation have been so regardless of their duty in this respect as to recur to the ministry of those whom the Catholic Church never honored with the commission of administering marriages." All those who had been guilty of this violation of church law were to be refused absolution until "they shall agree to make public acknowledgment of their disobedience before the assembled congregation, and beg pardon for the scandal they have given." This severe punishment was the general rule during Dr. Carroll's episcopate, and indeed it survives in some places almost down to the present day; for there are Catholics living to-day who can remember such scenes of reconciliation taking place in the Church on Sunday mornings before or after Holy Mass. As an example of the spirit which animated Dr. Carroll in his relations with the laity, we cannot do better than reproduce his Lenten Pastoral of 1792:

JOHN

By Divine Permission and with the approbation of the Holy Sec,
Bishop of Baltimore

To my dearly beloved Brethren, the Faithful of my Diocese, Health and the Blessing of Our Lord:

The approaching season of our solemn yearly Lent revives, dear Brethren, the remembrance of that solicitude, which has been always expressed by the Church for its due and faithful observance. Consecrated as this great Fast is, by the example of our Blessed Redeemer: instituted by His Apostles, and continued thro' so many ages, in the Catholic Church, it has acquired a most venerable authority, which renders it incumbent

on the Pastors of Christ's flock to be ever watchful for the preservation of so sacred a point of ecclesiastical discipline; and on you my Brethren, to observe punctually the rules of rigid temperance and self denial prescribed during its continuance. The primitive and most eminent Fathers admonish us to look on this Fast, as a penitential remedy against our daily transgressions, and one of the most effectual means by which, becoming imitators of Jesus Christ, we may come likewise to a fellowship of his sufferings and be made conformable to his death.—Phil. III. 10. For Christ crucified is the great example, to which it behoves us to turn our eyes, especially in these days of public penitence. He spent His life in fasting, in suffering, in self-denials; and thus He entered into glory; nor must we expect to obtain it on any other terms. Christ, says the Apostle St. Peter, suffered for us, leaving you an example, that you should follow his steps.—I Peter, II. 21; In which words we are admonished not only to submit patiently to the hardships, and afflictions which happen by divine permission, but likewise to take up the Cross, and lay it on ourselves. It must not be enough for the true Christian to be led in the steps of Christ, but we must follow them.

This voluntary mortification and self-denial is essential to the character of a disciple of our crucified Lord and Master. If any man, says He, will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me.—Matthew, XVI. 24. This is a duty of all times and seasons; for our Lord says elsewhere—if any man will come after Me, let him take up his cross daily.—Luke IX. 23. But in these days of Lent, more especially, we are commanded to use a severity of discipline over ourselves; and this for many important reasons; 1st. Because the Church governed by the wisdom of its Author and Head, Jesus Christ, knows that many of Her Children would neglect and disregard all self-mortification, unless a certain time and manner for the exercise of it were more particularly enjoined; 2ndly. Because religious fasting disposes our souls to conceive lively sentiments of compunction, suitable to the anniversary commemoration, which happens in the last days of Lent, of Christ's sufferings and death for us; 3rdly. That we may be excited to receive worthily at Easter, with the forgiveness of sin, and with the grace to amend our lives, the adorable Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in his sacrament of Love.

Wherefore, my dear Brethren, enter on this yearly Fast with a fixed purpose both of fasting, and of attending the exercises of Piety and Religion, without which it will not be available to your salvation. Our heavenly Master teaches us, that some disorders of the soul, some devils, cannot be cast out but in prayer and fasting.—Mark IX. 28. To whom of us then are not both of these necessary, in order to subdue our domestic enemies, the passions, which transport and seduce us? Be watchful over your irregular appetites, let not your sensuality, or the examples of others, withdraw you from the obedience due to the venerable authority, from which the ordinance of Lent is derived. Let not every trivial inconvenience be deemed a sufficient cause of dispensation

from a law, having for its authors the Apostles of Christ; and made sacred by its perpetuity through all ages and nations of Christendom. "There is no land," says a very ancient and Holy Doctor of the Church, "no continent, no city, no nation—in which this fast is not proclaimed. Armies, travellers, sailors, merchants, though far from home, everywhere hear the solemn promulgation, and receive it with joy."—S. Basil, *Hom. On Fasting*. In those times, the discipline of keeping lent was not only generally received, but much more rigorous, than at present; not that Christians had more sins to expiate, or stood more in need of appeasing the wrath of God; but because they meditated oftener on the truths of the gospel and felt a greater anxiety to appease God's offended justice. Be you also alarmed by the same thought (1 Peter IV.), dear Brethren, and observe with punctuality the measure of fasting, which is prescribed; so as to transgress neither in the quantity or quality of your meals.

To this act of self-denial, join other means of appeasing God's anger and drawing blessings on yourselves, on the whole Church, and on mankind. Besides greater assiduity in fervent prayer, both public and private; in serious and frequent meditation on the momentous truths of religion; in reading those books which will strengthen you in the principles of faith and habits of virtue; fail not moreover to perform some works of charity; and relieve distress according to the ability given you by Almighty God and wherever you find objects needing your benevolence. Without charity, fasting is in vain. Now, says the Apostle, he that has the substance of this world, and shall see his brother in need, and shall shut up his bowels from him, how doth the charity of God abide in him?—I John, III. 15. Wherefore, that this season of Lent may be to every one of you an acceptable time, a day of salvation, 2 Cor. VI, 6, 2, as I certainly beseech the Father of Mercies that it may, let it be attended with all those exercises of religion, and virtues, which I have now recommended. Be mindful of the advice of the Prince of the Apostles, so that the fruit of your fasting be such as he expresses it in the following words: Christ having suffered in the flesh, hath ceased from sins, that now we may live the rest of this time in the flesh, not after the desires of men, but according to the will of God; For the time past is sufficient for them to have walked in riotousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetting.—I Peter IV. I.

My dear Brethren, have not these irregularities been the employment of your former years? Were they not devoted to forbidden and shameful pleasures, to gross intemperance, and to the interests only of this world? Ah! let those unhappy years suffice for iniquity; let this Lent be the ceasing of sin, and the beginning of a life of perfect obedience to the law of God! O Lord, grant this blessing to thy people, grant this consolation to him, whom thou hast made accountable for their souls!

Having reminded you, my dear Brethren, of the respect, with which you ought to submit to the commandments of the Church for the observ-

ance of Lent; and exhorted you to the practice of those virtues, which will render your fasting profitable; it remains for me to inform you, in what that fasting consists, which is prescribed at this time of public penance. They who are acquainted with the rigorous discipline formerly observed, or even with that which is still used by many Christian nations, will find a great mitigation in favor of this Diocese. Necessity compels the mitigation on the first settlement of our country, and hitherto it has not seemed advisable to restrain it. Wherefore all are to conform themselves to the following regulations if they wish to comply with their duty of keeping Lent. Persons of a competent age, that is who have completed their twenty-first year, and who, for special reasons are not dispensed from the common obligation, are 1st, to abstain from flesh meat during the whole Lent, unless the Pastors of the Church should see a just and reasonable cause to make an exception of certain days, as will be mentioned hereafter. Necessity and custom have authorized amongst us the usage of hog's lard instead of butter in preparing fish, vegetables, &c. 2dly. They are only to take one meal each day excepting Sundays. 3dly. The meal allowed on fast days is not to be taken till towards noon. 4thly. At this meal, if on any days permissions should be granted for eating flesh, both flesh and fish are not to be used at the same time. 5thly. A small refreshment, commonly called collation is allowed in the evening. No general rule, as to the quantity of food, at this time is, or can be made. But the practice of the most regular Christians is never to let it exceed the fourth part of an ordinary supper. 6thly. The quality of food allowed at a collation is, in this Diocese, bread, butter, cheese, all kinds of fruit, salads, vegetables, and fish, though not warm, but fish previously prepared, and grown cold. Milk, eggs, and flesh meat are prohibited. 7thly. General usage has made it lawful to drink in the morning some warm liquid, as tea, coffee, or thin chocolate, made with water, to which a few drops of milk may be added, serving rather to colour the liquids, than make them substantial food. 8thly. The following persons are exempted from the obligation of fasting: young persons under twenty-one years of age; the sick, pregnant women, or giving suck to infants; they who are obliged to hard labour; all who, through weakness cannot fast without great prejudice.

Such, my dear Brethren, are the rules by which you are to be governed in your fasts; and which I trust, you will religiously follow, so that your example may not contribute to introduce any further relaxation in the venerable discipline of the Church. It is indeed more particularly, the duty of Pastors to watch over its preservation; but they are likewise bound to moderate its severity on just and necessary occasions; estimating on one hand the usefulness and sanctity of the institution of Lent; and on the other, the ability of the faithful, and their means of providing substitutes for the nourishment prohibited during it, by the general law of the Church.

Wherefore, having taken all these things into my serious consideration, and consulted many of my Reverend Brethren in different parts of my

Diocese; I hereby make known that during the ensuing Lent, I grant permission to all the faithful to eat meat once on each of the following days, that is on the first Sunday in Lent, and all other Sundays, except Palm Sunday; and on every Saturday, except during the first and last week of Lent. With respect to every other duty, which has been recommended for this time of penance and public atonement, I confide, and pray that you may redouble your solicitude to perform them, I beseech you, Brethren, by the mercy of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing to God, your reasonable service: And be not conformed to this world: but be ye reformed in the newness of your mind; that you may prove what is the good and the acceptable, and the perfect will of God.—Romans XII. 1, 2.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.⁶

The same year (May 28, 1792), Bishop Carroll published the Pastoral to the Catholic laity making known to them the rules adopted by the Synod.⁷ This Pastoral explains much that is implied in the *Statuta*, and emphasis is placed upon the necessity of a proper Catholic education of the young. The attention of the Faithful was called to Georgetown College and to the Seminary, both of which had just been founded, and the support of the priests in their ministry is also urged. Many churches were without chalices, without the decent and necessary furniture for the altars, without a proper supply of vestments and altar linens. Moreover, there were congregations, rich enough to support a resident priest, where Mass was celebrated but once a month, and these were urged to call meetings at once for the purpose of arranging maintenance for a pastor. There was a spirit of indifference, especially among the native-born, towards permanency of Catholic worship.⁸

Twenty years, however, were to pass before a National Council was to meet. In 1810, after the consecration of his suffragans, there was nothing more, as we have seen, than an informal series of meetings between Archbishop Carroll, his coadjutor Neale, and the three new bishops, Cheverus, Egan and Flaget. Again, the subjects discussed give us scarcely any glimpse beneath the surface of Catholic life. The administration of the Sacrament of Marriage had always caused trouble, and the bishops felt that

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-J1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 133-137.

⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-H6; cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 400-401.

⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-G6; cf. BRENT, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

it would take time before their flocks would be ready to accept a general rule for its celebration. We have the key to this difficulty in one of Dr. Carroll's letters to Plowden (Feb. 12, 1803):

Here our Catholics are so mixed with Protestants in all the intercourse of civil society and business public and private, that the abuse of inter-marriages is almost universal and it surpasses my ability to devise any effectual bar against it. No general prohibition can be exacted without reducing many of the faithful to live in a state of celibacy, and in sundry places there would be no choice for them of Catholic matches; and tho' sometimes, good consequences follow these marriages, yet, often thro' the discordancy of the religious sentiments of parents, their children grow up without attachment to any, and become an easy prey to infidelity or indifferentism, if you will allow the word.⁹

The fourth of these regulations, which has already been cited, gives us a closer insight into the life of the people at this period since it is in fact a résumé of the abuses which had crept into the fold:

The Pastors of the faithful are earnestly directed to discourage more and more from the pulpit, and in their public and private conferences an attachment to entertainments and diversions of a dangerous tendency to morality, such as to frequent theatres, and cherish a fondness for dancing assemblies. They likewise must often warn their congregations against the reading of books dangerous to faith and morals and especially a promiscuous reading of all kinds of novels. The faithful themselves should always remember the severity with which the Church, guided by the Holy Ghost, constantly prohibited writings calculated to diminish the respect due to our Holy Religion.¹⁰

A last resolution placed the ban of the Church on all Catholics known to be Freemasons. To those who are aware that, two years previous to this ban on the Freemasons, the Ursuline Nuns of Nantes wrought a beautiful Masonic apron of satin, with gold and silver mountings, for George Washington, this regulation will appear curious. From the year 1735 down to the end of the century, Freemasonry was prohibited by many of the European Governments: Holland (1735), Sweden (1738), Bavaria (1784), and Austria (1795). The earliest papal pronouncements against Freemasonry were those by Clement XII

⁹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

¹⁰ Cited by GRIFFIN, *Egan*, p. 45.

(1738), and Benedict XV (1751). The condemnation of the lodges by Pope Clement left no freedom to Catholics in the matter, and since that time Catholics becoming members of the Masonic societies are excommunicated. In Carroll's day there seems to have been some doubt whether the Clementine order bound the Church universally, and even in our own times there are some misgivings on this point, since in certain parts of the American continent, the two ideals—Catholic and Masonic—are not considered incompatible.¹¹ The situation in Bishop Carroll's life time is given to us in his letter to a layman, dated Baltimore, January 7, 1794:

Your favour of September 25, 1793, would have been answered by the return of the bearer, had I not been prevented by uninterrupted occupation in the morning, subsequent to its delivery.

Severe and heavy censures, even that of excommunication, have been denounced by two successive Popes against all persons who continue in or join the Society and frequent the lodges of Free Masons, and the reason alleged is that their meetings are (found by experience) to be destructive to morality, and to diminish very much the habit of religious exercises. I do not pretend that these decrees are received generally by the Church, or have full authority in this diocese; but they ought to be a very serious warning to all good Christians not to expose themselves to dangers which the Supreme head of the Church has judged to be so contagious. I myself likewise, have been well informed by those who have retired from the meetings of the Free Masons that their principal inducement was to shun the dangers of immorality which attended those meetings. They did not accuse the institution of masonry as having immorality for its object, but they assured me that intemperate drinking, obscene conversation, and indelicate songs, to say nothing of other vices, were almost always the consequence of holding a lodge; and that there were ceremonies not very consistent with decency practiced on certain occasions. Besides these general reasons, I have heard often that the most improper meetings of all were those which are held in the small country villages, or at solitary taverns; that in general, they were rendezvous for intemperance and the vices which follow it. Now the knowledge of these things may have been the inducement with Mr. Boorman for deciding on your case, and if he really knew that you exposed yourself without necessity, to the above dangers, he cannot be blamed for his conduct.

However that may be, allow me, your pastor, to recommend to you and others of our Church to live mindful of the advice of the apostle, work your salvation with fear and trembling, and therefore not to trust

¹¹ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxv, pp. 30-31.

to yourselves so far as to mix in societies which the first pastors and the most eminent prelates of the Church have deemed to be hurtful to piety and religion. It is alleged, I know, by friends of this institution that it is directed to most humane and benevolent purposes, and from their concurrent testimony I have no doubt but that some objects of this nature are contemplated by it; but it ought not to be enough for a Christian that good may result from it; he should likewise have well grounded reasons to fear that by becoming a member he will not be led himself nor be the cause of leading others into vicious dissipation.

Such, Sir, is the opinion, which after much dispassionate and anxious inquiry and much observation I have formed of freemasonry. I therefore conclude with earnestly advising you and every other member of our Church to avoid forming or continuing any connection with it.¹²

During these last five years of Dr. Carroll's episcopate, the evolution of church discipline in this country reached one of its most serious phases, that of open rebellion led by some of the laity in the larger cities against the most essential part of all canonical legislation—the spiritual authority of the bishop over the pastorates within his diocese. This rebellion is known in American Catholic annals as the Trustee System. The right to administer ecclesiastical property belongs to the Church. This right can be delegated to others, cleric or lay, as accessory administrators responsible to her for their management of such property.¹³ Their deputies are known as *church wardens*, *sidesmen*, *fabrica*, *fabrique de l'église*, or as *trustees*. From the very earliest times the revenues of the Church were divided in three parts, for the support of the clergy, for the poor, and for the upkeep of the church itself. That part of the revenues set aside for the upkeep of the church itself was called the *fabric* of the church, and in one form or another down the centuries, the Church has allowed those who contributed to this a certain amount of responsibility in the distribution of such funds. This system was universal in the Church down to the sixteenth century and was recognized by the Council of Trent. In almost all Catholic countries today the old system of the *fabrique de l'église* still prevails. From the time of the Reformation the system died out among the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland,

¹² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Letter-Books*, vol. i, p. 209; printed in the *Researches*, vol. xxv, pp. 55-56.

¹³ Cf. TAUNTON, *The Law of the Church*, pp. 337-338. London, 1906.

and it has not been in general usage in these countries since that time. In the United States, lay trustees are found at the very beginning of the organized Church, and the system of trustees has prevailed down to the present; it has been recognized by the Plenary Councils, particularly by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. The Board of Trustees is composed of the Pastor as Chairman or President, and by a certain number of priests and laymen elected by the congregation. In no way are these laymen empowered to interfere in or to direct the spiritual rights of the pastor on the religious life of the people. It required a goodly number of years to bring about a proper adjustment of the relations between the lay trustees as representing the majority, at least, of the congregation, and the pastors of the parishes, representing the bishops of the dioceses. Practically speaking, all the dissensions which arose in the system during Dr. Carroll's episcopate (1790-1815) came from the presumption on the part of certain trustees in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and Charleston, S. C., that the trustees exercised the old *jus patronatus*. Patronage has also existed in the Church from time immemorial. It is a quasi-contract between the Church and a benefactor, whereby among other privileges the latter has the legally granted right of presenting the name of a suitable person to the vacant benefice or living. During the Middle Ages, this right was exercised, even to excess, by lay patrons, especially in Germany, and these excesses led to various regulations which confined the spiritual side of the patronage to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical superiors. In the old canon law patronage was acquired in any one of three ways—the *dos*, *aedificatio*, or *fundus*. By *fundus* is meant the land on which the church stands; by *aedificatio*, the building of the church itself; and by *dos*, the endowment for the upkeep of the church. These three ways of acquiring the *jus patronatus* do not, however, give one the right *ipso facto*. Such a right must be acknowledged by ecclesiastical authority before it has a legally binding canonical effect. Moreover, the right of presentation even in the time when patronage was widely exercised to the detriment of ecclesiastical unity, was never accepted by the Church as a *congé d'élire*, or the lack of choice in the appointment. This, in brief, was the heart of the controversy which

disturbed the peace of the Church in the United States down to the time of Archbishop Hughes. In Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and Charleston, the point in dispute was whether the power of choosing the pastor lay with the congregation, which had indeed bought the land, built the church, and which assured the pastor of support; or with the bishop. Archbishop Carroll contended, as did his successor, Archbishop Neale, that to claim such a right on the part of the laity by these congregations was a pretension, since they were not patrons according to the definition of the Council of Trent. Patronage involved a recognized canonical right, and in the United States no one had the right to appoint or remove a priest except the bishop of the diocese. Moreover, the American bishops had the power of removing priests at will, since parishes in the strict canonical sense did not exist in this country. In most cases where the lay trustees came in conflict with the bishops of these early days, a priest was their leader; but in his contest with the trustees of New York City and of Norfolk, Carroll found laymen leading the rebellion. The chief document on the pernicious trustee system, for the period under study is Bishop Carroll's *Pastoral Letter to the Congregation of Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia*, dated February 22, 1797, which has already been quoted at length in these pages. It was when the "intruder (priest) received from the Trustees a pretended appointment to the pastoral office; that is, the power of loosening and binding; of administering the Holy Eucharist to the Faithful of God's Church; of teaching and preaching, and performing all those duties, which, being in their nature entirely spiritual, can never be within the jurisdiction of, or subject to the dispensation of the laity," that Bishop Carroll decided it was time, for the future as well as for the present, to call a halt to such proceedings. Dr. Carroll says also that he was not surprised to hear "that the turbulent men, who foment the present disturbance, have declared themselves independent of Christ's Vicar, as of a *foreign jurisdiction*." This appeal to a stock objection of those who do not belong to the Church showed, says Carroll, the desire on the part of the turbulent clergy and their abettors, to make the good name of the Church odious in this country. After explaining to them the distinction between their allegiance to the Government of the United States

and their spiritual dependence on the Holy See, Carroll exhorted them all to unite together in prayer that these schisms pass away quickly. Bishop Carroll realized the danger of the tenets held by the recalcitrant trustees from the very beginning of these "stirs," namely that in New York City in 1786. "If ever the principles there laid down," he wrote to the trustees of St. Peter's, "should become predominant, the unity and catholicity of our Church would be at an end . . . the great source of misconception in this matter is that an idea appears to be taken by you . . . that the officiating clergyman at New York is a parish priest, whereas there is yet no such office in the United States." These ideas prevailed, however, for we have seen them guiding the trustees of Holy Trinity Church in 1797, the trustees of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, during Bishop Egan's episcopate (1810-1814), and especially in Norfolk and in Charleston, S. C., in which last city the eloquent Irish priest, Dr. Simon Gallagher, used the trustees in order to retain his pastorate, long after Bishop Carroll had removed him for conduct unbecoming a gentleman and a priest. How vital the conflict had become in the life of the Church here is evident from the fact that Dr. Gallagher and the Augustinian Browne carried their case to Rome and won a decision against Archbishop Carroll. "The coarse and rude way they [Propaganda] have treated me," writes Archbishop Neale, "in favor of Messrs. Gallagher and Browne, both notoriously refractory, plainly shows, unless effectual opposition be made in the present instance, our authority by the government of the unruly will be reduced to inanity."¹⁴ During Dr. Carroll's episcopate the Church came out the victor in all these contests except in that with Simon Gallagher; but even that was soon decided in favour of Archbishop Neale, when the true facts of the case were given. The trustee trouble needs very delicate treatment, if one is to do justice to all parties concerned. Many of these laymen believed that they were upholding the just rights of the parish, against one who, not being one of their own—for to the Germans Dr. Carroll was Irish; to the Irish, he was English, or at least pro-French; to the secular clergy, he was an ex-Jesuit; and to the partially restored

¹⁴ Cited by HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part i, p. 502, note 50.

Society of Jesus, he was looked upon as an uncertainty in the efforts they were making for full canonical revival—could not understand their feelings in matters which touched them so deeply. Sacerdotal leaders like the Harolds, the Heilbrons, Goetz, Elling, and Gallagher did much harm by imparting to their followers a mistaken idea of the canonical side of the dispute; and others, both laymen and priests, who were imbued with Jansenist or Gallican tenets, added their influence to the confusion of the times. And, as it is almost always the case in disputes that find their origin in a difference of theological opinion when once a stand was taken by certain bodies of trustees in the country, it was very difficult to bring them back to unity and harmony.¹⁵ The losses caused by the trustee scandals were meagre in comparison to the rapid growth of the Church during these last years of Dr. Carroll's life. Moreover, the power of the bishops was strengthened instead of lessened; the prestige of the clergy was upheld; and the loyalty of the faithful who had not participated in these "stirs" in the early American Church proved a strong incentive for piety and generosity to the weak and faltering.

We have no document from John Carroll's hands in which to read and judge the condition of the religious life of the laity at the time of his death. But certain sources exist, written within three years of that date, from which a summary may be taken. The first of these is Grassi's *Notizie Varie*, which has been cited above. This little work is an Old-World interpretation of the progress made up to that time in the New, and while its main value is statistical, Father Grassi, who occupied the Presidency of Georgetown College (1812-1817), was unquestionably well-placed for keen observation and analysis of the lights and shadows in the American Church at that time. A second and far more important source than Grassi's popular account is Archbishop Maréchal's *Report to Propaganda on the State of Religion in the Archdiocese of Baltimore* (October 16, 1818).¹⁶ This document is the most accurate of all we possess for this period of American Catholi-

¹⁵ Cf. *The Evils of Trusteeism*, article by TREACY in the *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. viii, pp. 136-156.

¹⁶ Printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 439-453.

cism. A great change was visible by that date in the attitude of Protestants in general towards the Catholic Church. The prejudices which kept so many in Dr. Carroll's day from appreciating her properly were vanishing slowly but surely, and Protestant ministers were not expected by their flocks to calumniate the Catholic Faith in their sermons. On Sundays, the Catholic churches in the cities were frequented by many non-Catholics, attracted by the beauty of the ritual or by the singing; conversions were becoming more numerous; and beyond all other aspects the rapid growth of the Catholic Church in the United States was talked of by everyone. Maréchal notes as the principal abuses in the American life of the times—inebriety and the desire for money. It is incredible, he says, how avid all Americans are to hear sermons. He praises their lightheartedness, their love for argumentation, and their skill in trades and avocations. He lauds the modesty of American womanhood, but he sees danger in their love of dress, which is carried to such a pitch that it would be hard to distinguish a cobbler's daughter from a French countess. The young girls are much addicted to the reading of novels, to the theatre, and to dancing. He described the book-stores of the day, with their shelves filled with promiscuous reading, many of the books being inimical to faith and good morals. There were, he claims, more newspapers in the State of Maryland alone than in Italy and France together. The situation of the Church at large, the priests, their congregations, and their trials, are all well described, and of the difficulties which were his legacy from his two predecessors, Archbishops Carroll and Neale, he gives the following as the principal ones: (1) the insufficient number of priests; (2) the inability of many young men to pay for their education towards the priesthood; (3) the schisms which arose in Dr. Carroll's day and which still existed in some places.

Maréchal sums up the whole case in a word when he says that the chief cause of these schisms arose from the fact that the American people were enjoying a civil liberty to which they held *amore ardentissimo*. The methods of church government which prevailed among the Protestant churches appealed very forcibly to the Catholics, but side-by-side with the desire to emulate their non-Catholic friends, Maréchal places, as a causal quantity of

the highest power, the desire of unworthy priests to rule the flocks entrusted to them without the restraining hand of authority which never allowed them to forget their responsibility for the souls of the faithful. Dr. Carroll had allowed the trustee system, says Maréchal, because he believed that it would effect a compact parochial organization in each centre of population. But so many dissensions and schisms grew out of the system that before he died, he told Neale he regretted the day he had given his consent, even implicitly to the *marguilliers*. We have yet, however, to be given an impartial history of trusteeism in Carroll's time. The whole question must be treated from another angle from that usually taken, namely, the presence of presumptuous, arrogant, and turbulent lay-folks in the congregations where the evil arose.

But these difficulties were all surmountable, for the foundations of the Church had been laid well and deep by John Carroll. He it was who gave form and substance to the discipline of the Church during the twenty-five years of his episcopate; and, as the evening of his long and active life drew to an end, he was able to gaze over the entire expanse of the great country of which he was the Catholic shepherd, and see the signs of the harvest of souls his successors were to reap in the days to come. He left in his vast archdiocese a laity increased over fourfold, a clergy more than doubled. There were three Seminaries for the training of ecclesiastics, three Colleges for the higher education of young men, and two Academies for young girls; there were three convents wherein women could consecrate their lives to religion and to the betterment of humanity; and there were three religious Orders for men. These are his greatest works. Who shall tell of his influence not alone upon his fellow-citizens of other faiths, but more particularly upon the rising generations of Catholic men and women who were proud to call their Father one whom the entire country respected and revered? For the Catholic laity, for their increase in piety and in devotion, their allegiance to both Church and State, their knowledge of their Faith and of its practices, he spared no pains during his long episcopate. If needs there were in the Catholic organization of the land at the time of his death, even for these, and especially the one he recognized more clearly than any of

his generation, he pointed out the signs, which his successors were to follow. Possibly, if it had entered his mind to lament any deficiencies in the Church he had organized and brought to a state of remarkable perfection, he would have regretted two—the lack of more educational facilities for the young and the want of charitable institutions for the care of the sick, the aged, the orphan and the unfortunate.

CHAPTER XXXVIII
EDUCATIONAL AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS
(1790-1815)

The Life of Archbishop Carroll would be incomplete without a chapter devoted to the educational efforts made by the Church in this country during the twenty-five years of his episcopate. But to trace, even slightly, the growth of primary and secondary education at this period is a task which by no means promises success. The first united action of the bishops of the United States in the matter of education was made at the first Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829, when Archbishop Whitfield, the third successor of John Carroll in the See of Baltimore (1828-1834), with Bishops Flaget, S.S., of Bardstown, Bishop Benedict Fenwick, S.J., of Boston, Bishop Edward Fenwick, O.P., of Cincinnati, Bishop England of Charleston, and Bishop Rosati, C.M., of St. Louis, met for the purpose of creating a more efficient ecclesiastical organization in the land. It was at this Council, the first of its kind in the United States, that the law was enacted which has since been the norm of church discipline in the matter of education, namely, the establishment of a parochial school in each parish. Before this time, the Synod of 1791 and the informal meeting of 1810 are the only assemblies of a conciliar nature; and the conditions prevailing in Catholic life during that epoch (1790-1829) and more especially during Carroll's time hardly warranted placing the burden of a parochial school system upon the priests and laity.

That education for the young was a subject dear to the hearts of all the clergy from the very beginning of organized Catholic life in the new Republic needs no proof. The efforts made in every centre where Catholics had formed themselves into parishes are so numerous, in proportion to the number of congregations and priests, that the general Catholic interest in primary and secondary schools is granted by all. Before the foundation

of Georgetown College in 1789, there was no successful Catholic school for secondary training; and of elementary or parochial schools before the American Revolution we know hardly anything, since "exceedingly little has come down to us about the academic side of these early schools."¹ The reason is apparent to all who are cognizant of the social and political status of Catholics in the English colonies. The century and a half preceding the victory of Yorktown was an epoch of life-in-the-catacombs for the Catholics in the future Republic. This fact has been repeated so often in these pages, that it need not be emphasized. Ignored socially, crushed by iniquitous laws, persecuted by ingenious methods which came to life in Elizabeth's reign, Catholics living under the British flag found it to their advantage to hide from those who would rob them of their Faith. From all the professions, in the army, the navy, in the skilled crafts and in places of political preferment, Catholics had been eliminated completely. The freedom which came to the American Catholics under the Federal Constitution of 1787 came also to English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics at the very time the First Provincial Council of Baltimore was holding its sessions, in 1829. It is this element of crypto-Catholicism in the English colonies which must be known and appreciated, if in a subject so essential to Catholic life as the education of the little ones, we hope to understand the absence of elementary school training in the days before the Republic was thoroughly organized. The historian of the American Church, therefore, finds only a blank wall of silence when he questions these early years for the facts of its educational origins. The reasons are apparent. Catholics did not write much about their methods of education. Prejudice was still a vital factor in the social and civic life about them; for, though in leaving England, Ireland and Scotland, Catholics felt they were freeing themselves and their children from the incubus of hatred which had never lessened from the reign of Elizabeth, in reality they were entering a land where that spirit had not lessened to any appreciable extent. Dr. Burns says:

¹ BURNS, *The Catholic School System in the United States*, p. 35. New York, 1908.

Even for the post-Revolutionary period, the materials for a thorough study of the academic development of the schools are very scant and hard to be got at. Except in a few instances, nothing has yet been done to collect, from local sources, materials relating to the history of the schools during the last century. An abundance of data exists in local records, covering the history of the longer established schools during at least the past half century. . . . Only after local and diocesan historians have done their work, can a history be written of the Catholic educational movement which will do justice to the subject in all its aspects.²

For Pennsylvania only can the story be told with any degree of accuracy. There are records of schoolmasters in most of the towns founded by the German Catholic settlers of that State, and in some cases Catholic schools were built long before the little congregations could afford to erect a church. The combination school and church which is so common today was well known in these early years of the Republic, for church and school were always looked upon as one and indivisible. All the priests who laboured here during Dr. Carroll's episcopate were men of learning and most of them had been teachers. The German ex-Jesuits, who laboured in Pennsylvania, were particularly men of this type; and it is not difficult to surmise the interest taken in education by scholars of such high standing as Father Schneider, who had been Rector Magnificus of Heidelberg University, and Father Farmer, a member of the original Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania. Father Molyneux's pastorate in Philadelphia bridges over the Revolutionary period, and his was the initiative which began that more compact system of parochial school training which places Philadelphia so high today in the Catholic educational progress of the country. "Father Molyneux was the first in this country, so far as is known, to publish textbooks for the use of Catholic schools. He had a catechism printed, and other elementary books, among which was a spelling primer for children with the Catholic Catechism annexed, printed in 1785."³ The first Catholic parochial school in Philadelphia was begun in 1781 in a house purchased from the Quakers. A new building was added the following year to accommodate the numbers of Catholic children of St. Mary's Parish. The school itself was near St. Joseph's Church, and

² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

was two stories high, with the younger children occupying the upper floor. Two lay teachers were employed, and the school was directed by a board of managers, at the head of which were the priests of Philadelphia. In the beginning the pupils paid a stipulated tuition charge—those in the upper schoolroom seventeen shillings a term of nine months, and those in the lower room twenty shillings a term. Provision was made to educate six poor scholars annually. The teachers received a salary from sixty to seventy-five pounds a year, and the children paid for their own text-books, which were cheap enough for the poorest to procure. Cash prizes were offered four times a year to the value of twenty shillings to the pupils excelling in their studies. Dr. Burns has pointed out that the greatest difficulty experienced by the managers of St. Mary's School came from their inability to hold the best teachers. Between 1789 and 1800, for example, the schoolmaster was changed eight times. As far as possible the boys and girls were kept separated, though not necessarily in different rooms, and within the second decade of the school's existence a woman teacher was placed over the girls. The school was supported then, as now, by regularly announced school collections made during Mass on Sundays, and occasionally a "charity sermon" was given for this same purpose. Legacies and donations of various kinds were made in favour of St. Mary's School, and among these benefactors was the Father of the American Navy, Commodore John Barry, who left an annuity of twenty pounds to the school. A night school was in existence in the schoolhouse as early as 1805. The importance of St. Mary's parochial school in the history of Catholic education arises from the fact that Philadelphia was then our largest city, and St. Mary's, the largest and the richest parish in the United States. Dr. Burns calls St. Mary's: "The mother-school of all the parochial schools in the English-speaking States."⁴

The second parochial school was that founded by the Holy Trinity parish of Philadelphia in 1789, when the basement of the church was set apart for that purpose. Later (1803) by means of a lottery, a separate school building was erected, and in this school the German Catholic children of the city were

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

instructed.⁵ Philadelphia's third parish, St. Augustine's, organized in 1796, sent its children to St. Mary's parochial school until 1811, when St. Augustine's parochial school was opened under the title "St. Augustine's Academy." From an old prospectus it would appear that the original idea of Dr. Carr, its founder, was to begin a boarding-school for advanced students, but this was soon abandoned and it became a day school for the children of the parish. "This first attempt at a Catholic high school failed because of the fewness of the pupils and probably also because of the expense attached to its maintenance."⁶ These three parochial schools served the Catholic children of the city until the episcopate of Bishop Kenrick (1830-1851), at which epoch dates the beginning of the growth of systematic Catholic education in Philadelphia. Schools existed also at Conewago, Goshenhoppen, McSherrystown, Mt. Airy, where Father Brosius was principal, and at Loretto, where Prince Gallitzin opened a school in 1800.

An interesting and instructive comparison might be drawn between these early educational efforts of the Philadelphia Catholics and those of the State of Pennsylvania itself. Custis writes:

Prior to the year 1818 meagre provision was made by the State for the education of its youth. The principal schools were privately endowed institutions, which admitted a limited number of indigent pupils free of cost. The Convention which revised the State Constitution (1789-90), amended the article which provided for the establishment of free schools, in which it was stated that the masters were to be paid such salaries as should "enable them to teach at low prices," to read as follows: "The Legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State, in such a manner that the poor may be taught gratis." A number of Acts of Legislature were passed prior to 1818, providing for the education of poor children at the public expense in existing schools. The broadest of these Acts was that of 1809, which was supplemented in 1812, with a provision which gave the County Commissioners power to erect and establish schools under the direction of Councils.⁷

The erection of these public schools was a slow process, and Philadelphia itself was rather dilatory in providing schools for

⁵ HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-39.

⁶ MCGOWAN, *Historical Sketch, etc.*, p. 38.

⁷ CUSTIS, *The Public Schools of Philadelphia*, p. 30. Philadelphia, 1897.

the children of the poor. The private schools stood in the way for a long time, and it was only in 1817, five years after the enactment mentioned above, that public schools, modelled on the Lancasterian (monitorial) system of England were begun. These schools were not popular, for the "pauper act" which established them was not well received. Parents disliked to admit their poverty and children were equally unwilling to be dubbed "charity scholars."⁸ The actual foundation of the present Public School System, which did not materialize without much opposition, for education was by no means a popular thing in the early nineteenth century, came much later (1838) in the history of Penn's city.⁹ The subjects taught were mainly the three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic, though gradually geography took a prominent place in the school-room. The school discipline was rigid and sometimes very severe, and a teacher was judged more by the order kept in the classroom than by the progress of the pupils. In 1819, there were in Philadelphia ten schools with as many masters, and the number of pupils is given as 2,845.

At New York City there were only two parishes during the years of Dr. Carroll's episcopate—St. Peter's (1785) and St. Patrick's (1809). In 1800-01, at the urgent request of Bishop Carroll a parochial school was begun in St. Peter's parish, and it soon became one of the largest in the city. In 1805, the pupils numbered a hundred boys and girls. In 1806, Francis Cooper presented a petition to the New York State Assembly asking that a portion of the State money devoted to education be allotted to St. Peter's school, and the bill was passed with only one dissenting vote. St. Peter's parochial school was the only Catholic institution for primary education in New York City down to the year 1812, when three Ursuline nuns from Ireland came to New York to found a school for girls. An elementary school and a high school were opened, but the Sisters grew discouraged at the faint response to their efforts, and they returned to Ireland in 1815.

When Bishop Cheverus began his episcopate in Boston in

⁸ SWETT, *American Public Schools*, p. 187. New York, 1899.

⁹ WICKERSHAM, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia, 1886.

1810, there were but three Catholic churches in New England—one in Boston, one at New Castle and one at Damariscotta, Maine. Only two priests were in the diocese, and the number of Catholics is estimated at not more than one thousand. It was not until the second decade of the nineteenth century that New England began to benefit by the great tide of Catholic immigration; the first parochial school of the diocese was not erected until five years after Archbishop Carroll's death.

In the Diocese of Bardstown, private Catholic schools were opened shortly after the settlement of Kentucky by Maryland Catholics, but these schools were temporary in character, their existence being dependent on their founders. The first school for primary education was that opened by the Trappists at Pottinger's Creek in 1805. This school was a combined elementary and secondary institution and while it lasted (1805-1809), it was successful. In 1807, the Dominicans opened a school, known as St. Thomas' College, in Washington Co., with a curriculum comprising elementary and classical studies. The pupils lived at the school and were required to spend from three to four hours a day in manual labour. In this way, the cost of their tuition was reduced, and they were trained in farming and in various trades of that section of Kentucky. At Vincennes, Father Flaget opened a school in 1792.¹⁰ He taught school himself with the help of others, and the studies were a combination of elementary knowledge, of agriculture and the trades. In Detroit, a Catholic school had been established shortly after the foundation of that city, and it appears to have flourished from 1703-4 down to 1796, when Detroit passed under American control. In June, 1798, Father Gabriel Richard was sent by Bishop Carroll to assist Father Levadoux, and, when the latter retired in 1801, Father Richard became the pastor and vicar-general for the district. Father Richard is one of the most attractive figures in the history of American education. His parish was the largest at that time beyond the Alleghanies, and, during his long career in Michigan, he was assuredly the leading educator of the old Northwest. With a

¹⁰ Cf. SPALDING, *Life of Flaget*, p. 34; ALERDING, *History of the Diocese of Vincennes*, p. 61.

view to raising the standards of education in Detroit, he established (1802) a high school for boys and young men and a primary school for the younger children. For the advanced training of young girls, he opened a normal school in order to prepare teachers for this important work; and it is noteworthy that the four young ladies who entered the normal school were directed to specialize in certain branches. After a two years' normal course, a girl's high school was opened (1804), and, shortly afterwards, the boys and girls in the primary school were separated, each having a school house to themselves. Like all the priests of this period, interested in the foundation of Catholic education, Father Richard believed in manual training; and he brought from the East spinning-wheels, looms, carding-machines, electrical apparatus, and materials for a physical and chemical laboratory. The fire of 1805 destroyed the city of Detroit, and the loss of the schools and their equipment was a great blow to this remarkable educator; but within a short time he had housed all his pupils in a large warehouse belonging to the United States Government. Father Richard's educational activities carried him outside the city of Detroit, and at this time Catholic schools were opened in other centres. Financially embarrassed at all times, his whole educational system was placed in jeopardy when he was sued by the United States for the rent of the warehouse at Spring Hill. In 1809, he brought from the East a printing-press and a printer, and that year was begun the *Michigan Essay or Impartial Observer*, the first Catholic paper published in the United States. From 1809 to 1812, this press, the first of its kind in the Northwest, published a series of text-books for the use of the pupils. The teaching in the schools, primary and secondary, was in French, since the majority of the children knew only that language. The War of 1812 interfered with his educational work, and Father Richard's patriotism cost him a long imprisonment by the British forces. Father Dilhet is also credited with a participation in the foundation of the University of Michigan, since he was the first to draw up a systematic plan for advanced studies in that institution. Being the leading authority on education in the State, Father Richard was chosen as Vice-President of the University at its opening in 1817. Richard's election to Congress in 1823 was a

"graceful recognition of the distinguished services he had rendered to the people of Michigan."¹¹

The problem of providing teachers for the elementary schools of Kentucky was met when Father Charles Nerinckx succeeded in organizing the Sisterhood of Loretto (1812). That same year Father David, subsequently coadjutor-Bishop of Bardstown, organized the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, who devoted themselves to the care of the sick and to the education of poor children, and a school was opened by Mother Catherine Spalding of this community in a little log house next to the Church of St. Thomas near Bardstown.

In all these projects for elementary and higher education outside the Diocese of Baltimore, Archbishop Carroll had an interest and a directing influence. His own diocese was being rapidly equipped with academies for advanced learning, but the three parishes, St. Peter's pro-Cathedral, St. Patrick's and the German Church, St. John's, were without parochial schools until 1815, when Father John Moranvillé opened a school for poor children in connection with St. Patrick's Church, of which he was pastor. Pupils of all creeds were admitted. The Diocese of Baltimore possessed several private schools where elementary instruction was also given to a limited number of boys and girls. Among the best known of these was the Visitation School for girls at Georgetown (1799) and Mother Seton's school in Baltimore (1808), where girls also were taught, until the transfer of the school to Emmitsburg (1809-10). St. Mary's College (1805) also received a certain number of boys, without distinction of creed, for the elements of learning, and provision was also made at Georgetown for those unable to begin high school or collegiate studies. Mount St. Mary's College at Emmitsburg (1809-1810) had its class of "minims."

Such in brief is the history of elementary Catholic education in the United States. It was but "a system in embryo." Its real development was not to begin until after the First Plenary Council of Baltimore (1829), when for the first time the Catholic hierarchy took up as a body the problem of a Catholic parochial school system. It is to be regretted that so little is known about

¹¹ BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 196; cf. FARMER, *The History of Detroit and Michigan*, pp. 7288. Detroit, 1884.

the methods employed and the text-books used. So far as the studies and the methods are concerned, these earliest of our Catholic parochial and elementary schools did not differ much from those of other denominations or from those supported by the States. The best developed of all the primary Catholic schools during this time was that conducted by the Ursulines in New Orleans. From 1803 to 1815, the success of this oldest girls' school in the United States belongs to the history of the Church in the Diocese of Baltimore, since their school fought alone the battle for education for a century before the Church in the old French territory came under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Carroll. Under the new social conditions produced by the American Revolution, Catholics, especially in the great region west of the Alleghanies, where the members of their Faith largely dominated, soon saw their opportunity to organize a school system devoted to Faith and to learning. But the total number of Catholics there (probably not 10,000 in 1815) was too small for any successful standardizing of a school system. No claim can be made for superiority over the non-Catholic schools in this early period, but it is a remarkable fact and worthy of the historian's notice that in spite of their fewness, their poverty, and the lack of everything essential to such a system, the Catholics of Dr. Carroll's time did succeed in laying firmly and well the foundations of a school development which has been called "the greatest religious factor in the United States today."

For the history of collegiate education during these early years of church development, there is a greater number of documentary materials. The colleges for boys and young men from 1790 to 1815 were: Georgetown (1789), St. Mary's, Baltimore (1805), Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg (1809-10), St. Thomas College, Kentucky (1807) and the New York Literary Institution (1809). The first and the last were the work of the Jesuits; the second and third, of the Sulpicians, and the fourth, of the Dominicans. In 1822, St. Thomas College ceased to exist; in 1813, the Jesuits transferred the New York Literary Institution to the Trappists, who abandoned it in 1815, and it was closed; in 1852, St. Mary's College, Baltimore, was merged into Loyola College in that same city; and, in 1826, Mount St. Mary's ceased to be directed by the Sulpicians and was placed under the direc-

tion of the secular clergy. It is no disparagement to these Colleges to say that Georgetown occupied the largest share of Dr. Carroll's attention and concern. His letters to Father Plowden seldom fail to mention the condition of affairs in this establishment of his own creation, and though occasionally we find a reference to the other schools of higher learning, it is quite clear that he centred all his hopes for an educated laity upon this now venerable institution. Even after Georgetown College had passed into the control of the Society of Jesus, Dr. Carroll followed its every phase of progress and knew every detail of its crises during these years. Father Molyneux, the first Jesuit President (1806-1808), was succeeded by Father William Matthews. Father Francis Neale, S.J., succeeded to the presidency (1808-1812), and Father John Grassi, S.J., was head of the College at the time of Archbishop Carroll's death (1812-1817). Carroll saw small hopes for any project supervised by his friend, Robert Molyneux, whom he considered to be inclined to indolence; and Molyneux himself never made any pretence at energetic organization, since his physical condition did not allow him much activity. About Francis Neale, as President of Georgetown College, Carroll was never enthusiastic. In writing to Plowden, April 2, 1808, Dr. Carroll says: "You know that the latter [*Francis Neale*] is virtue and piety itself, but too illiterate to have any share in the direction of a literary institution . . . In this country, the talents of the president are the gauge, by which the public estimates the excellency or deficiency of a place of education; to which must be added affability, address and other human qualities for which neither of the Brs. [*Bishop Neale and Francis*] is conspicuous."¹² Long before this time, in Bishop Neale's presidency (1799-1806), Dr. Carroll expressed his dissatisfaction over the regimen of the College, in a letter to Plowden (March 12, 1800):

We have now a few juniors learning philosophy; but the College of G-town does not at present flourish in the number of students so as to promise a fresh supply of many more. Its president, my Coadjutor, and his Br. Francis, who are its principal administrators, and both of them, as worthy men as live, deter parents from sending their sons thither by some vigorous regulations, not calculated for the meridian of America.

¹² *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

Their principles are too monastic; and with a laudable view of excluding immorality, they deny that liberty which all here will lay claim to. Indeed it is a difficult problem to solve, what degree of it should be allowed in literary establishments: and never have I been able to satisfy my own mind on this subject tho' it has been much employed in thinking of it. Theory and experience are constantly at variance in this cause: for tho' the principles of religion and morality command the Instructors of youth to restrain their pupils from almost every communication with the men and things of the world, yet that very restraint operates against the effect intended by it, and it is too often found that on being delivered from it, young men, as when the pin which confined a spring is loosened, burst out of confinement into licentiousness, and give way to errors and vices, which with more acquaintance with the manners and language of the world, they would have avoided.¹³

There was opposition during this year (1800) between Georgetown and St. Mary's Seminary, and Carroll deplored the fact that six or seven young men who were ready to begin their ecclesiastical studies were being induced to remain at Georgetown for the course of philosophy just then opened instead of entering at the Baltimore Seminary. This opposition, due to "unreasonable prejudices" against "the worthy priests of S. Sulpice and the system of education pursued in the Seminary,"¹⁴ contributed to Archbishop Carroll's anxieties over the future of higher education in the country. Dr. Carroll placed great hopes in the accession of Father Kohlmann, S.J., to the community at Georgetown, in his letter to Plowden (April 2, 1806), when he "has become more informed of the customs of this country, and understands that a College, founded like that of G. Town, for the education of youth generally, must not be governed on the principles and in the System of a Convent."¹⁵

Bishop Carroll had never given any but a reluctant consent to the foundation of St. Mary's College in Baltimore by Father Du Bourg, since he looked upon it as a detriment to the progress of Georgetown. At one time he calls Du Bourg "a man of very pleasing manners, of an active and towering genius;" but five years later (Dec. 12, 1813) he describes him to the same correspondent as "a priest of great talent, but delighting more in the brilliant, than solidity," who carried the college on "with much

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 758.

¹⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

apparent success and splendour for a few years; but the consequence was an enormous debt which has almost ruined both College and Seminary, a more deplorable event, for truly a more exemplary and worthy company of ecclesiastics [Sulpicians] nowhere exists." ¹⁶

After Father Grassi's acceptance of the Presidency of Georgetown, on October 1, 1812, Dr. Carroll wavers constantly between praise and blame for the college there. Stonyhurst's success was a constant stimulus to all who wished to see Georgetown prosper. "Oh! how we do want a vigorous and literary member of the Society with one or two good Scholastics, to take care of that fine establishment," he wrote of Georgetown to Plowden in the beginning of 1812; ¹⁷ but before the end of the next year he is honest enough to confess, at a time when his relations with Grassi were beginning to be strained: "Mr. Grassi has revived the College of G. Town, which has received great improvement in the number of students and course of studies. His predecessor [*Francis Neale*] with the same good intentions had no ability for his station, and was nominated by a strange combination." ¹⁸

His last letters to Plowden in 1815, the year of his death, are all optimistic as to the future of the College, which had become a University that same year (March 1, 1815). On October 13, 1815, he tells Plowden that Father Grassi "continually adds celebrity and reputation to the character of his College, excepting the blame incurred on one account: Protestants, whose sons are sent thither, sometime complain, perhaps, without cause, of the means said to be used to bring them over to the Church." ¹⁹ If any reasonable fears for the future of Georgetown existed before 1815, certainly after that date the University, as it was henceforth called, made such rapid and substantial progress that its future place as the leader by age and by learning in the Catholic educational life of the country was an assured fact. To Father John Grassi, the University owes this beginning of its most thorough academic organization. Although Georgetown

¹⁶ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

suffered during the War of 1812 as did all higher schools of learning, the number of pupils was on the increase. The cessation of the New York Literary Institution in 1815 led several New York families to send their sons to Georgetown, and with these first accessions from without the State of Maryland, Georgetown's national influence began.

Side-by-side with the educational development of Catholic life in the young Republic went the rise and growth of charitable institutions. The plague of yellow fever which had swept the country in 1793 awoke Philadelphia to the realization that the hospital accommodations were woefully inadequate and in the first outbreak of the plague, the Guardians of the Poor commandeered the Hamilton mansion and converted it into Bush Hill Hospital. Mathew Carey, then the leading Catholic layman of the city, has left us a *Short Account of the Malignant Fever lately Prevalent in Philadelphia*, and some of his descriptions of the neglect almost surpass belief. Five hundred died in the hospital at the rate of about seven a day, from September to November, 1793. Other outbreaks occurred in 1795 and 1797. The fever became epidemic in this last year, while in the following year (1798) twenty-four per cent. of the people of the city died from the disease. The dreadful scourge which had decimated the city in five years, had left many children orphans, and means were taken at once to furnish them with homes. An association was formed for the purpose of caring for the Catholic children, and these were confided to the care of a Catholic woman and lodged in a house near Holy Trinity Church.²⁰ In 1807, this association was incorporated under the legal title of "the Roman Catholic Society of St. Joseph's for Educating and Maintaining Poor Orphan Children," and it was to this house of nearly two hundred orphans that seven years later (1814), three of Mother Seton's Sisters of Charity came from Emmitsburg. This was the only institution of its kind in the archdiocese up to 1815. The welfare work of the Daughters of Charity of Emmitsburg and of the Sisters of Charity, of Nazereth, Kentucky, the pioneer Sisterhoods of the United States saw the beginning of its present development in the decade following Archbishop Carroll's death.

²⁰ HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59; KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE LAST YEARS

(1811-1815)

Archbishop Carroll was invested with the pallium on August 18, 1811, by Bishop Neale.¹ His position as first metropolitan or chief shepherd of the Catholic Church in the United States was at last made officially public, and the organization of the American hierarchy finally completed. The United States at this time comprised a single ecclesiastical province, divided into five dioceses, with a sixth in process of formation for Louisiana. As Ordinary of his own Diocese of Baltimore, Dr. Carroll had all the obligations and the burdens that are common to every bishopric. As Metropolitan of the United States, it was to Carroll that the other bishops looked for guidance in all matters touching the Church within the nation. He was the ordinary and immediate superior of the American bishops, though his jurisdiction did not extend to their subjects. In matters concerning the national Church he was the presiding judge, and it was to Carroll that the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide looked for all official information concerning the Church in general in the United States. All national Catholic matters passed through his hands to the Holy See. When the bishops separated after their consecration at Baltimore in 1810, it was agreed that a Provincial Council would be held in November, 1812. Had this council taken place, there is no doubt that the organization of the American Church would have been blessed with a more efficient general administration than it possessed during these last years of Dr. Carroll's life. Two obstacles prevented the holding of the Council: the War of 1812 and the captivity of Pius VII.

It was only after long years of growing bitterness and resent-

¹ The pallium was brought to Baltimore by the British Minister to the United States.

ment against England's high-handed actions towards America that Congress declared war in June, 1812. The creation of the French Empire, with Napoleon as Emperor of the French in 1804, meant a world war upon a scale hitherto undreamed. The wars between 1792 and 1802 were the direct outcome of the French Revolution, but those from 1803 to 1815 were Napoleonic wars, in which Europe, with England at its head, combined as allies to overthrow the great military genius. Napoleon's conquest of Austria and Prussia in 1805-1806, and the subsequent alliance of France and Russia by the Peace of Tilsit in July, 1807, brought England and France out into decisive conflict. Napoleon had failed on the sea, when his navy was defeated at Trafalgar by Nelson (1805), and in revenge he prepared a Continental blockade with the design of ruining England by cutting off her commercial relations with the Continent. England replied with a blockade of her own. Both these war measures of England and France violated international equity, in ignoring the rights of all neutral states to carry on commerce. The action of the two nations brought financial ruin to many American merchants and shippers. Despite the protests of the Americans, no alleviation was granted, and the popular cry for war soon arose. Jefferson's Embargo Act of December, 1807, was for the purpose of bringing both England and France to terms, but the direct result was the ruin of American trade. The South and West particularly bore the brunt of the American blockade, while along the Atlantic our ships lay at anchor in the harbours. The repeal of the Embargo Act in February, 1809, helped little to relieve the distress; and Madison's succession to the Presidency in March, 1809, was not viewed with much pleasure by those who were loudly clamouring for American rights. England's method of impressment on the high seas only intensified the anger of the Americans, many of whom were determined on a second War of Independence.

Dr. Carroll gives us a glimpse into the national animus of the day in a letter to Plowden, dated September 19, 1809:

The raising here of our embargo and subsequent Convention with Mr. Erskine [*the British minister at Washington*] set all our American shipping afloat, but the disavowal of that Convention has very much damped the spirit of enterprise; the numerous partisans of your inveterate foes,

and of orderly government, try to avail themselves of the most unwise and impolite conduct of your government to inflame the passions of this country against yours; in which they are too successfully seconded by the numerous Irish emigrants, who bring hither with them all the prejudice and violence excited by past and recent most iniquitous tyranny towards them: these are kept alive by some rancorous editors of newspapers, tho' in this country these emigrants have no cause to disturb our peace, by the diffusion of their sentiments. You may be sure that little would remain here of that factious spirit, which is the bane of most free countries, if it were not for the busy intriguing French and headstrong Irish amongst us; these last deserve sympathy, for they have been goaded by their sufferings into madness. Your new Envoy, Mr. Jackson, has lately arrived; after the disappointment caused by the rejection of Mr. Erskine's treaty, we lovers of peace hope that he has brought terms of conciliation, or much asperity will arise against your new enemies: for heaven knows that she [England] is the bulwark of public welfare—*spes ultima mundi*.²

Archbishop Carroll was personally opposed to the policy which insisted that the problems which were causing enmity between America and England had to be settled by war. Three years later, on January 27, 1812, he wrote to his friend:

Our American Cabinet, and a majority of Congress seem to be infatuated with a blind predilection for France, which no injuries or insults from that country can extinguish,³ and an unconquerable hostility to England. This last is nurtured by the unaccountable impolicy of the latter in still maintaining the orders of Council so detrimental to itself, and so irritating to us. Every day seems to bring us nearer to open hostility, in which we have everything to lose and nothing to gain. In this state of things I long for the period when your Regent will be loosed from his trammels, and it will be seen what course of policy he will pursue.⁴

The outbreak of hostilities on June 18, 1812, rendered the conveyance of letters between America and Europe so uncertain that from this time down to Dr. Carroll's death we have very little documentary evidence for the history of the Church in this

² *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

³ The failure of Great Britain to support Erskine in repealing the orders in council was tantamount to a suspension of trade with England; but when Napoleon in May, 1810, ordered all American vessels in French ports to be seized, the loss to American shipping amounted to forty million dollars. Madison's meek submission to this outrage had the effect of arousing the war spirit of the country. Cf. McCARTHY, *History of the United States*, p. 259 note. New York, 1919.

⁴ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

country. When President Madison appointed a day for prayer in the crisis which came upon our national life, Archbishop Carroll issued a Charge to his people, calling upon all Catholics to offer their prayers in unison with their fellow-citizens in order that Divine Providence might guide the Republic in the crisis. On August 6, 1812, he sent this Charge to the pastors of the diocese:

Rev. Sir:—

The President of the United States has recommended to the people thereof to set apart Thursday, the 20th of August, for the purpose of rendering public homage to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, humble adoration of His infinite perfections, and supplications to him for the protecting of peace and prosperity to our common Country. In compliance with this recommendation and considering that we, the members of the Catholic Church, are at least, equally indebted as our fellow-citizens to the Bestower of every good gift, for past and present blessings, stand in the same need of His protection, and ought to feel an equal interest in the welfare of these United States during the awful crisis now hanging over them: I cannot hesitate to require the respective clergymen employed in the care of souls throughout this Diocese to invite and encourage the faithful under their pastoral charge to unite on Thursday August 20, for divine worship, and most particularly in offering through the minister of the church the august and salutary sacrifice of Grace, the Body and Blood of the Lamb of God Which takes away the sins of the world, to implore through it divine protection in all our lawful pursuits public and private, to shield us in danger, and to restore and secure to us the return of the days of peace, a happy peace in this life and above all that peace which the world cannot give.

✠ JOHN, *Archbp. of Baltimore*.⁵

His young relation, Mr. Henry Carroll, went out as secretary to one of our plenipotentiaries, sent to negotiate a peace with England—Carroll wrote on January 31, 1814, to Plowden.⁶ But the war dragged on, with dangerous elements at work, especially in New England, which tended towards the disruption of the Union; and in August, 1814, the greatest humiliation in American history occurred when General Ross entered Washington, and burned the Capitol, the President's home, and other Government buildings. With the nation's capital in his possession, Ross joined with the British fleet in the attack on Baltimore.

⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-14; printed in the *Researches*, vol. viii, p. 18; cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 656-657.

⁶ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

In the midst of the alarm created, Archbishop Carroll issued a letter to the Catholics of the city: "It is hereby recommended to our Catholic Brethren in this City during the present state of alarm and danger to implore the powerful aid and protection of our Heavenly Father over ourselves and fellow citizens, and those particularly who now must leave their homes and families for the common defense. Let them be recommended to Divine mercy through the intercession of the Bd. Virgin Mary as the chosen Patroness of the Diocese not doubting of Her readiness to intercede for those who have recourse to Her in the time of their need." ⁷

The guns of Fort McHenry successfully defended the city, and, in a land attack, Ross was killed. Dr. Carroll describes the bombardment of his episcopal city in a letter to Plowden, January 5, 1815: "The visit of your countrymen last summer to Washington has nearly ruined several of my nearest connexions. They came next to this city in their shipping; it was an awful spectacle to behold—before us at least 40 vessels great and small and for about 25 hours fire bomb ketches, discharging shots on the forts of upward 200 lb. weight each. You may suppose that we did not sleep much. Heaven preserve us from another such visitation!" ⁸ On March 20, 1815, he wrote again to Plowden: "Having lived, thro' God's providence, to witness the return of peace between our respective countries, I resume with pleasure, and, whilst I can, propose to continue that correspondence, which for so many years has been so delightful and beneficial to me, and I flatter myself not altogether unentertaining to you. The restoration of tranquillity in Europe, and now to these States, will make it free from any more interruptions, I hope, forever." ⁹ He repeats his thought in a subsequent letter (June 23, 1815), in which he says that "now in my 80th year, my sincere prayer is that [the peace between our respective countries] may never be disturbed again; yet some are afraid that the new state of things in Europe [Napoleon's return from Elba, etc.] will tend to embroil us, unless wiser counsels direct our Rulers than heretofore. After witnessing and standing the

⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Special C-A10; printed in the *Researches*, vol. viii, p. 59.

⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

⁹ *Ibid.*

tremendous bombardment of our fire bomb vessels, Congreve rockets, etc., for 27 hours incessantly at Baltimore, my mind recoils from the idea of beholding more of such scenes."¹⁰ His last letter to Father Plowden (October 13, 1815) contains a valuable reflection for the history of the period: "The great revolutions which then (after Napoleon's return) began to appear, which are since disclosed, render the times in which we have lived uncommonly eventful, and fruitful of serious reflections. The glory of your country is at its highest elevation. To have stood alone against an overwhelming power, which compelled submission from every power in Europe until it was met by British arms, and to have at length reanimated the trembling nations to shake off their yoke, is the exclusive merit of Englishmen, as His Holiness truly compliments them in his letter to the Bishops of Ireland."¹¹

The Catholics of the United States had no hesitation in lending their loyal support to the Government during the war, and when Baltimore was delivered from the peril of capitulation, Archbishop Carroll issued a Pastoral appointing a solemn *Te Deum* to be sung in both St. Peter's and St. Patrick's, on October 20, 1814. We have already described the splendid heroism of the Ursuline nuns during the battle of New Orleans, and Bishop Du Bourg's welcome to the American leader, Andrew Jackson, at the door of the Cathedral, on the day of thanksgiving for the victory.¹²

The inconveniences arising from the War of 1812 were mainly of a domestic nature in the church organization of the day, but the stoppage of correspondence caused both by the War and the imprisonment of the Pope, had its effect upon ecclesiastical progress in this country. Of the five suffragan sees, New York had been vacant since 1810; Philadelphia was not only vacant but was the pawn of ecclesiastical meddlers abroad; and Louisiana was distracted with a schism which threatened to become permanent under the leadership of the Capuchin, Sedella. The closing years of Carroll's administration are marked by silence

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² WILLIAMS, *American Catholics in the War*, pp. 46-47. Washington, D. C., 1921.

between Rome and Baltimore. Propaganda was closed (1808-1813) and the Holy See refused to deal with church affairs so long as the Vicar of Christ was under duress. The practical cessation of all direction from Rome left Archbishop Carroll without any help in the difficult task of preserving the unity of the Church in this country; and added to this was his growing conviction that he had lost favour with Roman officials.

The captivity of Pius VII began with Napoleon's decree at Schönbrunn on May 18, 1808, abolishing the temporal sovereignty of the Pope and annexing the Papal states to the French Empire. Pius VII was forcibly removed to Savona, where he was kept a prisoner for three years. He was then transferred to Fontainebleau, during Napoleon's Russian campaign (1812), and on January 18, 1813, there occurred the first of that remarkable series of interviews between Pius VII and the Emperor, the result of which was the Concordat of Fontainebleau, signed on January 25, 1813. This Concordat was repudiated by the Holy See in March, 1813, and the Pope was kept under close surveillance until January, 1814, when he was taken under escort back to Savona. On May 17, 1814, he was liberated, and the aged prisoner set out for Rome, where he arrived on May 24. Napoleon had signed his abdication (April 11, 1814) in the very place where he had confined the august Head of the Church, and though the "hundred days" were to come before Waterloo (June 18, 1815), Europe was on the eve of a return to normal conditions. During these years of the Captivity of Pius VII (1809-1814) ecclesiastical business was almost at a standstill. Cardinal di Pietro, Prefect of Propaganda (1805-1814) under whose jurisdiction lay the Church in the United States, was first removed to Semur, and then to Paris. When he refused to assist at Napoleon's marriage with the Archduchess Marie Louise, he was arrested and thrown into the dungeon of Vincennes. Later he was liberated, for we find him at Fontainebleau with Pius VII. During di Pietro's absence from Rome, the Sacred Congregation was in charge of the Secretary, Monsignor John Baptist Quarantotti, who, it appears, acted during this time as Vice-Prefect of Propaganda. Quarantotti was then nearly eighty years old, and was by no means possessed of the ability such a critical juncture demanded, as is well known to all familiar with the English

Catholic history of this period.¹³ The consequence was that with the Holy Father separated from his counsellors, and with the heads of the various Congregations either in prison, or forbidden to remain in Rome, or to consult the aged Pontiff, the organization of the Church suffered as at no time in its history. The *blocus continental* had demoralized shipping all over the world; and hence letters, when sent, were despatched in duplicate and triplicate by different routes.¹⁴ Some few letters exist for the years 1804-1808 but the remaining years down to Archbishop Carroll's death are particularly barren of correspondence between Rome and Baltimore. The case of Bishop Concanen, who had been consecrated in 1808 for New York, is typical. He did not succeed in leaving Italy, owing to the blockade, and his every attempt to send Dr. Carroll first-hand information of all that had been done by Propaganda for the Church in the United States, failed. Dr. Concanen was entrusted with the Briefs for the consecration of the three bishops, with various letters from the Holy See to Archbishop Carroll, and with the latter's pallium. Everything seems to have been lost except the pallium, which reached Carroll through the British Embassy at Washington, in 1811. Fortunately some of the letters written during this period were later recovered, and they can be consulted; but their non-reception left Archbishop Carroll in a quandary over many things that vitally affected the peace and unity of the Church.¹⁵

Letters may still be found from Propaganda or from Pius VII during these years, but the Roman and Baltimore Archives do not contain any, and it would appear as if the last official relation between Baltimore and Rome was the bestowal of the pallium on August 11, 1811. We know of letters written to Rome by Archbishop Carroll during this time, but their absence from the Archives of Propaganda would lead one to believe that they were lost in transit. The news of Pius VII's liberation and return to Rome reached Carroll quickly, however, and on July 3, 1814, he issued a Pastoral to his people, appointing a solemn *Te Deum* to be chanted in St. Peter's pro-Cathedral on

¹³ Cf. WARD, *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, vol. ii, pp. 71-101; GILLOW, *op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 23.

¹⁴ Carroll to Plowden, April 2, 1808, *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

¹⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

July 10th. This, it will be remembered, was but a month before the bombardment of the city. The following passages from the Pastoral contain an accurate reflection of Carroll's anxiety during these years of silence :

The Holy Catholick Church has mourned for many years over the sufferings and captivity of her visible head, the successor of St. Peter, and Vicar upon earth of our Lord Jesus Christ. Every day at the August Sacrifice of the New Testament, we offered our prayers and entreated Almighty God, for the deliverance of His Servant Pius VII, and for a renewal of a free intercourse between him and the Christian people, committed to his fatherly solicitude. United together on the Lord's day, we repeated, with redoubled confidence our humble petition, that it would please Divine goodness to enable our chief Pastor to feed the flock of Christ with the food of wholesome doctrines and salutary instructions, as well as to edify them by continuing to exhibit bright examples of patience, resignation, magnanimity and unlimited confidence in the promises made to that Church, which was purchased by the blood of the Son of God.

Nevertheless the rigour of confinement was increased; new obstacles were interposed to intercept all communications between his Holiness and those who needed his paternal counsels and guidance. Entire regions and provinces were destitute of any pastors. The integrity of Catholick doctrine, the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline were exposed to the open violence and hostility of their declared enemies, and liable to be undermined by the artifices of corrupt seducers. Infidelity boldly stepped forward, encouraged to effect, and presumptuously to fortell the downfall of the Apostolic chair of St. Peter, and the extinction of those splendid evidences, which from the earliest periods of Christianity to the present day illuminated and directed the sincere lovers of truth to discover and follow the Church, of which it has been spoken, that the spirit of truth should abide with it all days even to the consummation of the world.

This assurance and other numerous promises, coming from the mouth of Infallibility itself, were our support and consolation, in the midst of the tempests which assailed the bark of Peter, that is the stability of his Episcopacy, and the rock on which the Church is built. How often did you hear the presumptuous denunciation, that the present venerable Pontiff would be the last of the Successors of the Prince of the Apostles? That their faith, the Catholick faith, the object of so much and often, it is feared, of wilful misrepresentation, and bitter enmity would be effaced from the minds of all men? Yet allow me, my dear Brethren, to rejoice with you, and glorify God for your steadfastness and unshaken confidence in the words of Christ to St. Peter, recorded by St. Luke, ch. 22: *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.* Eternal wisdom, for reasons impenetrable to human understanding, perhaps for a more splendid dis-

play of divine goodness, permitted the foes of virtue and truth, to exercise uncontrolled power for the accomplishment of their blasphemous purposes. Fanaticism always inconsistent, and infidelity disguising itself under the false garb of human reason, and philosophy, vainly boasted, that being freed from the thralldom of laws and ecclesiastical restraints they would deliver mankind from the terrors of a pretended revelation, and dissipate the darkness of prejudices and deep-rooted error, expose to the scorn of the world the pretended delusions of folly, and unmask the idolatry (for so they dared to express themselves) of the doctrines and the worship of the Church of Rome. In the career of their unbridled licentiousness, they were favoured by the passions of those who desired to indulge themselves with impunity, and without remorse. The civil authority was generally leagued with infidelity; that of the Church can act only on the conscience, and of course inspired no terror; for the voice of conscience was heard no more. Every facility was granted to insure the success of irreligion, and to aid the display of its boasted advantages of superior sense, learning, talents and reason. The record of the past ages, sacred and profane history, were ransacked and falsified to vilify the Church of God, the lives and sacred character of the Vicars of Jesus Christ. Even the holy scriptures were tortured in a thousand contradictory and absurd senses to render them objects of contempt, and degrade that only religion, which by its uniform, uninterrupted testimony in behalf of their divine authority, established a claim to our highest veneration.

My beloved brethren: We have passed days and years of painful anxiety; for though we did not lose sight of Him, who after declaring that His Church was built on a rock, and that the gates of Hell should not prevail against it, yet we knew not the term allotted for our chastisement, nor for the return of mercy. That term is now come, and we are bound by duty and sentiment, to hail it with the accents of thanksgiving and praise. You are convoked together today for the performance of this duty. O my brethren, let it make a lasting impression on you; let the occasion, as well as the celebration be deeply engraven on your memory. This is the day which the Lord has made; let us exult exceedingly, and rejoice therein.

Wherefore, my beloved brethren, after encouraging you to meditate profoundly on the economy of divine Providence, in preserving, conducting and giving perpetuity to His Church, and maintaining, in spite of worldly opposition, the Apostolical See of St. Peter, it was judged advisable and necessary to give publicity and solemnity to this act, by which in union with the Christian world, we shall celebrate the restoration of His Holiness, Pius VII, to the prerogatives of his high dignity, the peaceful government and administration of the Catholick Church. To this effect, on Sunday, July the 10th, immediately after the celebration of High Mass in St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, the hymn (*Te Deum*) of praise and thanksgiving is to be solemnly performed which will be followed

with the benediction of the most holy Sacrament. In other churches of the city and diocese, this mandate shall be read on the Sunday after its being received, and the same hymn of praise and thanksgiving be there sung, or reverently read. . . .¹⁶

It is difficult to say when the first communications from Rome reached Archbishop Carroll; evidently he had not heard from Propaganda before March 20, 1815, since he wrote to Plowden that day: "Since the return of His Holiness to Rome, I have not received the least communication from him, or any of his Congns. acting under his authority, tho' it is certain that some letters written in my own name and others jointly with the other bishops were received by the Pope before his liberation, and I cannot doubt that others have reached him since."¹⁷ Archbishop Carroll wrote to Pope Pius VII in July, 1914, expressing the congratulations of the Catholic Church in the United States on his restoration to the Eternal City; and at the same time he wrote to Cardinal Litta, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, giving him a brief account of the condition of religion in this country.¹⁸ The grave inconvenience was that, thus cut off from the centre of authority, the Church in America lay at the mercy of malcontent priests at home and of meddlers abroad.

Carroll's hopes of 1810 that the organization of church life was at last begun had almost wholly disappeared by the summer of 1814. New York was still without a bishop, and some uneasiness was felt at Father Kohlmann's attitude. That thoroughly observant Jesuit was far in advance of his brethren in power of vision; for he told the Superior, Father Grassi, that it was time for the Society to break the bonds which from time immemorial had bound the Jesuits to Maryland.¹⁹ The state of New York, he assured Grassi, was of greater importance than all the other states together, and the moment was opportune for the Jesuits to secure control of the Church in that diocese. He

¹⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-W4; printed in the *Researches*, vol. viii, pp. 146-150.

¹⁷ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

¹⁸ Carroll to Litta, November 28, 1814, October 10, 1815, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-C1 (rough drafts). On March 15, 1815, Litta wrote stating that the Sacred Congregation had no news of the Archdiocese of Baltimore for several years and requested that Carroll send a report on conditions (*Ibid.*, Case 5-A5); but it is not certain whether Carroll replied to this letter.

¹⁹ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 945.

protested, as we have seen, against the Society being "eternally buried as in a tomb," in Maryland. The lethargic influence of the Neales was paramount at the time and Kohlmann was unable to rouse them with his strictures on their "blessed farms." Neither the presence of the Jesuits in New York City nor the transfer of Georgetown College "bodily to New York," as Kohlmann urged, affected the situation of the vacant bishopric itself, for that see was filled without any effort on the part of the Holy See to ascertain the wishes of Carroll and his suffragans. From a standpoint of polity, the fault lay not so much with Rome as it did with the Americans. The *Atti* of 1814 show that Pius VII hesitated somewhat over Connolly's election to the See of New York,²⁰ and there is large room to surmise that more interest on the part of Carroll might have kept the nomination within the hands of the Americans. After four years of a disinterestedness, which may have been admirable at the time, Cheverus was hardly within his rights in writing to Flaget (May 27, 1815): "I am afraid that His Holiness is not sensible of the real state of our Missions in appointing Connolly to New York."²¹ Carroll, it is true, never seemed to think New York worthy of any anxiety, and in his many complaints to Plowden, to Troy and to his own suffragans, on the foreign interference of these last years, it is rather the intrigues to place the notorious Harold in the See of Philadelphia which finally roused him. In Philadelphia, after almost four years of disgraceful insubordination on the part of the Harolds, Bishop Egan had broken down under the burden and had gone to his reward, leaving that diocese open territory for intriguers.

With the chief characteristics of Carroll's life already described in these pages it is difficult not to recognize in the uncertainties of these last years one causal element which might easily have been eliminated. If there is the weight of Rome's silence in American Church affairs from 1808 to 1815, there is likewise an equally unfortunate silence on Carroll's part for a longer period; and one feels that Thorpe, his earliest adviser, realized the non-chalance of the prelate he was representing in Rome, when on January 21, 1792, he urged Carroll to write oftener, to write

²⁰ *Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1814), f. 95.

²¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 2-P7.*

more freely, to Propaganda: "A little management on your part would suffice to hold the Propaganda in good humor."²² It was true that everything Jesuit in the earlier period of Carroll's episcopate was a *lapis offensivus* to Propaganda; but Antonelli was at least sympathetic, and we have seen how eagerly Borromeo and even Borgia responded to the pleasant little surprise of American tobacco Thorpe had suggested to Carroll to send. It would be idle to read motives into Carroll's policy of intimating to Propaganda that he would welcome the completest freedom of action; but if a venture may be made, perhaps the reason, or at least, one of the chief reasons which caused the gradual coldness between Baltimore and Rome was the Holy See's silence on what the American bishops believed to be a most necessary prerogative for the good of the Church in this country; namely, freedom in election to American sees. The five American bishops had emphasized this factor in their joint letter to Rome in November, 1810; and, doubtless, had it been promptly granted by the Holy See, they would have held their projected Meeting of 1812 in spite of the War. As the autumn of 1812 approached, Carroll wrote to Bishops Cheverus, Egan and Flaget postponing the Meeting. Cheverus, no doubt, had influenced the Archbishop not to call the suffragans together. "When two years ago," he wrote from Boston, August 31, 1812, "we fixed the time of our next meeting, I supposed and understood it was in the hope that we should be able to hear from the Holy Father, that the vacant Sees of New York and New Orleans would be occupied. . . . But as unhappily everything remains in the same situation where we left it two years since, you must excuse me when I say that I do not see either the necessity or even the great utility of a provincial council being held at the present moment."²³ On December 30, 1812, Cheverus wrote again to Carroll, saying that rumours had reached him that the other bishops were blaming him for postponing the Meeting,²⁴ and on January 5, 1813, he wrote to say that if the others insisted, he would go. "I should feel very sorry to furnish a precedent to Bishop Flaget and others for absenting themselves on a future occasion." Cheverus did not

²² *Ibid.*, Case 8-L11.

²³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-08.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Case 2-09.

see the necessity of taking the long and then unpleasant journey to Baltimore to settle a few questions which "the professors at the Seminary could just as easily decide."²⁵

Two years later, Bishop Egan's death (July 22, 1814) re-awakened Carroll's desires to have the question of autonomy in episcopal elections settled; and his letters to Bishops Cheverus and Flaget, dated August 23, 1814, which the reader has seen in a previous chapter, warned the suffragans that interference might be expected.

Shea claims that Archbishop Carroll felt a delicacy in thrusting unsolicited his views as to suitable candidates on the authorities in Rome.²⁶ But that fact, if it be true, cannot excuse the American hierarchy from the charge of neglect. It was their duty, by the canon law of the times, to proceed at once with the business of filling each vacant see in the archdiocese. That Rome might reject each and all of their candidates was another matter. Connolly's appointment was a discourtesy not so much to the American bishops as to the nation; for it was scarcely a dignified thing to see a prelate appointed to an American see obliged to wait until his country had made peace with the United States before he could enter his bishopric. But the traditional attitude of those who have accepted Shea's interpretation of Troy's "management" on filling the vacant See of New York cannot be justified by the documents for this particular instance in our possession. Connolly knew shortly after Concanen's death (1810) that the Holy See intended to send him to New York, and nowhere does the Metropolitan of Dublin, though a fellow-Dominican with Concanen and Connolly, appear in the letters regarding the New York episcopate. Nor does Carroll ever intimate that he saw Troy's hand in the New York appointment. That Carroll felt differently about the campaign to foist Harold, another Dominican, on Philadelphia, is, however, only too evident from his letters to Plowden and to Troy himself.²⁷ And we have

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Case 2-010.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 661.

²⁷ Carroll to Troy, August 4 (?), 1815 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-L2; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 67-69)—"would it not be resented as a very improper interference if the Bishops in the United States should presume to suggest to the Holy See, the persons to be appointed to fill the vacant Sees of Ireland?" (Cf. *Researches*, vol. x, p. 181; vol. xxiii, p. 278; *Records*, vol. xxi, p. 89; vol. xxii, p. 151.)

seen how Carroll states that Troy has admitted this influence in favour of Harold, whereas Troy himself asserts that he merely chronicled the interference of others to Carroll. In such a phase of misunderstanding between the Metropolitans of Baltimore and of Dublin, it is best to suspend judgment until further documents come to light.²⁸

One of the most interesting episodes of these last years of Carroll's life is his unwilling share in the affairs of the Catholic Church in England; and the author of the *Eve of Catholic Emancipation* has missed a valuable series of documents on the Catholic question in not making use of the Carroll-Plowden correspondence. These letters are of importance to the American Catholic historian not only as reflections from the mind of an outsider on the grave conflict in England between 1797 and 1829, but also as affording an opportunity of drawing a comparison between the acknowledged leaders of the English and American hierarchies of the day—Milner and Carroll. After the first Act of Relief for Roman Catholics had been passed by Parliament in 1788, the first of a series of Catholic Committees of laymen, with Charles Butler as the leading spirit, was formed for the purpose of bringing about complete emancipation for those who belonged to the Faith. The parties soon developed: the one, eager to placate the Government by means of compromises, the chief of which was to be the Veto; and the other, determined to obtain complete redress of Catholic grievances, unaccompanied by any conditions or fetters. The first was led by several of the Vicars-Apostolic and the celebrated Charles Butler; the second, by Dr. Milner, who became Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland district in 1803. Bishop Milner was supported by the Irish hierarchy, at whose head was Archbishop Troy. From 1803 until his death, Archbishop Carroll followed with great uneasiness the trend of Catholic affairs in England. As early as March, 1803, he wrote to Father Plowden that Milner's *History of Winchester* and his

²⁸ The provenance of Carroll's distrust of Troy can be easily traced in Plowden's letters to the Archbishop of Baltimore; and Plowden writes as one under the stress of conflict between the English and Irish bishops at the time of the Oath controversy. No further documents could be found in the *Dublin Archiepiscopal Archives*. The reader is referred to Ryan's remarkable letter from Lisbon, December 14, 1819. Zwierlein's treatment of the question will be found in his *Les Nominations épiscopales aux premiers temps de l'épiscopat Américain*, in the *Mélanges Moeller*, vol. ii, pp. 526-555. Louvain, 1914.

"triumphant reply to Sturges" (*Letters to a Prebendary, etc.*, Winchester, 1800) caused him to consider the valiant and learned vicar-apostolic as "the Hero of the Catholic Cause." Father Plowden furnished him with all the books which were written during the controversy on the Veto question, and Dr. Carroll, in acknowledging these, wrote:

In the late controversies, which have arisen with you, both in the Catholic Question before Parliament and generally on disputed points, Protestants are so totally defeated that nothing remains for them but to repeat misrepresentations, which they know to be such. The triumph of truth is manifest, and must have its effect. Besides Bishop Milner's works, I caused to be reprinted here and have given as wide circulation to a late production of your island, which I wonder that you have not mentioned. It is entitled *An Essay on Religious Controversy* and ascribed by Mr. Betagh of Dublin who sent it to me, to the Rev. Mr. Fletcher of Hexham.²⁹ It is an admirable performance for its elegance and solid acute reasoning and I should not exaggerate in saying that I have read it over at least four times.³⁰

The following year he mentions this book again, asking Plowden (February 21, 1809), to

be sure to let me know something of the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, whose *Reflections on the Spirit of Controversy* delight me more and more, and of which I caused an edition to be printed here, and it has a great effect on Catholics and Protestants. . . . We are now reprinting Milner's *Letters to Sturges*. I wish much to receive his account of the miraculous cure at St. Winifred's, concerning which so much controversy has been excited in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, and it must give pleasure to the friends of religion to find the Bishop so superior to his antagonists.³¹

How intimate a knowledge Archbishop Carroll possessed on all the literary movements of the day can be judged from a paragraph in one of his letters about this time (June 2, 1809) to Plowden:

I know not whether another of my young country men, named Walsh, who has been near two years in England, has taken Stonyhurst in the

²⁹ Cf. GILLOW, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 298.

³⁰ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*. In the Carroll correspondence at Notre Dame University (*Catholic Archives of America*), there is a letter from Milner to Carroll, dated Wolverhampton, May 4, 1812, in which the English bishop says: "There is no Prelate to whom I look up with more veneration than to the Archbishop of Baltimore."

³¹ *Ibid.*

course of his peregrinations. For his age, he is equal in his extent of literature to any youth I ever knew, and his journey and observations in Europe, especially in France and your country, must have added very considerably to his stock of knowledge. If you see him, you will be much gratified by his conversation. Having been much with Mr. Pinckney, the American minister, and in his confidence, he has formed an acquaintance with many of your leading characters and acquired an insight into public affairs which may amuse and disclose to you some transactions with respect to the Catholic question, of which perhaps you have not heard.³²

Robert Walsh, one of the foremost American political writers at that time, was then in his twenty-fifth year. He was born at Baltimore in 1785, and was one of the first students to enter Georgetown College. There his mental powers were the admiration of his teachers and his oration on February 22, 1799, at the Memorial in honour of George Washington, young as he was, ranked him among the coming orators of the country. After his graduation in 1801, he studied law, and then began an extensive tour of Europe. In 1811, he established at Philadelphia the first American quarterly review, the *American Review of History and Politics*. His *Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain Respecting the United States* (1811) was undoubtedly the most widely circulated book of the day. It is Robert Walsh who has given us the best character sketch of Archbishop Carroll.³³

Archbishop Carroll and his suffragans were appealed to in 1811 by the Vicar-Apostolic of England on the Catholic question, then before Parliament; and a copy of the *Resolutions* passed by the bishops of England at Durham, in August, 1811, "respecting their differences with Milner and the Irish Bishops," was sent to Dr. Carroll that year, together with a letter asking him to communicate it so far as he judged wise to the other American bishops. If the American hierarchy had met in November, 1812, as was decided at their meeting in 1810, a rather interesting situation might have arisen, had the *Resolutions* been considered.³⁴ With Dr. Carroll as a partisan of Bishop Milner, but suspicious, as were most of the American clergy, of Dublin's

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Robert Walsh was Consul-General at Paris (1837-1844), and died in Paris (1859); he was the first to create a successful American *salon* in the French capital.

³⁴ These *Resolutions* will be found in WARD, *Eve, etc.*, vol. ii, pp. 256-262 (Appendix D).

interest in the Church here, the result might have brought the whole question of a Veto before the American Catholic public. How perilously near such a question had come into ecclesiastical affairs here none of them realized; and with the English background to judge from, Carroll's letter to President Madison in November, 1806, concerning the appointment of an administrator to New Orleans, might easily have been made the opening wedge by a less indolent politician.

In June, 1809, Dr. Carroll asked Plowden to extend his "best civilities in favour of a young gentleman, who lately sailed for England. . . . This young gentleman is Mr. Archibald Lee, son of my highly respected friend, Thomas Sim Lee, Esqre., twice governor of Maryland, Member of Congress, etc. Archibald is likewise my Godson and the great nephew of our late Venerable Mr. Thomas Digges. . . ." ³⁵ It would seem that Plowden told young Lee of the report current in London that Dr. Carroll had "expressed some disapprobation of Bishop Milner." ³⁶ The fact was, as Carroll protested, "that I have never expressed a sentiment derogatory to the conduct or character of that most reverend Prelate, that the amount of all which I have heard about him from Mr. Lee was that many of the principal Catholics, ecclesiastics and laymen, had lost confidence in his prudence or consistency." ³⁷ These reports were spread by Father John Ryan, O. P., the friend of the Harolds, who had accompanied William Vincent Harold to Ireland. This is the same John Ryan we find delivering on St. Patrick's day, 1810, in the Cathedral at Cork, a sermon filled with denunciations of the English Catholics, whom he described, with the single exception of Milner, as "a fallen Church." The sermon caused considerable pain to all who were participants in the controversy, and Ryan was obliged to leave Cork, taking refuge with Dr. Troy, in Dublin. ³⁸ Ryan came out to the United States that same year, not with a view of entering the Mission, but to see his sister, then in business in Baltimore. Dr. Carroll no doubt was glad to have the opportunity of discussing the Veto Question with him; and on his return, the

³⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ WARD, *Eve, etc.*, vol. i, pp. 141-142, 155-156.

Dominican took advantage of their conversations to discuss Bishop Carroll in a personal interview with Milner. "If they (Ryan and Harold) return here, they must account for their foul representations," Carroll writes to Plowden (December 12, 1813) "before they will be readmitted by me to any function."³⁹ Another charge (made by the two Dominicans) was that Dr. Carroll upheld the Blanchardists. The Blanchardist schism arose in London at the time of the Concordat between Pope Pius VII and Napoleon (1801), and was created by Abbé Blanchard, one of the refugee French priests, who had gone so far in his published writings as to call Pius VII a "material heretic", and in a pamphlet issued in 1808, called upon his readers to denounce Pius VII as unworthy of the Papacy. Milner attacked the Blanchardists in a Pastoral, dated June 1, 1808, ordering prayers for Pius VII, and charging them with scandalous calumnies against the Holy Father. Milner now found himself the centre of attack from the refugee French clergy who sided with Blanchard. Father Ryan's charge and the silence of the American bishops may have induced Bishop Milner to believe that Archbishop Carroll approved the stand of these turbulent French priests, who were disturbing the order of the house of their hosts, the English vicars-apostolic. "It is my intention to write to Bishop Milner," Carroll says in a letter to Plowden (December 12, 1813), "for he could not surely think that I was an upholder of Blanchard. The Bishop and the other VV.AA. have sent to me and my suffragans the statement of their controversy on which it becomes us not to give any opinion."⁴⁰ It would be interesting to see a copy of his letter to Dr. Milner, to whom he wrote in December, 1813, but it has not been found. On February 3, 1814, Carroll wrote again to Plowden:

... I was indignant at the glaring falsehoods of the report made by the two Dominicans, Messrs. Harold and Ryan, to the good Bishop, and others in which, however, I cannot persuade myself that the former, Harold, who always seemed to me a man of real abilities, virtue and honesty, coöperated otherwise, than by being in the company of his friend. Even the latter, tho' he manifested some glaring tokens of insincerity immediately before his departure, I esteemed incapable of so

³⁹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

much misrepresentations, as appears from Dr. Milner's letter, and of another of your correspondents to you. The misrepresentation did not only comprehend our good Frs. of the Society, who rest in the Lord, and to whom this Diocese owes whatever of religion remains in it, my Rev. Brethren now living and myself, but likewise associates Mr. Lee, then lately returned from Europe, as having traduced Bp. Milner, by representing him as insane, whereas in truth that young gentleman spoke with resentment against some persons in England, who affected to consider him as such. Possibly Mr. Ryan may have delivered himself to that effect in his hearing, or I may have told him what I heard from Mr. Lee: this was the whole foundation of the most disingenuous and very uncivil tale, related to the Bishop. This much I have taken the liberty to repeat from the contents of my preceding letter; as to the other slanders about trafficking in negroes, declension of religion etc., I will no more deign to notice them.⁴¹

To Father Plowden (March 20, 1815), Dr. Carroll wrote on the Veto Question with special reference to the position assumed by the English Jesuits in the controversy, and he deprecates any action on the part of men who are bound by ties of the religious life: "Whether the Pope admits a limited Veto or not, is not the concern of religious men, who are called not to the government of the Church but to labour in it for the salvation of souls and under the authority of its legitimate pastors."⁴² Dr. Carroll experienced great anxiety at the time lest the members of the restored Society in England should be drawn into the controversy. Bishop Milner had proved himself a warm advocate of the Jesuits in the difficult days which followed the Restoration of August 7, 1814, and there was danger that they might be involved in the Veto Question, since it soon became evident that the opponents of the Catholic Emancipation meant to sacrifice the Society of Jesus in case it was necessary.

It is in this letter that Dr. Carroll says: "I have no hesitation in saying to you that the former [*the Irish Bishops*] in my estimation are, in point of ability, far superior to the latter [*the English Bishops*], tho' I entertain a high opinion of the talents of one, who is their advocate and indeed their guide."⁴³ This exception was Charles Butler. Not to know Charles Butler is to be ignorant of all that led up to Catholic Emancipation in 1829;

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

and it is significant that Carroll was broad-minded enough to find praise for Butler's heroic struggle for Catholic freedom, even when he found him at sword's-point with Bishop Milner. Of Charles Butler, Carroll said: "His desire to effect the entire destruction of penal and restricted laws carries him sometimes much too far in his compliance with the views of government."⁴⁴ In his letter of June 24, 1815, to Plowden, Dr. Carroll wrote:

I conclude by intreating you not to encourage our Brethren of the Society to adopt, as a maxim of the body, an adhesion to the Veto or Antiveto system. Let the individuals know the opinions, which they deem most consonant with the practice of former ages under the best and most enlightened Popes, and most useful to the preservation and extension of pure religion; and this liberty of opinion should be maintained, till the Head of the Church has spoken definitely on the subject. My distance, and the principle of this Govt. not to meddle with the doctrines or discipline of the various religious denominations, exempt me from studying the question, or forming an absolute opinion on it, further than this: that if it were possible, which I fear cannot be done, to allow a negative to the King in the nomination of Catholic Bishops without endangering the freedom of election and nomination and introducing servile tools of the ministry to preside over the Cath. churches, the privilege might be allowed in England and Ireland, as has been done in other countries. But when the evasions and impositions of former times are remembered which were practised upon the Catholics of England, and more so of Ireland, one cannot wonder at the distrust now felt of similar promises. Thus far only have I reasoned on this subject. The Pope has a difficult task before him, his obligations to Engd. are great, and tho' there is no doubt of his making all considerations yield to the dictates of his conscience, yet it will be painful to him to offend a Prince, who did so much for his restoration to the chair of St. Peter; especially when so many Catholic clergymen and Laity contend that he may lawfully yield the grant requested.⁴⁵

This is the last reference to the English Catholic situation found in his correspondence with Plowden. Running through all the letters there is a quiet satisfaction which he can hardly repress at times, over the peaceful relations between the State and the Catholic Church in this country. For forty years as priest, and for thirty years as the highest Catholic spiritual leader in the land, he had watched the flock entrusted to him in 1784 grow with the country's growth and strengthen with the nation's progress.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*



BALTIMORE CATHEDRAL

Numbers mean little when such an increase is to be measured in the balance of its power for good and for the welfare of humanity; but even the changed statistics of his *Report* of 1785, with its twenty-four priests and its twenty-five thousand Catholics, to a hierarchy of six dioceses with over twice the number of priests, and nearly four times the number of Catholics, must have cheered him amid all the turmoils of war and the difficulties gratuitously brought to the American Church by aliens, as he faced the setting sun of his life. "I am the only sluggard and do no good" amidst this wonderful growth of the Faith, he wrote to Plowden in the beginning of the year which was to be his last. Through the summer, while the country was recovering from the sharp effects of the war, it was seen that his days were rapidly growing few.

His last public act was to decline the gracious invitation sent to him by the Committee-in-charge to pronounce the chief discourse at the laying of the cornerstone of the Washington Monument, on July 4, 1815. To Father Enoch Fenwick he wrote:

You will not fail to present immediately my very respectful and grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Gilmour and through him to the Gentlemen of the Committee for the distinguished honour done me by their choice of me, as the person designated to open the august ceremony of the Fourth of July, and remind our countrymen of the only true sources of real honor and glory, the moral, civil and military virtues of that illustrious man whose monument will that day begin to be raised, which even without the aid of marble, will remain undefaced and imperishable in the hearts of his fellow-citizens . . . with pride would I obey a call which honours me so much, tho' at all times it would exceed my power to do it justice; but now more particularly at my advanced period of life, and with a half-extinguished voice, I must unavoidably fall so much below the solemnity of the occasion and public expectation, that respect for the supereminent Washington, and for my fellow-citizens compels me to offer my excuse to the Committee.⁴⁶

Archbishop Carroll was taken to Georgetown at this time, with the hope that the change would benefit his health; but early in July, 1815, he returned to Baltimore, and towards the end of November became so feeble that the approaching end of his life was recognized by all about him at St. Peter's. "The best

⁴⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Special C-D10.

medical aid was summoned, but it was soon evident that there was a general decay of the vital forces arising from the weakness of advanced age." ⁴⁷ On November 22, 1815, Bishop Neale was sent for from Georgetown to visit the venerable prelate and when it was known that his recovery was despaired of, his illness became the general concern of the city where he had so long enjoyed universal respect, veneration, and esteem. The day following, at six in the evening, Carroll received the last Sacraments in the presence of the clergy of his household and of the seminarians from St. Mary's. After a few moments of thanksgiving, he made a pathetic address to these young Levites on the beauty of the vocation to which they were called. In the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, there is a paper in Maréchal's handwriting describing this affecting scene:

Archbishop Carroll being very sick on the 23d Nov., 1815, he received at six o'clock in the afternoon the last Sacr. Rev. Mr. Fenwick administered to him.

1°. They prepared a table in his room—1 crucifix and two candlesticks upon it, and the necessary linen for reposing on it the Blessed Sacrament. The Archb. had his rich stole on and his head uncovered.

2°. Mr. Fenwick accompanied by Mr. Tessier, Moranvillé, Mertz, Maréchal, Joubert, Harent, Babad, Damphoux and five or six seminarians, went into the church to take the Blessed Sacrament. They all went in a procession; at the head of it was two Acolytes, saying the Psalm *Miserere*.

3°. After Mr. Fenwick had given the Sick, Holy Water, he was asked by the Archb. to read the prayers of the administration in Distinct Audible Voice. Then he made a sign that he wanted to speak, which he did in a weak but distinct manner:

"My Reverend Brethren, I have frequently and earnestly begged your prayers, but I beg them particularly at this moment. To all appearances I shall shortly appear before my God and my Judge. Entreat His infinite mercy to forgive me my sins. The abuse I made of His graces and the bad example I may ever have given, the Sacraments I have received without sufficient respect, the days in my life which I ought to have consecrated only to the promotion of His honour and glory. I was appointed to extend His holy religion in this country and to gain over to His service and love multitudes of Souls. Ah! if any (here the Archbishop raised his eyes and hands to Heaven) Ah! if any one should be lost through my fault, beg Heaven to forgive me. I repose all my confidence in the goodness of God and the merits of our

⁴⁷ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 674.

dear Lord, J. C. I recommend myself to the powerful intercession of His Blessed Mother and of all the saints, in hope that they will obtain for me the pardon of my offenses.

4°. After this exhortation he received the Blessed Sacrament. . . .

5°. He received Extreme Unction. He did not expect that they would give him that Sacrament. He put on the stole he had already taken off after the prayers were over. He gave his solemn blessing to the assistants, who went away reciting the *Te Deum*.

6°. Tho' sick he seemed to be very fatigued. Too many people were suffered to enter the room. He nearly fainted away and the room had to be cleared.⁴⁹

During the week which followed before his death, he was surrounded by the priests of his household. His sister, who had come from Washington, watched at his bedside. His nephew, Daniel Brent, Consul of the United States at Paris, has given us a page describing his illustrious uncle's last days. Baltimore then as now felt that its archbishop belonged to herself; and all day long a throng of reverent and prayerful friends, among them some of the distinguished Protestant clergymen of the city, came to take a last farewell. "His mind is as vigorous as it ever was," his nephew wrote at the time, "and whenever any person goes to his room, you would be pleased and astonished at his readiness in adapting his conversation and questions to the situation and circumstances of the person introduced. At times he is not only cheerful, but even gay, and he is never impatient or fretful."⁵⁰ Robert Walsh is the authority for the following incident which occurred just before his death.

His life was almost at the last ebb, and his surrounding friends were consulting about the manner of his interment. It was understood that there was a book in his library which prescribed the proper ceremonial, and it was ascertained to be in the very chamber in which he lay. A clergyman went as softly as possible into the room in search of it. He did not find it immediately, and the Archbishop heard his footsteps in the room. Without a word having passed he called to the clergyman, and told him that he knew what he was looking for; that he would find the book in such a position on a certain shelf; and there accordingly it was found.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Case 12-V1 (Copy-book); printed in the *Researches*, vol. xxii, pp. 260-261.

⁵⁰ BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208.

⁵¹ In the *Records* (vol. xxviii, pp. 176-180) there is printed a manuscript, now in the *Catholic Archives of America*, at the University of Notre Dame, which presumably came from the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, containing an account of the last illness

Archbishop John Carroll died on Sunday, December 3, 1815, in his eighty-first year.

On the Tuesday following, the Solemn Mass of Requiem was chanted in St. Peter's pro-Cathedral, and he was laid away in the vault of the Seminary chapel. Here his body remained until the completion of the present Cathedral, when in 1824 it was removed to its present resting-place, beneath the altar of that historic edifice. Shea says:

Posterity has retained the veneration and esteem entertained in this country for Archbishop Carroll, and the calm scrutiny of history in our day recognizes the high estimate of his personal virtues, his purity, meekness, prudence, and his providential work in moulding the diverse elements in the United States into an organized church. His administrative ability stands out in high relief when we view the results produced by others who, unacquainted with the country and the Catholics here, rashly promised themselves to cover the land with the blossoms of peace, but raised only harvests of thorns. With his life of large experience in civil and religious vicissitudes, through whose storms his faith in the mission of the Church never wavered, closed a remarkable period in the history of the Church in the United States.⁵¹

Brent, his first biographer, has collected the sketches of Archbishop Carroll which appeared at the time of his death. Never before in the city of Baltimore was there witnessed a funeral procession "where so many of eminent respectability and standing among us, followed the train of mourners," wrote one eyewitness.

Distinctions of rank, of wealth, of religious opinion, were laid aside in the great testimony of respect to the memory of the man. . . . According to the particular disposition of every one, we heard the venerable Archbishop praised and lamented. The extent of his knowledge and the enlargement of his mind, fastened upon the men of liberal science. The liberality of his character, and his Christian charity, endeared him to his Protestant brethren, with whom he dealt in brotherly love. He was a patriot and loved his native land, nor should Americans forget that his exertions and benedictions as a man and as a Christian prelate were given to the cause and independence of his country.

The praise heaped upon him after his death does not, however, help us to see the man himself. To say that his manners and

and death of Archbishop Carroll. It is nothing more than Walsh's tribute which is quoted here.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 678.

deportment—to quote one witness—were a model of the clerical character, dignified, yet simple, pious, but not austere—is to picture him as many an ecclesiastic since his day might be pictured. His purity of life, his tenderness to the poor, and his affectionate attachment to all of his Faith and opposing faiths, are the principal notes struck at the time of his death. Robert Walsh gives us an insight into the man himself:

No being that it has ever been our lot to admire, ever inspired us with so much reverence as Archbishop Carroll. The configuration of his head, his whole mien, bespoke the metropolitan. He bore his superior faculties and acquirements, his well-improved opportunities of information and refinement, abroad and at home, his professional rank and his daily honours, we will not say meekly, but so courteously, happily and unaffectedly that while his general character restrained in others all propensity to indecorum or presumption, his presence added to every one's complacency, and produced a universal sentiment of earnest kindness towards the truly amiable and truly exalted companion and instructor. . . . He was wholly free from guile, uniformly frank, generous and placable; he reprobated all intolerance . . . his patriotism was as decided as his piety . . . he entertained no predilection for Great Britain or her government. He loved republicanism; and so far preferred his own country, that if ever he could be excited to impatience or irritated, nothing would have that effect more certainly than the expression of the slightest preference, by any American friend, of foreign institutions or measures. He had joined with heart and judgment in the Revolution; he retained without abatement of confidence or favour, the cardinal principles and American sympathies and hopes upon which he then acted.⁵²

Flaget could write from the pioneer surroundings of Kentucky, when he heard the news of Carroll's death: "This holy man has run a glorious career; he was gifted with a wisdom and prudence which made every one esteem and love him,"⁵³ but then come words of praise that run into panegyric and so spoil the effect of his eulogy. Du Bourg, with whom he had more than one *mauvais quart d'heure* over the project of St. Mary's College, wrote from France, probably from Bordeaux: "He has certainly finished a beautiful and glorious career; and we should rejoice for his sake that God has called him to the recompence of his long labors." Father Grassi in his *Memorie* (1818) has summed up Archbishop Carroll's character in the following words: "To his courtesy of

⁵² Cited by BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-213.

⁵³ SPALDING, *Flaget*, p. 146.

demeanour was joined a rare goodness of heart, qualities which won him the merited esteem and respect of the public, not only Catholic, but non-Catholic most hostile to the name of Roman Catholic. In the eyes of some he was not cautious enough in his choice of confidants, and he was prone to give in to Protestants more than he should have done, and to appoint trustees over churches when he could have done well without them, and so averted all the troubles which our missionaries suffered at the hands of those same persons, with damage to religion itself."

This, Father Hughes, the Jesuit historian, takes to be a fair estimate of his character.⁵⁴ But John Carroll did not create the trustee system, nor did he approve it; he suffered it because it was necessary as an American legal institution for the protection of church property. Nor did he create all the methods employed by the Corporation of the Clergy to protect the Jesuit estates during the days of the Interim.

But with one phrase from Grassi, the word-picture of America's first bishop might begin—*rare goodness of heart*. "Some may impute to me a too easy credulity," he wrote to Plowden (June 2, 1809), "and the want of discernment in judging of mankind" (at the time of the difficulties between himself and the revived Society), "but I have great difficulty in persuading myself that men whose whole lives have been devoted to the service of religion and who, under trying occasions, have served it successfully, can be acting a false and dishonorable part."⁵⁵ This ingenuousness he never lost until the end. The treachery of priests to whom he confided important posts in the Church of God in this country; the deception practised upon him by influential leaders in the Church; the impossible trustees; and the difficulty he experienced when a foreign vanguard arrived to restore the American province of his old Society—these and other misunderstandings down the years of his leadership never seem to have chilled the natural tenderness of the man's heart or to have blighted the ecclesiastic's optimism.

During the whole of his spiritual reign, he ruled the flock entrusted to him unperturbedly, despite the constant checks upon its progress and its harmony. With the troublesome, the rebel-

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 830, note 46.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 830-831.

lions, the schismatic, and the scandal-giving, he acted with caution and delicacy; but with such firmness that misrule saw no chance to succeed within the borders of his government. Frankness was his chief defect in a world bristling with chicanery and deception. His piety does not obtrude, nor are his letters to his friends channels for the devout expressions so common to a certain kind of religious correspondence. The devout priest of God is often revealed from beneath the pallium which designated his power to rule; as for instance on his death-bed, when he told Father Grassi: "Of those things that give me most consolation at the present moment is, that I have always been attached to the practice of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, that I have established it among the people under my care, and placed my Diocese under Her protection."⁵⁶ Archbishop Carroll's last will and testament contain many personal bequests, among them being "four hundred pounds sterling in five per cent stock" for Georgetown College; "four shares of the stock of the Potomac Company" to his nephew, Daniel Brent of Washington, D. C., to whom he bequeathed also "my black servant Charles, to be however manumitted within twelve months after my decease, unless I should do so previously thereto"; his horses, carriages and harness to his sister, Elizabeth Carroll; and to Fathers Enoch Fenwick and Grassi the books he had recently ordered from Louvain.⁵⁷

One unpublished estimate of Archbishop Carroll should be given a place in these pages. It is that by Robert Gilmore, written on May 9, 1844, and sent to the historian, B. U. Campbell: "I was too young when he came to reside here in 1786 to know much about him. It was somewhere between '95 and 1800 that I became intimate with him, from the kindness which he always showed to young people which won their affections. He was so mild and amiable and always cheerful, that we all took delight in his society. My father esteemed him highly, and I have often met him at his table, as well as those of most of the gentlemen in town. He had great conversational powers, derived from his extensive reading and his long stay abroad in England

⁵⁶ *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. ii, p. 310.

⁵⁷ The will is dated, Baltimore, November 2, 1815 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-14; printed in the *Researches*, vol. viii, pp. 52-55).

and on the continent. There were few subjects he was not master of. He enjoyed the pleasures of the table in moderation, and cheerful as he was, he never lost his dignity, but always commanded respect and attention without the slightest appearance of claiming either. It was impossible to treat him with disrespect or even levity, for he had spirit enough to resent any improper liberties taken with him and awed by his manner any approach to impertinence. . . . The Archbishop in fact was a thoroughbred, and a polished gentleman who put everybody at their ease in his company while delighting them with his conversation.”⁵⁸

As the charioteer whom God set over the American Church—so Cheverus had addressed him in 1810 at the establishment of the hierarchy, using as his text the words addressed by Eliseus to Elias—*Pater mi, Pater mi, currus Israel et auriga ejus*. As charioteer he led the army of God through every danger with a courage that none could gainsay, and with a success which is his perennial memory in the annals of the Catholic Faith in the Republic he had helped to create and to mould.

⁵⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C-D10.*

CHAPTER XL
CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS

There is no complete bibliographical guide for church history in general or for the general history of the Catholic Church in the United States. The latest contribution to the subject—Mode, *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History* (Menesha, Wis., 1921)—is of very minor value to the student of Catholic American history. Dr. Mode speaks of "Rev." John Gilmary Shea; and his selection of references displays not only a vague acquaintance with current Catholic historical literature, but also a lack of technical knowledge of archival source-material. We have for the Catholic Church in the United States no book similar in character to the *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History* by Channing-Hart-Turner (Boston, 1912). It must be remarked however, that this excellent bibliographical work systematically ignores the subject of Catholicism in this country. Finotti's catalogue of 'works written by Catholics and published in these United States' has a misleading title: *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (New York, 1872), since it includes only works published from 1784 to 1820. The book has, however, a bibliophile interest of a high degree. The bibliography printed in O'Gorman, *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1907), is compiled without method and shows no discrimination between works written by scholars and those by amateurs. We have not, for example, for the eastern part of the United States, such a critical disquisition on the source-material, as will be found in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California* (cf. vol. ii, part i, pp. 21-46. San Francisco, 1912). Shea gives no bibliographical list in any of his four volumes on the *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (1886-

1892). His references are not always to be trusted and they are given for the most part without method. The bibliographical guides published in the *Catholic Historical Review* are of two kinds: the "Catholic Encyclopedia" *Diocesan Bibliography*, where under the Dioceses of Baltimore, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Bardstown and New Orleans, a very inadequate list of authorities is printed (cf. vol. iv, pp. 264-265, 267-272, 391-392); and the *Guide to the Biographical Sources of the American Hierarchy*, where under the names of Carroll, Neale, Cheverus, Egan, Flaget, Concanen, Connolly and Du Bourg, archival material as well as printed sources are listed (*Ibid.*, vol. vi). An admirably chosen bibliographical summary, of value for the years of Carroll's life, is in O'Daniel, *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, pp. 445-452 (Washington, D. C., 1921). The *Register and Notices of the Sources*, published in Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (Text, vol. i, pp. 1-45; vol. ii, pp. 19-25. New York, 1907-1917), is without doubt one of the most important contributions to Catholic American bibliography in recent years. The range of Father Hughes' searches was world-wide; and, although the *Register* is compiled for the distinct purpose of studying the history of the Jesuits in colonial and national America, the citations are invaluable for the student of this period. The English colonies were (1634-1773) exclusively a Jesuit Mission. The support of the Church during the American Interim (1773-1806) came largely from the revenues of the incorporated Jesuit estates; and during the remaining years of Carroll's life (1806-1815), the restored Society had almost reached its former prestige as the chief missionary body in the country. Hughes' two lists of books on American Catholic life is the most complete published up to the present day. The best general description of works on American Catholic history is that contained in Shahan, *L'Histoire de l'Église Catholique aux États-Unis* in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Louvain), vol. i, pp. 679-684. Bishop Shahan has classified the writings in American Church history under the following heads: *Relations with the Holy See; Conciliar Legislation; History of the Missions; State of the Clergy; Catholic Press; Catholic Historical Societies; and Archival Depots*. "Rien ne nous manque," he says at the end of his essay,

"tant qu'une bibliographie générale de notre histoire ecclésiastique." The members of the American Church History Seminar at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., have in preparation a *Guide to the Printed Sources for American Church History*, which will include all printed documents, books, and periodical material on the history of the Catholic Church within the present borders of the United States, from 1492 to 1920.

LIVES OF CARROLL

The earliest Life of Carroll is that by Brent, *Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll, First Archbishop of Baltimore, with Select Portions of his Writings* (Baltimore, 1843). This is a hastily compiled account of little historical worth and of no literary value. It contains a few letters which are now lost, but it cannot be wholly trusted. Bernard U. Campbell published a series of articles entitled *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, in the *United States Catholic Magazine* (Baltimore), vol. iii (1844), pp. 32-41, 98-101, 169-176, 244-248, 363-379, 662-669, 718-724; vol. v (1846), pp. 595-601, 676-679; vol. vi (1847), pp. 31-34, 100-104, 144-148, 434-436, 482-485, 592-599; vol. vii (1848), pp. 91-106. From letters now in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives Special C-D, 1-10), it is evident that Campbell pursued his subject in a systematic and methodical manner. His queries to those then living who were able to enlighten him on the events of Carroll's episcopate, are clearly those of a scholar, and it is to be regretted that he never completed his work. (Our citations in these pages to the *United States Catholic Magazine* are to Campbell's *Memoirs*.) From Campbell's time down to that of John Gilmary Shea, no attempt seems to have been made to study Carroll's life. Shea's volume, *The Life and Times of the Most Reverend John Carroll* (being vol. ii of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*), was published at New York in 1888. Shea used the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, and secured copies in Rome and elsewhere of many of the documents necessary for his subject. These now form the *Shea Transcripts* in the Georgetown College Archives. Shea was a pioneer in this field and one of the earliest of our

historians to recognize the necessity of going back to the sources. As the father of American Church history, Shea's volumes are a monument to himself and to his inspirers. Here and there, in his *Life of Archbishop Carroll*, he has marred his work with bias, and occasionally the former Jesuit scholastic prevails over the historian. His method is somewhat haphazard, and the chronological rigidity which prevails in his *Life of Carroll* often produces curious juxtapositions of facts and persons. Shea wrote quickly; too quickly, for accurate scholarship; but a comparison of the sources he possessed with the numerous letters and documents he failed to notice, or which have been since brought to light both here and abroad, reveals more than anything else the man's mastery in this difficult field. It was not that he allowed his imagination to fill the lacunæ which can be detected today in his pages, but that he was almost invariably correct in his deductions. Hughes has stated: "Nothing could be more at variance with the principles and practice of critical editing in our days, than Shea's open confession that 'at the solicitations of a venerated friend, I have given the authorities in my notes, although scholars generally have been compelled to abandon the plan by the dishonesty of those who copy references and pretend to have consulted books and documents they never saw and frequently could not read.'" (*op. cit.*, Text, vol. i, Preface, p. 11). We have traveled far from this sentiment in critical historical scholarship. Shea's *Life of Carroll* has never been popular for the reason that it is not readable. The first and essential law of biography is that a man's life should flow continually from birth to death like a river. To describe an assemblage of facts, strung together by a chronological thread, is not the fluent narrative of biography. This is Shea's great failing, just as his great virtue is a well-balanced devotion for his subject, of which biographers in general do not always give evidence. Since the publication of Shea's work, Catholic historical writers in the United States have simply been repeating his pages; and, as he himself expressed it in several of his letters, they have been content to plagiarize his *Life and Times* without giving him due credit. Among these volumes, based almost exclusively on Shea, may be mentioned: Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. i, pp. 32-113. (New York, 1888); and

Reuss, *Biographical Cyclopedia of the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States* (Milwaukee, 1898).

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

The source-material still existing in archival depots for the period embraced in Carroll's lifetime (1735-1815) is so widely scattered that the student who is unable to visit these centres must depend to a large extent upon the Guides which have been published for this purpose. Broadly considered, the archival material for the period under study was found in the following places:

1. *Rome*—a).—At the head of the Roman collections may be placed the General Archives of the Society of Jesus, although these were removed from Rome some years ago. Hughes has given us an excellent general account of these archives in his *History, etc.*, Text, (vol. i, pp. 9-13), and his second chapter tells in detail the history of the collection and the use made of it up to his time. So far as these General Archives were necessary for this work, the documents needed for this Life of Carroll were to be found in the two volumes published by Hughes, entitled *Documents*, and in Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London, 1877-1883). b).—The next collection, of the greatest importance to our subject, is the Propaganda Archives. A general sketch of these archives will be found in Pieper's article in the *Römische Quartalschrift* (vol. i, pp. 80-99, 259-265). The first attempt at the catalogue of all the papers relating to American history is that contained in Fish, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives*, pp. 119-195 (Washington, D. C., 1911). Through the generosity of friends, John Gilmary Shea was enabled to have a large number of these papers transcribed for his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. These are now housed in the Georgetown College Archives. Personal research work extending over a long period, forced upon me the conclusion that transcribers as a body were highly unreliable; and so through the generosity of several friends, I had all the documents used by Shea, and many others which had escaped his notice, photostated. This collection of photostat copies is sup-

plemented by another valuable collection in the possession of the Dominicans at Washington, D. C., made some years ago under the personal supervision of Rev. Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P. It is not necessary to subjoin here a table of the contents of the documents used in these volumes. The general division of the Propaganda Archives (*Atti; Scritture originali riferite; Scritture non riferite; Lettere*, of which there are 225 volumes for the years 1669-1795; *Udienze; Istruzioni; Miscellanea*, etc.), is one of convenience rather than of historical merit. The catalogue given by Fish is incomplete; and occasionally the papers are cited in a way that might have been avoided, had the author been more familiar with American Catholic history.

2. *Baltimore*—a).—After the Propaganda Archives, the most valuable collection for Carroll's life is the Baltimore Cathedral Archives. Through the kindness of the late Cardinal Gibbons, and with the help of the Archivist, I was enabled to make the fullest use of these documents. With but very few exceptions, all the papers relating to Carroll's episcopate are in an excellent state of preservation and are well cared for. Though the main divisions are made by the episcopates. (Carroll, Neale, Maréchal, etc.), the order in the arrangement of the papers is an arbitrary one. The boxes containing the papers for our subject (1735-1815) are divided as follows: I. *Letters to Archbishop Carroll* (Case 1 A-B, Case 2 B-C, Case 3 D-E-F-G, Case 4 H-J-K-L, Case 5 L-M-N-O, Case 6 O-P, Case 7 R-S, Case 8 S-T-U-V-W-X-Y-Z); II. *Supplement: Letters to Archbishop Carroll* (Case 8A A-Z, Case 8B A-Z); III. *Letters from Archbishop Carroll* (Case 9 A-Z); IV. *Letters from and Manuscripts of Archbishop Carroll* (Case 9A A-Z); V. *Administration of Archbishop Carroll* (Case 10, Case 11, Case 11A, Case 11B, Documents, Papers, etc.); VI. *Special* (Case A A-Z, Case B A-Z, Case C A-Z); VII. *Letter Books*—3 volumes. The research student must bear in mind, however, that the initials have no reference to the writers; the division by letters being merely for the purpose of cataloguing. Each initial letter is followed by a number, e. g., Case 1-A3, Case 8A-R2, and in this way the references given furnish a ready means of finding the document in question. The system is not an ideal one, and is quite different from the usual method employed in archival economy;

but with documents of this nature it is practical. At the present time these ample archives are being reorganized under the care of the Cathedral clergy, who have taken great interest in the preservation of these precious *monumenta* of America's oldest See. b).—Baltimore contains another collection, the Maryland-New York Provincial Archives of the Society of Jesus, but they pertain mainly to financial matters connected with the old Jesuit properties. Hughes has published from this collection the principal documents necessary for our subject. There are in these archives two folio transcripts (pp. 98, 34) containing copies of some American documents in the Stonyhurst Collection. These Shea used for his *Life* of Carroll. Through the kindness of the English Jesuit historian, Father John Hungerford Pollen, copies of all the letters from Carroll to Plowden, Strickland, and others, now in the Stonyhurst Archives, were made for this present work. (They are referred to in these pages as *Stonyhurst Archives*.)

3. *Georgetown*—The Georgetown College Archives are the best arranged of all the ecclesiastical collections in the United States. The main division is that of *Manuscripts* and *Transcripts*. The *Transcripts* are those made for B. U. Campbell and for John Gilmary Shea. The *Shea Transcripts* are of two kinds: those from Rome and from other centres. As has already been indicated, these *Transcripts* are now supplemented by the photostat copies in my possession. Too often it was my experience while at work in the Vatican and Propaganda Archives to find mistakes in Italian documents transcribed by Italians who make a profession of copying in these centres.

4. *London*—a).—The Westminster Diocesan Archives (Cardinal-Archbishop's House, London), contain a few documents of importance for the period during which the Vicars-Apostolic of London ruled the Catholics in the English colonies (1685-1784). Shea had this collection searched when he was writing his *History*, but the manuscripts were not in good order at the time (1887). The present writer published in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. v, pp. 387-401), a catalogue of these Westminster papers which related to the United States. In the *Guide to the Manuscripts for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries*

of *Oxford and Cambridge*, by Charles M. Andrews and Francis G. Davenport (Washington, 1908), there is a short list of documents (twenty in all) from these archives, relating to American Catholic history before 1783. In 1914, when I worked among these papers, the Westminster Diocesan Archives were divided as follows: (1) Thirty-seven bound volumes of original documents concerning the Church in England and the English colonies from 1509 to 1700; (2) many bundles of unbound documents, not then classified, covering the later period, 1700-1850; (3) pamphlets and other manuscripts. There was also in manuscript a catalogue for the bound volumes, made by the late Father Stanton of the Oratory. The two historical students who have made most use of these Archives are Bishop Ward and Canon Burton. In a letter dated October 12, 1918, Bishop Ward wrote to me from Brentwood to say that he did not remember having seen many papers relating to America. The period he studied began in 1781; and Canon Burton has given us all that he found in his chapter on *Bishop Challoner's American Jurisdiction (1758-1781)*. b).—The Archives of the Old Brotherhood of the English Clergy, formerly the English Chapter. These were (in 1914) in the possession of the Secretary of the Old Brotherhood, the late Rev. Raymond Stanfield, at Hammersmith. There is a catalogue of these Archives in the Fifth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (1876, pp. 463-476); but it is far from being complete. The writer has in his possession a MS. catalogue of these Archives given to him by the late Superior of the Oblates of St. Charles, Bayswater, London.

5. *Quebec*.—In Parker, *Guide to the Materials for United States History in Canadian Archives* (Washington, D. C., 1906), the research-student will find a section (pp. 224-270) devoted to the Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, compiled by the Rev. Dr. Zwierlein of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, New York. These Archives are described by the late Canon Lindsay in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (Philadelphia), vol. xviii, pp. 8-11, and almost all the documents relating to American Catholic history, especially of Carroll's day, have been published by Lindsay in the *Records* (cf. vols. xviii, xx, xxv). Other documents from this depot will be found in the *American Historical Review*, vol. xiv, pp. 552-556, and in the

Illinois Historical Collections, vol. v, pp. 534, 547, 586, 590. I am particularly indebted to the Rev. Dr. Browne, of the Catholic University of America, for collating some of these papers and especially for the discovery of one letter which escaped the notice of other research-students.

6. *Philadelphia*—The Archival Department of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia contains in its rich storehouse of documents for American Catholic history many letters and manuscripts, which have fortunately been made available through the *Researches* and *Records*. No more systematic and scholarly work has ever been attempted for the Catholic history of the United States than that accomplished during the past thirty-eight years by the members of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. The reader has but to glance through these pages to see how frequent are the references to the late Mr. Griffin's *Researches*, and to the printed *Records* of this Society. This group of Philadelphia students has never been unfaithful to its original design of 1884: that of creating a national archival centre for the preservation of the materials of our Catholic history, and its thirty-odd volumes of published articles and documents are a veritable delight to the student.

7. *Diocesan Archives*—The Diocesan Archives of Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Bardstown (Louisville) St. Louis, and New Orleans, were not of much help for this work. The New York Diocesan Archives contain practically nothing before the episcopate of John Hughes (1842-1864); the Philadelphia Diocesan Archives contain little prior to the episcopate of Francis Patrick Kenrick (1830-1851). All the papers of importance for this *Life* in the Boston Diocesan Archives have either been published in the *Records*, or are to be found in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, which contain many letters from Poterie, Rousselet, Cheverus, Matignon and others.

8. *Catholic Archives of America*—This unique collection at the University of Notre Dame was the life-work of the late Professor James Farnham Edwards, of that institution. Edwards was one of the first to appreciate the neglect shown for the documents of the past; and he started on a missionary tour through the United States, begging for these historical materials. The

fruits of his labours are far greater than is known, and he must have possessed rare eloquence to have succeeded as he did. Edwards knew better than any living Catholic of his day the sad story of neglect, of voluntary burning, and of wanton destruction of the early *monumenta* of our Church. One such instance is recorded by the Rev. Dr. Foik, C.S.C., the custodian of these archives:

Bernard Campbell, the historian, who began the life of Archbishop Carroll in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, collected and studied for years; he obtained many documents from Bishop Fenwick, the second Bishop of Boston, and from Rev. George Fenwick. Mr. Campbell thus gathered a remarkable collection of material concerning the Church in this country. At his death his wife placed these manuscripts in a trunk, and as she traveled much, she carried the papers with her and preserved them for a considerable length of time, expecting to find some one who would realize the value of the papers and endeavor to procure them. But, unfortunately, no interest was taken in the collection and she burnt them. (Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, p. 64.)

The loss of the New Orleans Archives during the occupation of that city by General Butler (1862) is an irreparable one. The St. Louis Diocesan Archives are in a fair state of preservation in the Old Cathedral of that city. They form the nucleus of the documents being studied by the St. Louis Catholic Historical Society and many of them have been published in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*.

9. *Washington, D. C.—a*.—The Dominican Archives (Archives of St. Joseph's Dominican Province) consist of a well-catalogued collection, made by the Dominican historian, Rev. Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P. These are housed in the Dominican House of Studies at the Catholic University of America. They are photostat copies from Rome (Propaganda Archives, Archives of the Dominican Master-General, Archives of the Irish Dominicans of San Clemente); from England (Archives of the Dominicans of Haverstock Hill); from Ireland (Dublin Archiepiscopal Archives, Archives of the Dominicans of Tallaght); and from various other centres. O'Daniel has made a scholarly use of these Archives in his *Life of Bishop Fenwick* (Washington, D. C., 1921) and in his studies in the *Catholic Historical Review*. All these documents were graciously placed at our disposal for

this work. b).—The archival collection in my own possession (Rome, Vienna, Munich, Simancas, Seville, Paris and London) is already an ample one, and has recently been enriched through permission granted by the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide to have all the Propaganda documents, dealing with the church history of the United States, photographed by a competent archivist. At the present time, these copies are finished down to the year 1840.

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Foremost among the collections of published sources for American Catholic history is the series of quarterly volumes, the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, to which reference has already been made. Next in order of importance come the twenty-nine volumes of the *American Catholic Historical Researches* (1884-1912), published by that indefatigable research-student, Martin I. J. Griffin. Griffin's printed collection is a mine of documentary material; and though lacking in that scholarship which would have resulted in a far more careful reading of the papers he published, he will always rank among those who had few equals in their sincere love for the historical past of the Church in this country. An *Index* to the *Researches* (1884-1912) was published by the Society (Philadelphia, 1916), but it is not always accurate and appears to have been done somewhat hastily. Whenever possible in these pages we have given reference to the *Researches*, though in practically all cases, the original has been seen and is cited; hence, the differences of reading which appear at times between the printed copy in Griffin's collections and in these pages. The fifth volume of Raphael de Martinis, *Jus Pontificium de Propaganda Fide* (Rome, 1892), contains a few documents, especially the *Ex debito pastoralis* and the *Pontificii muneris* of April 8, 1808, dividing the Diocese of Baltimore. (Both documents contain typographical errors.) On two occasions we endeavoured to secure the *Woodstock Letters*; but these volumes are considered of such an intimate and family nature that the request was not granted. In a library abroad, however, we found a complete set of these volumes (1872—) and had an index of the same compiled. Shea used

this collection. The Catholic historical reviews (*Acta et Dicta*, of St. Paul; the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine*; the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*; the *Historical Records and Studies*, New York, and the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*) contain many documents which have never been printed before; and the department of documents in the *Catholic Historical Review* (Catholic University of America) published a series of original papers, chief of which are Flaget's *Report on the Diocese of Bardstown*, April 10, 1815 (*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 305-319), and Maréchal's *Report on the Diocese of Baltimore*, October 16, 1818 (*ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 439-453). The documents from the Simancas Archives relating to the founding of St. Peter's Church, New York City (1785), will be found in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. i, pp. 68-77); those relating to the appointment of Concanen to the See of New York (1808-1810), will be found *ibid.*, (vol. ii, pp. 73-82); the Scioto documents, *ibid.*, (vol. ii, pp. 195-204); the Oneida bishopric project, *ibid.*, (vol. iii, pp. 79-89); the Propaganda documents on the Jesuit Missions of the United States (1773) are in vol. ii, pp. 316-320; and scattered through the Notes and Comments of the first six volumes of the *Review* are many original sources published there for the first time. An indispensable series of documents for this period is that selected by Carl Russell Fish and published in the *American Historical Review* (July, 1910, pp. 801-829) under the title: *Documents relative to the adjustment of the Roman Catholic organization in the United States to the Conditions of National Independence (1783-1789)*. The late Jesuit historian, Father E. I. Devitt, S.J., of Georgetown, published translations of these under the caption: *Propaganda Documents: Appointment of the First Bishop of Baltimore*, in the *Records*, December, 1910. (We have referred to these as the *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*).

Among other collections of published sources the following have proved of value for the history of Carroll's episcopate: the *American Archives* (the fourth volume, published by Peter Force, Washington, 1837); the *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1906); the *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883); the *Fund Publications* of the Maryland Historical Society; Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial His-*

tory of New York (Albany, 1856-1861, eleven vols.); O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1849-1851, four vols.); Perry, *Historical Collections relating to the American (Episcopal) Church* (Hartford, 1870-1878).

None of these, however, can be compared in value to the documents published by Hughes in his *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*. The two volumes, entitled *Documents*, contain original papers from 1605 to 1838, and without this rich collection, it would have been impossible to complete this work. Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (eight vols., London, 1877-1883) is of special value to the American Church historian, particularly the volumes entitled *Collectanea*, which contain biographical sketches of all the Jesuits of the Province. Gillow's *Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics* (five vols., London, 1898) is more than its title would imply, since many references to unpublished material are given, and some of these sources are cited. Oliver's *Collections towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus* (London, 1901) supplements the work of Foley. Dilhet's *État de Église ou du Diocèse des États-Unis*, which has remained in manuscript during the past hundred years, has recently been translated and published by the Rev. Dr. Browne (Quebec, 1922).

GENERAL WORKS

Entering upon a course of study in the history of Catholicism in the United States, the student soon finds himself confined to a very small number of books. Of general histories of the Church in this country, there is but one which pretends to offer a complete narrative—*The History of the Catholic Church in the United States* by John Gilmary Shea (New York, 1886-1892); of special histories, limited by either time, place or idea, very few do more than copy from the volumes of Shea. In the Preface of his first volume, which carries the story of Catholicism from the days of Columbus down to the end of the French and Indian War (1492-1763), Shea describes the projects for such a general history which had been outlined up to his day. The earliest of these is that of Bishop Bruté, of the Diocese of

Vincennes (now Indianapolis), a work to be called *Catholic America*, which was "to give an outline of the history of the Church in South America, Mexico, Central America and Canada, before taking up the annals of religion in the Thirteen Colonies and under the Republic. The sketch would have been necessarily very brief, and from the heads of chapters, as given by him, would have been mainly contemporary." So far as is known, Bishop Bruté never began the actual composition of this work. No mention of it is found in Bayley, *Memoirs of Bishop Bruté* (New York, 1865), or in Bruté de Remur, *Vie de Mgr. Bruté de Remur, premier évêque de Vincennes* (Rennes, 1887). In the Baltimore Cathedral Archives (Special C-O1) there is a map of the Catholic Church in 1815 by Bishop Bruté, which is reproduced in this work; and in the same Archives (Special C-G1), under date of May 23, 1821, there is in Bruté's hand a paper entitled *Synoptica Tabula gestorum in Americae Catholica Ecclesia per Clerum Gallum a saeculo decimo quinto ad praesens usque decimum nonum*. Another valuable map of the Kentucky missions (by Badin) is in these Archives (Special C-L1). The Rev. Dr. Charles I. White, the biographer of Mother Seton, also proposed to write a history of the Church in this country, and with Campbell collected a mass of source-material for that purpose. Shea says that "he never actually wrote any part of his projected work, nothing having been found among his papers except a sketch of his plan." Dr. White contributed to the English translation of Darras, *General History of the Church* (New York, 1865), an Appendix (vol. v, pp. 599-662) entitled: *Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Catholic Church in the United States*. It is this *Sketch* which has given life to many legends about John Carroll, which are still current in American Catholic circles.

The first noteworthy contribution to the general ecclesiastical history of the United States appeared in the *Paris Univers*, from the pen of Henri De Courcy de la Roche Héron. During De Courcy's sojourn in this country, John Gilmary Shea placed at his disposal all the historical material he had gathered up to that time, and after the articles ceased in the *Univers*, Shea translated them and put them into book form: *History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the earliest Settlement to the*

Present Time, with Biographical Sketches, Accounts of the Religious Orders, Councils, etc. (New York, 2d edition, 1879). "This volume," Shea wrote in 1892, "has been for some thirty years the most comprehensive account accessible of the history of the Church in this country." De Courcy treated only a limited part of the subject, however, and immediately after the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), the Fathers of the Council commissioned Dr. Shea to fulfil his long-cherished desire of writing and publishing a complete *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. At the time of Shea's death, Archbishop Corrigan, his Mæcenas, wrote: "No one could have brought to the task a better preparation—unremitting study of a lifetime; a greater devotion to the cause, or more painstaking attention to accuracy of detail. The Church in the United States owes to his memory a deep debt of gratitude. Future historians will find in his lifelong researches a mine of wealth, and generations to come will rise up and call him blessed." John Gilmary Shea had begun his historical publications at the age of fourteen, when in 1838 he contributed a striking historical portrait of Cardinal Albornozy to the *Young People's Catholic Magazine*. His first classic study was the *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1852). There followed his *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States (1529-1854)* (New York, 1854); his twenty-six small volumes entitled the *Cramoisy Series*, begun in 1857; and *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886). The preparation of the *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* can really be said to have begun as far back as 1837, when he became a clerk in a Spanish merchant's office in New York City. The first volume of his *History* appeared in 1886, the second in 1888, the third in 1890, and the last chapter of the fourth volume was finished on his deathbed, in February, 1892. Shea's *History* covers the years 1492 down to 1866. He left considerable material for the years which follow down to his later days, and through the generosity and historical-mindedness of the Society of Jesus, his manuscripts, papers, and library, were purchased and are now safely housed in the Georgetown Archives and in the Riggs Library. A considerable collection of Shea's materials for the history of the Church from 1866 down to 1890 is said to be in the

possession of a Philadelphia publisher. Thomas D'Arcy McGee's *Catholic History of North America* (Boston, 1853) is a series of five discourses, delivered in the winter of 1853-1854, and is hardly more than a sketch-book of a literary writer of talent, written under the Catholic reaction to the anti-foreign politics of that day. Another volume of a general nature is John O'Kane Murray, *A Popular History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1876). Of little historical value because of its many inaccuracies, Murray's volume contains some excellent appendices on various aspects of Catholicism in the United States, particularly on the problem of loss and gain in the American Church. O'Gorman's *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1895), is a serviceable manual. The Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur published in 1911 a *Brief History of the Catholic Church in the United States* for use in Catholic Schools, compiled chiefly from Shea. This little compendium, much marred by inaccuracies, contains four ecclesiastical maps which will not be found elsewhere. To the Franciscan Sisters of La Crosse, Wisconsin, we owe two volumes: *Our Country in Story*, intended for use in the fifth and sixth grades of our elementary schools (Chicago, 1917), and a *History of the United States for Catholic Schools* (Chicago, 1914), which is valuable for the emphasis it places on the Catholic background to American history. The latest addition to these general works is the excellent manual by McCarthy, *History of the United States* (New York, 1919), wherein the conspicuous facts of our religious history, of special interest and importance to Catholics, are included.

For the political history of the United States during the period contained in this work (1735-1815) we have found the first twelve volumes of *The American Nation: A History*, published under the editorship of Albert Bushnell Hart (New York, 1900) of good service. This is especially true of vol. i, Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, and of vol. vi, Greene, *Colonial Commonwealths*.

SPECIAL WORKS

These may be divided into five classes: 1. *Provincial Histories*; 2. *Diocesan Histories*; 3. *Parochial Histories*; 4. *Histories of the Religious Orders*; 5. *Ecclesiastical Biographies*.

1. *Provincial Histories.*

For the Archdiocese of Baltimore, no such work has been written. The Archdiocese of Philadelphia has found its historian in Monsignor J. L. J. Kirlin, whose *Catholicity of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1909) is based on archival and printed sources; though not professedly a history of the province, it has many pages devoted to the activities of the early missionaries in Pennsylvania. The best history of this class is the *History of the Church in New England* (two vols., Boston, 1899) which comprises the Archdiocese of Boston. It is written by different authors, and furnishes a model for works of a similar nature. *The History of the Catholic Church in New York*, by Rev. Dr. John Talbot Smith (two vols., New York, 1905), begins with the foundation of that metropolitan See in 1808. No history of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, of which the Diocese of Bardstown-Louisville is a part, has yet been begun; Lamott's *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati (1821-1921)* deals only with the Diocese of Cincinnati (Cincinnati, 1921).

2. *Diocesan Histories.*

A list of these will be found in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. iv, pp. 264-273, 389-393, 542-546). The five dioceses which comprised the Archbishopric of Baltimore during Carroll's rule (1808-1815)—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Bardstown, and New Orleans (Louisiana), are treated in detail in the works cited above. Special reference, however, should be made to the following: a).—for Baltimore—Riordan, *Cathedral Records from the beginning of Catholicity in Baltimore to the Present Time* (Baltimore, 1906), which is one of the scholarly productions of recent years, and a work of value for the Life and Times of Carroll. The author has made a generous and critical use of the Baltimore

Cathedral Archives, and his volume is one of the best diocesan histories we possess. Stanton, *History of the Church in Western Maryland* (Baltimore, 1900) supplements for that part of the Diocese the work of Riordan. The *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori habita ab anno 1829 ad 1849* (Baltimore, 1851), contains the *Statuta* of the Synod of 1791 and the Agreement of 1810. b).—for Richmond there is Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond* (Richmond, 1906). c).—for Charleston, the student should consult England, *The Early History of the Diocese of Charleston*, in his *Works* (vol. iv, pp. 307 ss; Messmer edition, Cleveland, 1908); and O'Connell, *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia* (New York, 1867). d).—for the other dioceses of what was then the sole Diocese of Baltimore, namely, Wheeling, Savannah, Wilmington, Del., St. Augustine and the Vicariate of North Carolina, no special histories of value can be cited. e).—for the dioceses, once included in the sole Diocese of New York, that is, Albany, Buffalo, Brooklyn, Newark, Rochester, Ogdensburg, Trenton and Syracuse, the following are useful: Bayley, *Brief Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church on the Island of Manhattan* (New York, 1854); Flynn, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey* (Morristown, 1904); Timon, *Missions in Western New York* (Buffalo, 1862); Donahue, *History of the Catholic Church in Western New York* (Buffalo, 1904); Mulrenan, *A Brief Sketch of the Catholic Church on Long Island* (New York, 1871); Smith, *History of the Diocese of Ogdensburg* (New York, 1885); Leahy, *The Diocese of Trenton* (Princeton, 1907); Hewitt, *History of the Diocese of Syracuse* (Syracuse, 1909). f).—for the history of the dioceses once included in the original Diocese of Bardstown, namely, Louisville, Nashville, Covington, Columbus, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Marquette, Superior, Green Bay, Milwaukee, La Crosse, Duluth, Crookston, St. Cloud, St. Paul, Chicago, Rockford, Peoria, Alton, Belleville, Fort Wayne, and Indianapolis, the following works have been consulted: McCann, *History of Mother Seton's Daughters* (2 vols., New York, 1917); Die katholischen Kirchen und Institute in Cincinnati (Cincinnati, 1889); Spalding, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky (1787-1827)* (Louisville, 1846); Webb, *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1884); Badin,

Origine et Progrès de la Mission du Kentucky (Paris, 1821); Maes, *History of the Catholic Church in Monroe City and County, Michigan* (Monroe, 1885); Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church in Vincennes*, now Indianapolis (Indianapolis, 1883); the *History of Fifty Years* (Diocese of Columbus), 1918; Henning, *The Catholic Church in Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1898); Houck, *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Cleveland* (2 vols., Cleveland, 1903); Rezek, *History of the Diocese of Sault Sainte Marie and Marquette* (2 vols., Houghton, 1906-1907); Beuckmann, *History of the Diocese of Belleville* (Belleville, 1914); Schaeffer, *History of the Diocese of St. Paul in Acta et Dicta*, vol. iv, pp. 32-71; Garraghan (Rev. Gilbert J., S.J.), *The Catholic Church in Chicago (1673-1871): An Historical Sketch* (Chicago, 1921), which ranks easily as the best diocesan history we have. g).—for the other dioceses once included in the original Diocese of Philadelphia, that is, Pittsburgh, Erie, Harrisburg, Scranton, and Altoona, the following, besides Kirlin's volume, has been consulted: Lambing, *The History of the Diocese of Pittsburgh and Allegheny* (New York, 1880). h).—for the dioceses once contained within the borders of Bishop Du Bourg's original diocese, the following were consulted: Thornton, *Historical Sketch of the Church in St. Louis*; Walsh, *Jubilee Memoirs* (St. Louis, 1891); *Catholic History of Alabama and the Floridas* (New York, 1908); *History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of San Antonio* (San Antonio, 1897).

3. *Parochial Histories.*

The number today of these is legion, and they need not be mentioned in detail in this section, since few of them are based on first-hand information. The exceptions are Frederick, *Old St. Peter's, or the Beginnings of Catholicity in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1911); Hertkorn, *Retrospect of Holy Trinity Parish* (1789-1914); McGowan, *Historical Sketch of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1896), and Devitt, *Boston's First Catholic Church (1798-1801)* in the *Records*, vol. xv, pp. 35-45.

4. *Histories of Religious Orders (1790-1815).*

The late Bishop Currier published in 1904, *A History of the Religious Orders in the United States*, but the work is of little

historical value; Dehey's *Religious Orders of Women in the United States* (Chicago, 1913), while of secondary value, has the advantage of having been compiled under the direction of the superiors of the communities contained in the volume; Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, (3 vols., Paderborn, 1907), contains numerous references to the American religious communities.

A.—*Jesuits*: Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*. The two volumes, entitled *Text*, contain the history of the American Jesuits from 1580 to 1773. The method followed by Hughes is quite disparate from that of Astrain, Fouqueray, Tacchi-Venturi, etc., who have written the history of other national bodies of the Society. Brucker, *La Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1921); and especially Campbell, *The Jesuits*, 2 vols. (New York, 1921).

B.—*Augustinians*: Nothing has been written on the general history of the Order in the United States, except McGowan's little history of St. Augustine's Parish (Philadelphia), the cradle of the Augustinians in this country, *Historical Sketch of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1896).

C.—*Dominicans*: O'Daniel's studies in the *Catholic Historical Review*, which have been cited and his *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, are indispensable for the history of the Dominicans in this country.

D.—*Trappists*: No complete story of the wandering of this community has as yet been written. The best account is that by Flick, *French Refugee Trappists in the United States*, in the *Records*, vol. i, pp. 86-116.

E.—*Sulpicians*: Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States* (New York, 1916) gives an account of the growth of the Society of St. Sulpice in this country, though it is marred by occasional inaccuracies.

F.—*Ursuline Sisters*: *The Ursulines in Louisiana, 1727-1824* (New Orleans, 1886).

G.—*Carmelite Nuns*: Currier, *Carmel in America* (New York, 1906).

H.—*Visitation Nuns*: Lathrop, *A Story of Courage: Annals of the Georgetown Convent of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, from the Manuscript Records* (Cambridge, 1895).

I.—*Sisters of Charity*: McCann, *History of Mother Seton's Daughters: The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio (1809-1917)*, 2 vols. (New York, 1917). Apart from the biographical sketches of Mother Seton, the Emmitsburg Mother-House has published no complete history of this community.

J.—*Sisters of Charity of Nazareth*: McGill, *Sisters of Charity of Nazareth* (New York, 1917).

K.—*Sisters of Loretto Foot of the Cross*: Minogue, *Loretto Annals of the Century* (New York, 1912).

EPISCOPAL BIOGRAPHIES (1790-1815)

1. *Carroll*: The Lives by Brent, Campbell, and Shea have been already mentioned. 2. *Neale*: (M. S. Pine) *A Glory of Maryland* (New York, 1917). 3. *Flaget*: Spalding, *Sketches of the Life of Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget* (Louisville, 1852). 4. *Cheverus*: Walsh, *Life of Cardinal De Cheverus* (Philadelphia, 1839). 5. *Concanen*: O'Daniel, in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. i, pp. 400-421, vol. ii, pp. 19-46) has given an excellent biographical sketch of Bishop Concanen. 6. *Connolly*: An account of Bishop Connolly's life will be found in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. iv (1891-1893), pp. 58-61, 186-198. 7. *Egan*: Griffin, *History of the Rt. Rev. Michael Egan, D.D., First Bishop of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1893). 8. *Du Bourg*: Biographical sketches will be found in Herbermann, *Sulpicians, etc.*, pp. 170-180, 199, 222-226, 231, and in the *Researches*, vol. x, pp. 144-152.

Corrigan's *Chronology of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States*, which appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review*, is the first attempt at a systematic history of the American bishops. (For Carroll, see vol. i, p. 373.)

WORKS ON SPECIAL TOPICS

There is no necessity of giving here a detailed list of the special works used in these two volumes. Such a list would lengthen this critical essay beyond its proportionate limits. Among the books, however, to which special attention should be called, are the following: Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York, 1902); O'Brien, *Hidden Phase of American His-*

tory (New York, 1920); Fisher, *The Struggle for American Independence*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1908); Tiffany, *The History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York, 1895); Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History* (Boston, 1888); and Steiner, *The History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, D. C., 1894).

The history of Catholic education in the United States has been admirably treated in three volumes by the Rev. Dr. James Burns, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame. His *Catholic School System in the United States: Its Principles, Origin, and Establishment* (New York, 1908) brings the story of Catholic education down to the year 1840. For the educational institutions abroad, to which American boys and girls were sent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, cf. Guilday, *English Catholic Refugees on the Continent* (London, 1914). For the English background to our colonial church history, the best account has been given by Burton, in his *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner* (2 vols., London, 1909). Madden, *History of the Penal Laws Enacted Against Roman Catholics* (London, 1847), is a good introduction to the No Popery legislation of the American Colonies.

HISTORICAL PERIODICALS

Chief among these is the *Catholic Historical Review*, published at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., which from 1915 to 1921 was devoted exclusively to American church history. The provincial historical reviews were of considerable service, and reference has already been made to the Catholic historical quarterlies published at Philadelphia, New York, Chicago and St. Louis. Among the older magazines, now suspended, which contain valuable first-hand materials for the period are: the *United States Catholic Magazine* (1844-1849), the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine* (1888-1892), and the *United States Catholic Miscellany* (1822-1861). The *Annals* of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith (Paris-Lyons, 1822), and the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine Association (Vienna, 1830), also contain in their earliest issues valuable contemporary records. The *Ecclesiastical Review* is an indispensable source for the American Church historian.

WRITINGS OF ARCHBISHOP CARROLL

First among these should be classed Carroll's theological and philosophical tracts and essays, still in manuscript and preserved in the Georgetown College Archives. These are noticed by Sumner in the *Woodstock Letters*, vol. vii, p. 6 (April, 1878). Carroll's *Journal* of the European tour of 1771-1773 is printed in Brent's *Biographical Sketch*, pp. 223-276. It is discussed in vol. i, chapter iii, of this work. Shea (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 35, 43) erroneously credits to Carroll the *Narrative of the Proceedings in the Suppression of the Two English Colleges at Bruges*, which may be the work of Father Ralph Hoskins, S.J., who was born in Maryland in 1729, and died in England in 1794. Shea also claims authorship for Carroll of the *Account of the Condition of the Church in the United States*, which Pise first published in the *Metropolitan* for 1831. There is in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives in Carroll's handwriting a draft of the reply he was preparing against Father Smyth's *Present State, etc.* This has been printed in the *Researches* (vol. xiii, pp. 205-212); it is mentioned in the *Woodstock Letters*, vol. xv, p. 99. Shea mentions (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 204 note) a *Sketch of Catholicity in the United States*, written by Carroll. This is the manuscript published by Dr. Pise. Carroll's only real literary composition is his *Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States*, published at Annapolis, 1784, in reply to the apostate Wharton. The *Report and Letter* (1785) to Antonelli, mentioned in these papers, are lengthy enough to form a compact sketch of the history of the Church in this country at that date. They were first published in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, pp. 239-246 (cf. Guilday, *Appointment of Father John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic*, *ibid.*, pp. 204-248), and are reproduced in the original Latin in this work. Plowden's, *Short Account of the Establishment of the New See of Baltimore* (London, 1790) had the benefit of Carroll's corrections. It was republished in the *Researches* (vol. x, pp. 19-24). It is not certain whether Carroll wrote the *Address from the Roman Catholics of America to George Washington*, to which his name is attached. Carroll's biographical sketch of Father Beeston in Kingston's, *New American*

Biographic Dictionary, pp. 40-41 (Baltimore, 1810), is the only specimen of this class of essay we have from his pen. Among Carroll's Pastorals may be mentioned: The Pastoral on the Synod (1792), the first document of its kind in the United States; the Pastoral to the Congregation of Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia (1797); the Lenten Pastoral of 1798; the Pastoral on the Yellow Fever Plague (1800); the Charge to the Clergy on the Death of Washington (1799); the Pastoral on the Baltimore Cathedral (1803); the Pastoral on the Erection of the Suffragan Sees (1810); the Pastoral on the War of 1812; the Pastoral on the Liberation of Pius VII (1814); and the Pastoral on the Peace of 1815. Bishop Carroll's *Discourse on George Washington*, delivered at St. Peter's Pro-Cathedral, February 22, 1800, was ranked at that time as the most eloquent of all the tributes paid to the dead leader on that day of national mourning.

In order not to give undue length to this chapter no list is given here to the literature in general or to the special works dealing with the political history of the United States during this period. Citations will be found in the proper places of all the sources consulted, and the reader is again referred to Channing-Hart-Turner, *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History* (Boston, 1912).

Finis.

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